

DISSERTATION

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„Public Diplomacy in Polish - Austrian Relations.
The Experience of Poland in 2007- 2009.“

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Zusammenfassung

Die Dissertation *Public Diplomacy in Polish - Austrian Relations. The Experience of Poland in 2007 – 2009* umfasst eine umfangreiche Untersuchung der polnischen Diplomatie in Österreich zwischen 2007 und 2009. Ich habe versucht, die wichtigsten Merkmale, Ereignisse, Akteure, Strategien, Probleme, Herausforderungen und Versäumnisse der polnischen Diplomatie in dieser Zeit zu skizzieren. Obwohl sich meine Arbeit hauptsächlich auf den Zeitraum 2007 bis 2009 konzentriert, habe ich dennoch einen wesentlich breiteren Zugang gewählt. Analysiert habe ich die Ursprünge und die wichtigsten Definitionen von öffentlicher Diplomatie, auch unter Berücksichtigung der wichtigsten mit ihr verwandten Konzepte wie Propaganda, Öffentlichkeitsarbeit, Nation Branding, Klischees, Vorurteile, das öffentliche Wohl und kulturelle Diplomatie. Die Motivation, negative Stereotypen, Vorurteile und ein mangelhaftes Wissen vieler Österreicher über Polen und das polnische Volk genauer zu untersuchen, trugen wesentlich zu meiner Themenwahl bei. Dabei bin ich davon ausgegangen, dass richtig eingesetzte Diplomatie eine Lösung dieses Problems sein könnte. Eine der Kernfragen meiner Arbeit ist, ob Diplomatie im Stande ist, die gewünschten Veränderungen herbeizuführen.

Für ein besseres Verständnis habe ich mich eingehend mit der Geschichte der diplomatischen Beziehungen zwischen Polen und Österreich seit ihrer Entstehungszeit vor mehr als tausend Jahren bis heute beschäftigt. Das Kernstück der Arbeit ist Kapitel V, das sich der Analyse der wichtigsten diplomatischen Ereignisse zwischen 2007 und 2009 widmet. Außerdem habe ich versucht, eine vorsichtige Prognose für die Zukunft der polnisch-österreichischen Beziehung zu erstellen und zwar mit Hilfe einer Umfrage unter Studierenden der Universität Wien. Des Weiteren widme ich mich der Identifikation und Charakterisierung einflussreicher Österreicher, die maßgeblich am Aufbau eines positiven Rufs Polens in Österreich beigetragen haben.

Ich habe vor allem drei Methoden der Recherche gewählt: die Analyse von Dokumenten, Experteninterviews (qualitative Forschung) und eine Umfrage (quantitative Forschung). Meine Arbeit stützt sich auf die Aussagen einschlägiger Experten. Ich ergänze meine Forschungsergebnisse durch Empfehlungen für die Verbesserung der polnisch-österreichischen Beziehungen und einen Kommentar über den Stand der Forschung auf diesem Gebiet.

Schlüsselwörter:

Polen, Österreich, öffentliche Diplomatie, soziale Diplomatie, Öffentlichkeitsarbeit, Nation Branding, Stereotypen, Vorurteile, kulturelle Diplomatie, Reputation Management, polnisch-österreichische Geschichte.

„Ich habe mich bemüht, sämtliche Inhaber der Bildrechte ausfindig zu machen und ihre Zustimmung zur Verwendung der Bilder in dieser Arbeit eingeholt. Sollte dennoch eine Urheberrechtsverletzung bekannt werden, ersuche ich um Meldung bei mir.“

Introduction

The idea to write about public diplomacy in Polish–Austrian relations was inspired by a number of factors. First of all, there was a significant lack of publications, articles and books on this topic, which would scrutinise this relatively new phenomenon especially from a bilateral perspective. My intention was to learn more about it. As a Polish citizen partly educated in Austria I have always been intrigued by the level of coverage of the Austrian media regarding Poland and the Poles. There were rarely any articles, but when they did exist, they were usually about shabby Polish physical workers longing for any job, or sometimes one would see a crime-related story.

Additionally, my further research was motivated by acquainting myself with an interesting study presented by Małgorzata Sikorska *Poland–Austria. Mutual Image* issued by the Polish Institute of Public Affairs in Warsaw in 2003. The article shows how diverse and superficial the mutual knowledge of Austrians and Poles about each other is. Generally speaking, Austria has a much more positive image amongst the Poles than Poland does amongst the Austrians. This is a very important message for the Polish, but also for the Austrian government, for it signals that a significant effort must be made to improve that knowledge and to change the negative image and ignorance amongst both groups of citizens. Małgorzata Sikorska discovered that the images of the “typical Austrian” and the “typical Pole” differ significantly. The “typical Pole” is perceived by Austrians to be religious, conservative, backward, but also rather friendly and disciplined. On the other hand, the “typical Austrian” is regarded as modern, neat, diligent, responsible and friendly. Of the surveyed Austrians and Poles, 87% and 80% respectively have never visited the other’s country. Significantly, 67% of Austrians would **not** like to spend their holidays in Poland, whereas more than 70% of Poles would like to spend their holidays in Austria.

There was a clear message that a wall of stereotypes still impedes a better understanding of the Poles and Austrians. As a contribution to this question I have decided to carry out an own survey, this time on the young population of Viennese

students, about the more contemporary attitude to the Polish people and Poland as a member of the European Community. The survey mostly deals with associations, attitudes and basic knowledge about Poland and its citizens.

The major concern of this dissertation was a question: **what can be a remedy for the stereotypes against the Poles and what is very often a significant lack of knowledge about Poland in Austria?** What should be done to have a better and more objective understanding among the people? My answer to this is public diplomacy, perceived as a new and modern tool to reach a broad audience. Nevertheless, I have tried to trace all the ways and canals of the existing public diplomacy strategy.

The further **research questions** which were raised at the beginning of my research were:

- ✦ What are the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats of the Polish–Austrian relationship?
- ✦ How is the public diplomacy mission distributed to the particular actors: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, The Embassy, consulates, institutes, NGOs and media in Austria?
- ✦ Who are the receivers of the public diplomacy message?
- ✦ What are the most common stereotypes affecting the Poles and what can be done to overcome them?
- ✦ What is the strategic planning and what are the ideas of the public diplomacy of the Polish government in Austria?
- ✦ What are the public diplomacy perspectives and what is its future role between Poland and Austria?

These questions relating mostly to public diplomacy could not be answered without the appropriate background knowledge. The dissertation deals also with other theoretical aspects of the notion of public diplomacy, the study over stereotype and prejudice, the historical roots of Polish–Austrian diplomatic relations and the

contemporary diplomatic representation of Poland in Austria. The detailed plan of the dissertation is presented in the next separate subparagraph.

The time framework of the analysis is organised into two perspectives. The first one concerns the history of Polish–Austrian diplomatic relations. This includes the overview and the main highlights between 1918 and 2004 with the conclusion of the basic comparative analysis of Poland and Austria in 2009. The research on public diplomacy presented in the dissertation combines the years 2007 to 2009 inclusive.

So close, so far... the role of public diplomacy in the historical context of Polish Austrian relations.

Poland and Austria have a nearly 1,000 year long tradition of contacts, which have been always full of extremes. The current situation, which shows rather moderate and not too intensive movements and interests is somehow intriguing, especially taking into account that Poland was incorporated into Austria for more than 100 years. In fact, that was a hostile takeover under authoritative rule which naturally is not an environment where friendly ties can thrive, although the administrative unity should not be overlooked. Let us try to consider the historical factors, which could somehow have contributed to misunderstandings between the Poles and Austrians throughout the centuries and which could partly contribute to the creation of stereotypes and prejudices.

The era of relatively intensive contacts between Poland and Austria begins with the reign of Emperor Maximilian I (1493–1519). Let us focus on the aspects which could somehow impede mutual understanding between these two states:

- Rivalry between the House of Habsburgs and the House of Jagiellonians over spheres of influence and hereditary rights, especially in Hungary.
- The hostile takeover of Galicia and Lodomeria by the Empress Maria Teresia during the First Partition of Poland in 1772. Galicia was considered as a second category gain and the Empress did not hide her disappointment with this outcome of the Polish partition. Indeed, Galicia was one of the poorest regions.

The aetiology of association with poverty related to Poland might be much longer than Communist times in Poland.

- The gap in diplomatic relations between Poland and Austria between 1938 and 1946.
- Strong propaganda of Adolf Hitler presenting Poles as an inferior second category of human beings who should be destined to serve to “the superior race of German lords”.
- The beginning of the Cold War and introduction of the idea of the “Iron Curtain” by Winston Churchill in Fulton in 1946. Poland and Austria (which gained its independence back in 1955) were placed on contradictory sides. This had to lead to further distance between these two nations.
- The beginning of Martial Law in Poland in 1981 and a large wave of Polish migration to Austria which included people leaving Poland almost without any material resources and who were forced to begin a new life in Austria with all the burdens of immigrant life. This is in my opinion another “brick”, which has contributed to the creation of the stereotype of the “poor typical Pole”.
- The end of Communism in Poland in 1989 and the engagement with the European Union integration process in 1994. Travelling and movement across Europe become more accessible and many Poles decided to look for other employment options beyond those in Poland. This goes in the face of a decisive objective of the Austrian government, which decided to introduce an eight year long period of job market protection for the new EU members including Poland.

The above historical factors prepared the ground for a certain distance and the creation of unfortunate stereotypes. What is also surprising is that these negative attitudes and prejudices are mostly localised on the Austrian side according to the scientific research. Poles seem to get along with the past, which was humiliating at some points. In any case, there is a clear challenge to face. How can we overcome the divisions, misunderstandings and prejudices? Is there any rational force which can

stimulate this psychological and social problem? My idea which is proposed in this dissertation is to focus more on public diplomacy, but this is not the only way which will help. I think a number of other aspects should be taken into account. As a Pole I think we are already on the right track, due to being in the European Union, so we already share the same critical values such as democracy, free markets, human rights and the rule of law. We can freely legally work and live in each other's countries. This is already a very good starting point. Jan Krzysztof Bielecki, a former Polish Prime Minister and previous Director in the European Bank of Development and Reconstruction, presented an estimate in 2003 that Poland needs around 22 years to catch up economically with the Western EU countries. I am sure that the economic gap will affect Polish–Austrian relations, but the problem should diminish as the gap does.

There is also a great deal of work which must be done on the Polish side. There are good examples to follow. Spain, Finland, and at some point also Ireland, are very often presented as countries which succeeded in their public diplomacy, and that success coincided with their economic growth, technological innovation and civil society engagement. Even the most genial public diplomacy strategy cannot work without strong fundamentals in economy and society. The success of Spain, Ireland and Finland was pretty much possible thanks to the creation of national brands which are appreciated worldwide. Companies, like Nokia, Zara, and Guinness, automatically bring positive associations with their respective countries of origin. Additionally, Spain gained additional international appreciation through success in sport, especially in football, because many fans have respect for Spanish clubs such as FC Barcelona and Real Madrid. A good ambassador for Spain is the top tennis player Rafael Nadal. All these aspects worked in favour of the good image of Spain in the world.

Poland still lacks a defining product that contributes to the good image of Poland, but on the other hand we can observe premises which give hope for the future. The Polish volleyball team is extremely successful in different competitions and the Polish tennis player Agnieszka Radwańska has won several WTA tournaments. In any case this is a process which takes years, but I think Poland has great potential.

The purpose of this doctoral dissertation is to conduct an analysis of the *status quo* of Polish public diplomacy in Austria and to present prospects and recommendations for the future.

Plan of the dissertation

The dissertation is divided into seven chapters. The first one entitled *Public diplomacy in the theoretical approach* is a broad analysis of the leading notions and a useful toolbox for the general understanding of the topic. The chapter deals with the origin and definitions of public diplomacy, but also explains the meaning of the derivative terms and phenomena, namely: propaganda, public relations, nation branding, stereotypes, prejudice, the public good, and cultural diplomacy. The purpose of the chapter was also to present the academic development of public diplomacy through presenting the most influential centres, schools and think tanks where the modern concepts develop further. Here, the most useful source was a publication *Public Diplomacy* by M. Leonard, C. Stead, C. Smewing, published in London in 2002. In addition, one more self-elaborated case study *Queen Rania Al Abdullah of Jordan and a special form of public diplomacy* was included in the theoretical chapter in order to shed new light on how public diplomacy can be exercised.

Chapter two *The historical outline of Polish–Austrian diplomatic relations* begins with the genealogy of the first contact between the House of Habsbourgs and the Jagiellonian dynasty and concludes with the Agreement on the Double Income and Property Taxing Exemption on January 13th 2004. The chapter presents the chronological line of the treaties signed between Poland and Austria. There is also comparison of the “great eras” of Bruno Kreisky in Austria and Edward Gierek in Poland and the two different ways of managing the economies divided by the Iron Curtain. Additionally, the role of Austria during Martial Law as implemented in Poland 1981 is presented. The chapter contains also the arguments presented by the Ambassador Emil Brix in the article *Warum braucht Österreich eine Mitteleuropapolitik?*

The relatively short third chapter *Diplomatic Representation of Poland in Austria (2009)* is a catalogue of all official institutions representing Poland in Austria. Besides the diplomatic bodies, like the Polish Embassy located on the Hieziinger Hauptstrasse, the Polish Institute and the Honorary Consulates, other institutions devoted to the Polish interests are presented. These are the Polish Academy of Science–The Vienna Unit and the Polish Centre for Tourist Information in Vienna. The knowledge of the real functions, and the usual challenges and problems of the presented institutions, were mostly based on personal interviews with the chiefs or the top officials representing them. The purpose of this chapter was to give a full overview in a clear order as to what the competencies of the institutions representing Poland with a presence in Austria are.

Chapter Four, *Public diplomacy and aspiration of Poland to the European Union membership*, presents the ways via which Poland went in order to gain European Union membership. This was certainly a major ambition and the top aspiration of all governments after the transition from Communism in 1989. The length of the negotiation period was 10 years and this was a time of extensive work at all public administration levels. There was also a challenge in facing resistance from several countries, which was quite probably a result of the negative image of Poland, additionally supported by numerous stereotypes. The chapter shows how this fight was performed on the line that demarcates Polish–Austrian relations and presents the strategy of the former Polish Ambassador to Austria, Prof. Irena Lipowicz.

Chapter Five, *Public diplomacy in Polish–Austrian relations 2007–2009*, is one of the most crucial chapters in this dissertation. It aspires to present the complexity of the bureaucratic and diplomatic channels within which public diplomacy is first created in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Warsaw and later posted to Vienna in order to be pursued and executed. The analysis is supported by the presentation of a full and detailed catalogue of public diplomacy events organised by the Polish Institute, also known as the Cultural Department of the Polish Embassy, in the years 2007 to 2009 which were presented to me for scientific purposes by a special notification and permission from the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The chapter

mostly deals with the institutions, actors and binding documents which take part in creating the public diplomacy, but there is also a brief introduction devoted to the legal basis and decision-making process in Polish foreign policy in order to give a broader perspective on this issue.

Chapter Six, *Poland and its citizens in the eyes of young Austrians and challenges for future public diplomacy strategies. The Report of the survey (2009)*, is partly corresponding to one derivative term of public diplomacy, namely to stereotype and prejudice. I have undertaken an attempt to survey the young Austrian students studying at the various universities in the city of Vienna about their attitudes to Poland and Poles in order to learn more about what should be taken into account in public diplomacy strategies by decision makers in the future. The results of the survey are presented in visual charts to portray certain mental pictures and trends derived on the basis of the survey.

The last chapter serves for further examination of public diplomacy in Austria in favour of Poland through special activity of high profile individuals who devote a great deal of attention to Poland in their careers. The best way to approach this phenomenon will be through the presentation of two case studies. The first one will be about Martin Pollack, who is a known translator of the entire heritage of Ryszard Kapuściński. This case study will also be an inspiration for the conclusion about the role of literature in public diplomacy. The second case study will be about Emil Brix, a career diplomat and the first Austrian Consul General in Cracow, nominated after the political transition in Poland.

Methodology

The methodology used to approach the topic of public diplomacy was based on several different research tools which enabled the completion of the project. There are three major methods on which I based work. These are:

1. **The analysis of the documents**, mostly Constitution, treaties and protocols which relate to Polish–Austrian relations. The most useful and informative were: *The Treaty on Cultural and Scientific Cooperation* (1972), *The Executive Programme for the Years 2007–2009* (2006) and *The Guidelines for the Diplomatic Outposts regarding to the Public and Cultural Diplomacy for 2009* (2008). Certain documents are not open to the wider public and were allowed to be used only for the purpose of this doctoral dissertation, and the value of this analysis was significantly increased thanks to the understanding and cooperation of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Polish Institute.

2. **The expert interviews (qualitative research)**. Initially, the idea was to conduct standardised interviews with experts, but the diversity of professional backgrounds and topics made this intention impossible. As a result, the interviews have an open and non–standardised character, which provided significant freedom and a floor for creativity to the author. There was always a chance of adding spontaneous questions on a topic raised by an expert. The majority of interviews have been conducted in person and recorded. One interview has been conducted in written form with Mr. Crocker Snow Jr., the Director of the Murrow Centre at the Tufts University in Boston, which was due to a large geographical distance.

The experts interviewed for the purpose of this dissertation are (in alphabetical order):

- a) Ambassador Emil Brix (the Director of the Cultural Section of the Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs);
- b) Professor Bogusław Dybaś (the Director of the Polish Academy of Science – The Vienna Unit);
- c) Małgorzata Grudzińska (the Director of the Polish Institute);

- d) Professor Irena Lipowicz (former Polish Ambassador to Austria and Ombudsman as of 2010);
- e) Professor Beata Ociepka (a recognised scholar specialising in international communication and public diplomacy from the University of Wrocław);
- f) Martin Pollack (the Austrian writer and translator of Polish literature);
- g) Crocker Snow Jr. (the Director of the Murrow Centre at the Tufts University in Boston);
- h) Włodzimir Szelağ (the Director of Polish Centre for Tourist Information in Vienna); and
- i) Sławomir Wolny (Counselor in the Polish Embassy in Vienna until summer 2008).

The knowledge gained from the experts was introduced into the dissertation and the experts were frequently quoted. The full and complete transcripts have been attached in the second part of the dissertation.

3. The survey (Quantitative research). My research entitled titled *Poland and its citizens in the eyes of young Austrians and challenges for future public diplomacy strategies. The Report of the survey (2009)* was created, distributed and re-collected for the purpose of the last chapter. The detailed description of the profile of the questionnaire and the respondents, as well as further methodological remarks, are presented in the introduction to the final chapter.

Hypotheses

The first hypothesis was posed upon the reading of the article of Malgorzata Sikorska *Poland – Austria. Mutual Image* on Poland as it was clear that the knowledge of and interest in Poland by Austrians is minimal and has very often a dismissive and disrespectful character. Even though Poland and Austria are both members of the European Union, there have been hardly any traces of mutual goals or sense of belonging to a certain imagined community. Instead, there are still a great number of stereotypes and prejudices relating to Polish people. Are these stereotypes an inspiration for the political programmes of right wing populist parties like FPÖ? I think none can answer this question with certainty, but I do believe that there can be an indirect link.

There are **four main hypotheses** which were the leading guidelines in this dissertation:

Hypothesis 1 – there is a large scope of ignorance, misunderstanding and “in minus” attitude on the Austrian side. There is a need for better understanding and considerations other than Polish illegal workers, past historical associations (Solidarność, ex–communist country etc.). The image of Poland is still deformed and does not evolve along with the EU integration process. There is a significant need for more efforts towards an improvement.

Hypothesis 2 – the remedy for the improvement and a more efficient mutual understanding should be a reasonable and skilled public diplomacy, but nevertheless, the current performance is far from ideal. The strategy of the past few years has been mostly directed towards the elite, mostly diplomatic, circle having an interest in high context culture and the advantages of common Polish–Austrian historical heritage have had no chance to be spread to a wider audience, especially among the young Austrians.

Hypothesis 3 – There is no precise clarity and harmony in the plan of public diplomacy in Austria as envisioned by the Polish government. There are many actors who sometimes communicate ad hoc, but the vision is still to be developed.

Hypothesis 4 – Poland and Austria have correct diplomatic relations, although they mostly remain the most intensive in the sphere of high context culture. There is a significant need to expand the cooperation field to business, education and tourism.

Chapter I

Public diplomacy in the theoretical approach

1.1. The origin of the notion

Public diplomacy is a relatively new phenomenon in its current meaning. The first book ever which had “public diplomacy” in its title was published for the first time more than 39 years ago. It was Glen H. Fisher’s book *Public Diplomacy and the Behavioral Sciences* – Indiana University Press published in 1972. Nevertheless, the term public diplomacy has a “biological father” in its current meaning. He is Edmund Gullion – the Dean of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University - who has also pursued a career as a US Foreign Service officer. The most important contribution of Edmund Gullion to this field has been in establishing The Edward R. Murrow¹ Center of Public Diplomacy. Also, the Murrow Centre has edited a brochure with the current understanding² of public diplomacy:

Public diplomacy ... deals with the influence of public attitudes on the formation and execution of foreign policies. It encompasses dimensions of international relations beyond traditional diplomacy; the cultivation by governments of public opinion in other countries; the interaction of private groups and interests in one country with those of another; the reporting of foreign affairs and its impact on policy; communication between those whose job is communication, as between diplomats and foreign correspondents; and the processes of inter-cultural communications.

We should bear in mind that the history of a public diplomacy definition evolved throughout the years. The earliest use of the phrase *public diplomacy* was noted in the January 1856 issue of the *London Times*. It was used merely as a synonym for civility in a piece criticising the posturing of President Franklin³: *The statesmen of*

¹ **Edward R. Murrow** (1908-1965) is best known as a CBS broadcaster and producer during the formative years of U.S. radio and television news programmes from the 1930s to the 1950s, when radio still dominated the airwaves (although television was beginning to make its indelible mark, particularly in the US). Over the decades, numerous publications have portrayed Murrow as one of the architects of U.S. broadcast news, but in the political climate of recent years, he is increasingly viewed as a defender of rights against McCarthy-type witch hunts. Source: <http://dca.lib.tufts.edu/features/murrow/exhibit/index.html>

² source: <http://fletcher.tufts.edu/murrow/public-diplomacy.html>

³ N.J. Cull, *Public Diplomacy Before Gullion: The Evolution of a Phrase*, USC Center on Public Diplomacy, <http://uscpublicdiplomacy.com/pdfs/gullion.pdf>.

*America must recollect that, if they have to make, as they conceive, a certain impression upon us, they have also to set an example for their own people, and there are few examples so catching as those of public diplomacy*⁴.

The notion of public diplomacy again went on to be used during the First World War, although this term was also used along with *open diplomacy* as a substitute. The end of World War I was the time of the international political engagement of US President Woodrow Wilson. On 11 February 1918 he delivered a speech to Congress using the enigmatic term *public diplomacy*. The phrase *public diplomacy* endured in its idealistic Wilsonian *open covenants* sense throughout the interwar years in the rhetoric of the internationalists like James Shotwell and Clarence Streit⁵.

The term was seldom used during World War II⁶. The new era of the modern world was inaugurated with the first session of the General Assembly of the United Nations in October 1946 in London. The French Prime Minister Henri Spaak in his speech to the GA expressed the hope that the post-war era would be *the age of public diplomacy*⁷. In this case we can assume that the French politician meant multilateral diplomacy while talking about public diplomacy.

The 1950s' approach to public diplomacy was a step further in its evolution to the contemporary meaning of today. It started to be more associated with the spread of international information. The influential journalist Walter Lippman⁸ wrote *some diplomats now might argue that practice of public diplomacy and of propaganda and*

⁴ *The American president with a laudable desire*, *Times* (London) 15 Jan. 1856 p. 6.

⁵ N.J. Cull, *Public Diplomacy Before Gullion: The Evolution of a Phrase*, USC Center on Public Diplomacy, <http://uscpublicdiplomacy.com/pdfs/gullion.pdf> after 'New arms treaty arouses interest,' *New York Times*, 19 June 1924, p. 10; 'The power of Public Diplomacy,' *Christian Science Monitor*, 12 May 1928, p. 18; 'Shotwell reveals world rule plan,' *New York Times*, 19 May 1929, p. 18; 'Fathers and sons dine at Columbia,' *New York Times*, 13 February 1931, p. 27.

⁶ Op. Cit.

⁷ Arthur G. Altschul, 'Addresses by Truman, Impellitteri and Spaak at opening of the UN assembly,' 24 October 1946, p. 2.

⁸ **Walter Lippmann** – (1889 – 1974) was an American journalist, writer and philosopher. His column in *The New York Herald – Tribune* "Today and Tomorrow" won two Pulitzer Prizes and made him one of the most respected political columnist in the world. In 1917 Lippmann served as an assistant to Secretary of War Newton D. Baker. As a captain in military intelligence in 1918, Lippmann worked on Wilson's Fourteen Points programme and on preparations for the Paris Peace Conference. He also published several books, including the influential *Public Opinion* in 1922. (Sources: www.bookrags.com/biography/walter-lippmann and www.americanwriters.org).

*of psychological warfare had become such a plague' that key Soviet-American talks should be held in private*⁹.

Finally, the 1960s brought significant progress and attracted the attention of the academic world. The year 1965 is officially recognised as the beginning of the academic existence of public diplomacy. Nevertheless, it took years after this date to write the first influential book about public diplomacy.

1. 2. Definitions

In reading different definitions of public diplomacy one may come to the conclusion that it is quite risky to say that there is only one precise and verified definition of public diplomacy. Many scholars and diplomats try to approach this phenomenon. There is a broad variety of ideas and understanding of the notion. There are some spontaneous intuitive expressions made by diplomats. It is worth recalling some of them:

Public diplomacy is basically getting other people on your side.

/Richard Ross, the US envoy to the Middle East/

Public diplomacy is not about what we say but about what the other side hears.

/Charlotte Beers, former US under-secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs/.

Call it public diplomacy, call it public affairs, psychological warfare, if you really want to be blunt, propaganda.

/Richard Holbrook, US diplomat/

The purpose of public diplomacy is to influence opinion in target countries to make it easier for the British Government, British companies or other British organisations to achieve their aims. The overall image of Britain in the country concerned is of great importance – but this is not to say that it is the only factor. The

⁹ Walter Lippmann, 'Today and tomorrow: Talking about talking,' *Washington Post*, 19 November 1953, p.15.

most important factor will usually be the actual policies of the British Government and the terms in which they are announced and explained by Ministers. In most countries a broadly internationalist posture will be positive. A narrow and open pursuit of national interests at the expense of others will be negative. For example, the Government's handling of the beef crisis in the summer of 1996 had a negative effect not only on Britain's ability to get its way on the other EU issues, but also on the view taken of Britain in many non-EU countries.'

/Sir Michael Butler, former British Permanent Representative to the European Union/

Public diplomacy had started to attract the attention of the academics who had presented their own vision and attention of public diplomacy. It is worthwhile to take into account the following definitions:

- *Public Diplomacy: the strategic planning and execution of informational, cultural and educational programming by an advocate country to create a public opinion environment in a target country or countries that will enable target country political leaders to make decisions that are supportive of the advocate country's foreign policy objectives¹⁰.*
- *Public diplomacy is a government's process of communicating with foreign publics in an attempt to bring about understanding for a nation's ideas and ideals, its institutions and culture, as well as its national goals and current policies¹¹.*

¹⁰M. McClellan, *Public Diplomacy in the Context of Traditional Diplomacy*, *Favorita Papers* 01/2004, *Diplomatische Akademie Wien* p.24.

¹¹ H. N. Tuch, *Communicating with the World. US Public Diplomacy Overseas*. St. Martin's Press. New York 1990. Quoted after: J. Melissen, *Wielding Soft Power: The New Public Diplomacy*, *Clingendael Diplomacy Papers* No. 2, Hague 2005, p. 8.

- *Public diplomacy is the process by which direct relations with people in a country are pursued to advance the interests and extend the values of those being represented*¹².
- *In contrast with one-way unilateral communication, public diplomacy is...essentially dialogical and therefore implies a degree of listening. /.../ Public diplomacy may of course also have very specific short-term objectives, but is basically for the long haul and aiming at relationships that are meant to last. One might therefore very well describe public diplomacy as a form of international public relations*¹³.

Jan Melissen talks about four tasks of public diplomacy:

1. It looks for support for foreign policy aims by the public and non-official players abroad;
2. It aims at strengthening relationships with foreign, as opposed to domestic, publics;
3. It attempts to achieve greater familiarity with one's country;
4. Public diplomacy is a dialogical, largely collaborative way of working in diplomacy and it takes on board lessons from others¹⁴.

Bruce Gregory in the introduction to his article *Public Diplomacy: Sunrise of an Academic Field* presents the following question which is open to further consideration:

*Public diplomacy is a political instrument with analytical boundaries and distinguishing characteristics, but is it an academic field?*¹⁵

¹² P. Sharp, *Revolutionary States, Outlaw Regimes and the Techniques of Public Diplomacy*, Jan Melissen ed. and quoted in *Wielding Soft Power: The New Public Diplomacy*, Clingendael Diplomacy Papers No. 2, The Hague 2005. Quoted after: J. Melissen, *Wielding Soft Power: The New Public Diplomacy*, Clingendael Diplomacy Papers No. 2, Hague 2005, p. 8.

¹³ J. Melissen, *Public Diplomacy in Contemporary Diplomatic Practice*, International Conference Public Diplomacy and Media, Dubrovnik, Croatia, 7-8 November 2003; published in *Diplomatic Academy Proceedings*, Diplomatic Academy – Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Croatia, Vol. 6, Nr 1, Zagreb 2004, p. 122.

¹⁴ Op. cit. p. 121 - 122.

According to the author public diplomacy is used by states, associations of states and nonstate actors in order to:

- understand cultures, attitudes and behavior;
- build and manage relationships;
- influence opinions and actions to advance interests and values¹⁶.

On the other hand Jan Melissen sees public diplomacy as one of soft power's¹⁷ instruments.

The definitions above give some basic understanding of public diplomacy but nevertheless this notion is much more broad than these short descriptions. Mark Leonard¹⁸ brought a significant contribution into the study of public diplomacy. He expressed an important fact: public diplomacy is based on the premise that the image and reputation of a country are **public goods** which can create either an enabling or disabling environment for individual transactions¹⁹.

Speaking about Mark Leonard's contribution to the field of public diplomacy, he proposes a hierarchy of impacts that public diplomacy can achieve:

- Increasing people's familiarity with one's country (making them think about it, updating their images, turning around unfavourable opinions);

¹⁵ B. Gregory, *Public Diplomacy: Sunrise of an Academic Field*, The Annals of The American Academy of Political Social Science, Vol. 616, SAGE, March 2008, p. 274.

¹⁶ Op. cit. p. 274.

¹⁷ **Soft power** as a notion was introduced first by Joseph Nye Jr. In 1990 he pointed out that the U.S. was not only the strongest nation in military and economic terms, but also in what he called soft power. Nye defined soft power as "the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than through coercion." He also noted that soft power "could be developed through relations with allies, economic assistance, and cultural exchanges." He argued that this would result in "a more favourable public opinion and credibility abroad." Source: Tysha Bohorquez – Review of Joseph Nye Jr.'s book *Soft Power -The Means to Success in World Politics*, UCLA International Institute, <http://www.international.ucla.edu/article.asp?parentid=34734>.

¹⁸ **Mark Leonard** – born in 1974, is Executive Director of the first pan-European think-tank, the European Council on Foreign Relations (www.ecfr.eu). The think tank was launched in late 2007 with backing from the Soros Foundations Network, Frideric, the Communitas Foundation, the Sigrid Rausing Trust, and the Unicredit Group. He is also active in journalism work. His articles have appeared in The Financial Times, The International Herald Tribune, The Wall Street Journal, The Guardian, The Independent, The Daily Telegraph, Prospect, The Spectator, New Statesman, Foreign Policy, The Washington Quarterly, Country Life, Arena, The Mirror, The Express, and The Sun. Source: <http://markleonard.net/about/>.

¹⁹ M. Leonard, C. Stead, C. Smewing, *Public Diplomacy*, The Foreign Policy Centre, London 2002, p. 9.

- Increasing people's appreciation of one's country (creating positive perceptions, getting others to see issues of global importance from the same perspective);
- Engaging people with one's country (strengthening ties – from education reform to scientific co-operation; encouraging people to see it as an attractive destination for tourism, study, distance learning, getting them to buy its products, getting to understand and subscribe to its values);
- Influencing people (getting companies to invest, publics to back positions or politicians to turn to it as a favoured partner)²⁰.

1.3. Tools, methods and destination groups.

Extensive research and reading on public diplomacy gives the impression that the theoretical approach towards the tools and methods of performing public diplomacy still need improvement and development. Not many researchers undertook the attempt to present these aspects of public diplomacy. Nevertheless, one work²¹ deserves attention because the author Andrea Zurucker proposed a set of the most popular tools and methods for practicing public diplomacy:

- a) Informal negotiations
- b) Formal negotiations
- c) State visits
- d) Cooperation with Public Relations Agencies
- e) Information bureaus
- f) International media senders

²⁰ Op. cit. p. 10.

²¹ A. Zurucker, *Internationale staatliche Public Relations: die Wechselbeziehungen von Public Relations und Public Diplomacy, dargestellt am Beispiel Österreich*, Diplomarbeit, Salzburg 1997.

- g) Cultural information
- h) Personal exchanges
- i) Language courses
- j) Cultural activities
- k) Establishing international schools with an emphasis on instructing in the language of the foreign sending country²²
- l) Exchanges among universities
- m) Sport-related undertakings
- n) Tourism
- o) Cooperation in science²³.

Mark Leonard sees this issue in a slightly different way and in terms of key public diplomacy resources he mentions the following:

- a) Campaigns of proactive communication aimed at media multipliers. The course messages should be constantly promoted by the identification, promotion and placement of good news stories;
- b) Long term political relationship-building, in the form of scholarship programmes, political party links and policy exchange programmes;
- c) Interest groups and NGOs, and particularly campaigning NGOs, in order to disseminate messages to developed civil societies via their superior networks and credibility;
- d) Emphasis on the television network as the sender to the global audience²⁴.

²² For example a German high school in Warsaw with German as the language of instruction.

²³ Op. cit. p. 51 – 60.

²⁴ The resources were elaborated on the basis of the conclusion and recommendations given by Mark Leonard to the British government. M. Leonard, C. Stead, C. Smewing, *Public Diplomacy*, The Foreign Policy Centre, London 2002, p. 100 – 101.

To show a more creative and concrete way of different public diplomacy tools it is worth recalling B. Stitzinger's point of view:

The term public diplomacy covers a wide array of processes and activities which encompass a continuum form, by way of an example, the interview given by the Austrian Prime Minister to a Canadian television journalist (comprising, inter alia, the Austrian position on a contested issue) in the wake of a state visit to Canada, all the way to academic exchanges that Austrian and Japanese guest professors laid down in a Cultural Agreement signed by the Education Ministers of both countries and ratified by the respective parliaments. In the former case, the Austrian Prime Minister is speaking, by way of the media, to the Canadian people (level: government people), in the latter the two professors are performing activities of public diplomacy actually themselves and the two governments' role is confined to that of enablers and facilitators (level: people-people)²⁵.

Naturally, the variety of public diplomacy instruments varies from country to country and it is nearly impossible to enumerate all of them, but some countries have very visible and worldwide-known "instruments" and ways of transmitting their stories. We can consider the examples of Germany and the United Kingdom.

German institutions serving image cultivation abroad include the Press and Information Office of the Federal Republic (attached to the Chancellery), the foreign cultural policy section of the Foreign Office, the Goethe Institutes, The German Academic Exchange Service, The Humboldt Foundation, foundations of the political parties, The Carl Duisberg Society, Deutschlandsfunk radio, Radio Deutsche Welle, and Trans-Tel which sells German television programmes²⁶.

Great Britain has at its disposal the instruments of the British Council (language teaching, cultural exchanges, presentations and libraries). The British Council was founded in November 1934, "to make the life and thought of British people more widely known abroad and to cooperate with the Dominions and Crown

²⁵ B. Stitzinger, *Public Relations and Public Diplomacy: Some Conceptual Explorations*. This article comes from the collection of *Public Relations Research. European and International Perspectives and Innovations* (ed. A. Zerfass, B. Van Ruler, K. Sriramesh), Vs. Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, Wiesbaden 2008. p. 205.

²⁶ M. Kunczik, *Images of Nations and International Public Relations*, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, Mahwah, New Jersey 1997, p. 62.

Colonies in strengthening the common cultural traditions in the British Commonwealth”²⁷.

Focusing on the purpose of this dissertation, namely public diplomacy in Polish–Austrian relations, Beata Ociepka – a recognised Polish expert on public diplomacy - proposes the following tools, which also should be taken into account:

- civil diplomacy
- social media (Twitter and forums)
- cultural diplomacy
- sporting events (e.g. EURO 2012)
- regional cooperation (Cracow and Wrocław)
- more soft power and attracting the attention of media by Polish involvement in consultancy on democratic transition in North Africa (Tunisia)
- textbooks, school and student exchange²⁸.

The very important question which needs to be asked about public diplomacy is about its destination: who is the receiver of public diplomacy information?

There are many social groups and diverse receivers of the message of public diplomacy. As the most significant I propose:

- a) Diplomatic circles
- b) Business association and clubs
- c) Journalists, editors in chief
- d) University professors and academic faculty
- e) Students
- f) Schoolboys and schoolgirls
- g) Non-Governmental Organisations
- h) Diaspora circles
- i) Artistic circles and owners of private galleries

²⁷ Op. cit. 63.

²⁸ Interview with Professor Beata Ociepka – appendix nr 5.

j) The directors of national museums and galleries

k) Writers

Nevertheless, we should not forget that the most basic receiver of public diplomacy is the “broad audience”, called by Andrea Zurucker “breite Masse”, and efficient and successfully-planned public diplomacy should “reach” as many citizens of the receiver–target country as possible. Naturally, the most natural way to reach the mass audience is to use the mass media, but this is a task for a skillful public diplomat to attract the attention of the mass media, both public and private. Such a diplomat should have multiple contacts, respect and charisma not only among fellow diplomats, but also among journalists, reporters and publishers in a hosting country.

In the case of the particular example of public diplomacy in Polish–Austrian relations all the above mentioned receivers are important, but my research showed that the greatest potential to improve the *status quo* is to focus more on youth, especially on high school pupils and university students, because they already show an interest in Poland and they will be the leaders of the future. Polish ministries should invest more on youth exchange programmes in education and to facilitate the movement of youth from Austria and Poland, because the best way to overcome stereotypes is through direct contact.

1.4. Dimensions of public diplomacy

Discussing the complexities of public diplomacy we should bear in mind that we do not deal with a single stable linear process. The most interesting three-dimensional model²⁹ was proposed by Mark Leonard:

²⁹ M. Leonard, C. Stead, C. Smewing, *Public Diplomacy*, The Foreign Policy Centre, London 2002, p. 10.

Table 1.

Purpose	Reactive (hours and days)	Proactive (weeks and months)	Relationship building (years)
<hr/>			
Political/Military			
<hr/>			
Economic			
<hr/>			
Societal/Cultural			

Reactive – News Management

This dimension of public diplomacy should be understood as informing the public about the day-to-day issues, as well as dealing with any unforeseen crises. This circle of public diplomacy activity is characterised by a limited and short time to react as well as unpredictability.

Proactive – Strategic Communications

Strategic communication is a set of activities more like a political campaign: setting a number of strategic messages, and planning a series of activities over a year or so to reinforce them³⁰. Proactive public diplomacy, unlike the reactive one, has a certain goal to achieve and undertakes its action to achieve this. Generally, the objective is to promote a hosting country and provide better knowledge about its politics, culture, business, religion, art etc. in the receiving country.

Relationship-building

Relationship-building is the final stage of development in the public diplomacy dimension. The major difference from the two first dimensions is that the relationship-building is no longer about sending the appropriate messages to the public

³⁰ Op. cit. p. 15.

of the receiving country. It is already at a much more advanced level. The citizens of the receiving country already have knowledge and certain associations about the sending country. The most effective instruments for building enduring relationships are scholarships, visits and other exchange programmes that require complex planning and administration and come with a high unit cost³¹.

1.5. Public diplomacy as a form of international communication.

The research and study on international communication has a relatively short tradition, because the most important developments in founding this field of social science as founded by Wilbur Schramm were dated in the 1950s in the USA. There are researchers, like Beata Ociepka, who treat public diplomacy as a form of international political communication. According to Jerzy Olędzki, international communication means a permanent and inevitable process of social communication in the world, in which all means of mass media, people, national and supranational institutions, international organisations, corporations, works of art and material goods participate³². One of the most traditional forms of international communication is the diplomatic transmission of information, simply: diplomacy³³. The development of communications technologies and actors like NGOs enabled a new style of diplomacy directed towards mass audiences³⁴. This progress made it possible that diplomacy and access to information about foreign policies stopped being the sole privilege of narrow diplomatic circles and broader audiences could have a critical insight as well.

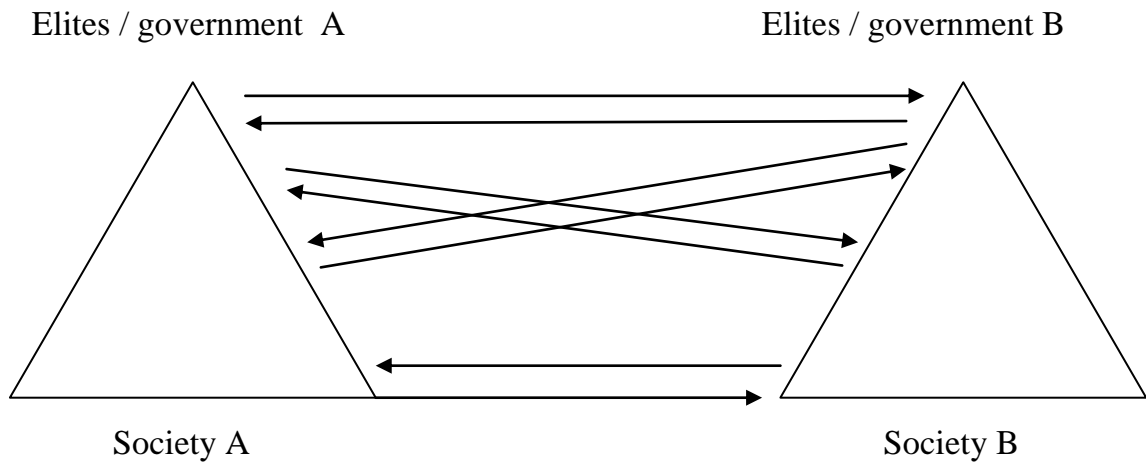
³¹ Op. cit. p. 20.

³² After Beata Ociepka, *Komunikowanie międzynarodowe*, Astrum, Wrocław 2002; J. Olędzki, *Komunikowanie w świecie*, Warszawa 1998, p. 20.

³³ B. Ociepka, *Komunikowanie Międzynarodowe*, Astrum, Wrocław 2002, p. 19.

³⁴ Op. cit. p. 19.

W. Ph. Davison – process of interaction in international communication³⁵



This model distinguishes three levels of international communication:

1. *Elite communication* - the mutual interaction and influence of the elites of the countries A and B. It is the oldest primary form of international communication.
2. *Diagonal communication* - all forms of communication, which elites of country A send directly to the society of country B and conversely from country B to A. This is mostly done by means of mass communication (radio, television, film and press).
3. *Civilisation and cultural influence of societies* – depends on direct contacts of citizens from country A and country B or through other transmissions or material products. This level of communication leads to the diffusion of cultures³⁶.

H. Molany proposes other classifications of the levels of international communication:

³⁵ The diagram and the description of the levels of communication were found in the book of J. Olędzki, *Communication in the World (pol. Komunikowanie w świecie)*, ASPRA-JR, Warsaw 2001 p. 25 on the basis of the original source: W. Ph. Davison, *Mass Communication and Diplomacy*. World Politics, New York, 1976.

³⁶ Op. cit. p. 25.

- **interstate level**

international political communication

international economic communication

international strategic communication

diplomacy as a means which facilitates communication on the interstate level

- **level of international communication through the mediation of media**

mass media

press agencies

media corporations and producer groups

- **international interpersonal and group communication**

diplomacy

cooperation of NGOs

exchange and cooperation

representatives of culture, science and art

meetings of informal groups and subcultures

meetings of religious groups³⁷.

Speaking about international communication it is crucial to understand the broader context, namely the intercultural communications which apply to interpersonal contacts of people who belong to different cultures³⁸. G. Maletzke defines this phenomenon as a process of exchanges of thoughts and meanings between people representing different cultures³⁹. According to George Boden, to make the process of intercultural communication possible between two individuals, five axioms of cultural orientation must be understood. This will deliver new knowledge as to why certain attempts at communications fail⁴⁰. Let us consider them:

³⁷ B. Ociepka, *Komunikowanie międzynarodowe*, Astrum, Wrocław 2002, p. 21 – 22.

³⁸ Op. cit. p. 23.

³⁹ After Beata Ociepka, *Komunikowanie międzynarodowe*, Astrum, Wrocław 2002: H.D. Fischer, *Forms and Functions of Supranational Communication*. [From: *International Communication. Media, Channels, Functions*. Ed. By H.D. Fischer and J. Calhoun, Merril, New York 1970 p. 97].

⁴⁰ B. Ociepka, *Komunikowanie międzynarodowe*, Astrum, Wrocław 2002, p. 23.

- Axiom 1 – communication takes place only when both its participants have the intention to do so. The relation of mutuality is essential here.
- Axiom 2 – is based on the dependency of understanding of the communication limits established by the two communication individuals.
- Axiom 3 – introduces the term cultural competence, which means that understanding of the communications process depends on how much we can decode our culture and the culture of the of the other person. The competence means the ability to use different systems of signs.
- Axiom 4 – the understanding of the second culture depends on the level of knowledge of our own culture and the system of values of the second person.
- Axiom 5 – has a cognitive character and according to it the understanding of communication process depends on the fact of how much we understand the cognitive categories in our and the other culture we are dealing with⁴¹.

I believe that the most important criterion is the intention to communicate as a precondition of mutual and harmonious understanding. People must want to meet the other and be open to new qualities and values.

1.6. Public diplomacy versus international public relations – what is the correlation?

Can public diplomacy be reduced to the simple juxtaposition of public relations service on the state level instead of a corporate or a firm level? In simple words, public relations is about preserving and spreading out a good reputation in a true and ethical way. This is about having good inner and outer communications, perfect spokespersons, excellent crisis management, taking part in charity events, a socially responsible business etc. All these undertakings are about positive image-building and naturally the media is the most crucial messenger here. There is a significant link between these two terms.

⁴¹ The axioms of George Boden`s theory were elaborated on the basis of Beata Ociepka`s book: B. Ociepka, *Komunikowani międzynarodowe*, Astrum, Wrocław 2002, p. 25 – 27.

Signitzer and Coombs argued that PR and public diplomacy are very similar because they seek similar objectives and employ similar tools. They define public diplomacy as “the way in which both government and private individuals and groups influence directly or indirectly those public attitudes and opinions which bear directly on another government’s foreign policy decisions”⁴².

The main objective of international PR is to establish or maintain an already existing positive image of one’s nation, that is, to appear trustworthy to other actors in the world system. Trust is no abstract concept. In the field of international policy, trust is an important factor in mobilising resources, for example, and in receiving political and/or material support from other nations. In other words, if other actors in the world system place their trust in one’s nations, in her future because of her reliability, trust becomes the equivalent of money.⁴³

As we can see, the notion of international public relations is frequently used in close linkage with public diplomacy. Wilcox, Ault and Agee defined international public relations as the planned and organised effort of a company, institutions or government to establish mutually beneficial relations with the policies of other nations⁴⁴. Having given this definition we distinctly see “the close brotherhood” of public diplomacy with public relations. The tools elaborated on by the very extensive study of public relations can be for sure creatively used in the preparation of public diplomacy campaigns.

1.7. Public diplomacy as a public good – introduction to the economic approach.

The importance of public diplomacy can also be traced in the economy, especially in light of the comparative advantage theory. Public diplomacy is based on

⁴² E. Gilboa *Searching for a Theory of Public Diplomacy*, The Annals of The American Academy of Political and Social Science *Public Diplomacy in a Changing World*, Philadelphia 2008, p. 57.

⁴³ M. Kunczik, *Images of Nations and International Public Relations*, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, Mahwah, New Jersey 1997, p. 74.

⁴⁴ Op. cit. p. 58.

the premise that the image and reputation of a country are public goods which can create either an enabling or a disabling environment for individual transactions⁴⁵.

Before going to the further example, let us consider the theoretical meaning of the public good in the economy:

An item whose consumption is not decided by the individual consumer but by the society as a whole, and which is financed by taxation. A public good (or service) may be consumed without reducing the amount available for others, and cannot be withheld from those who do not pay for it. Public goods (and services) include economic statistics and other information, law-and-order enforcement, national defense, national parks, etc. No market exists for such goods, and they must be provided to everyone by the government⁴⁶.

The ideal public good has two main qualities: its benefits are non-rivalrous in consumption and non-excludable⁴⁷. Nevertheless, *The Penguin Dictionary of Economics*⁴⁸ mentions a third quality. Public goods are often non-rejectable – individuals cannot abstain from their consumption even if they want to⁴⁹. Greg Mankiw, a recognised Harvard professor of economics, has mentioned the three most important public goods:

- 1.National Defense
- 2.Basic research
- 3.Fighting poverty⁵⁰.

In this view, public diplomacy is also a public good, but can also be a public “bad”, because a citizen of a defamed country cannot escape from the distorted and disregarded country. The basic and most important public goods, such as national

⁴⁵ Op. cit. p. 10.

⁴⁶ <http://www.businessdictionary.com/definition/public-good.html>

⁴⁷ I. Kaul, I. Grunberg, M. A. Stern (edt.), *Global Public Goods*, Oxford University Press 1999, p. 3.

⁴⁸ G. Bannock, R.E. Baxter, E. Davis, *The Penguin Dictionary of Economics*, Penguin Books, London 2002.

⁴⁹ Op. cit. p. 316.

⁵⁰ N.G. Mankiw, *Principles of Economics*, Third Edition, Thomson South Western 2004 , p. 226 – 228.

defense, peace, macroeconomic management, law and order, fortunate foreign policy, and transport infrastructure (including traffic lights) enable the existence of the private wellbeing of an individual.

1.8. Public diplomacy versus nation branding.

That company was Nokia, after a town of that name on a river of that name in southwest Finland.

As the decade progressed, Nokia advanced its multinational interests and expanded its work force, becoming the engine of Finland's economy, representing two thirds of the stock market's value and a fifth of the country's total exports.

/Not in Finland Anymore? More like Nokialand – The New York Times⁵¹/.

Nokia started its history of success with the establishment of a paper mill at the Tammerkoski Rapids in Southwestern Finland in 1865⁵². Later on, a rubber and cable business was developed, and finally in 1960 the first electronics department was opened. In 1967 Nokia Ab, Finnish Rubber and Finnish Cable formally merged and created Nokia Corporation.⁵³ The mobile phones produced by Nokia earned a solid reputation among international customers and thus it provided grounds for general good associations with Finland.

Can a product of a national economy do something useful for the country's image, reputation, and recognition in the world? Or should the public diplomats be the ones to work on the favourable image of the country? This latter option seems to be highly problematic when many countries have limited budgets for their diplomatic staff and public diplomacy events. A useful tool may be the business sector.

Before further analysis let us consider the theoretical meaning of a brand:

⁵¹

<http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9500E2DC1E3DF935A35751C0A9649C8B63&sec=&spon=&pagewanted=1>

⁵² Source: <http://www.nokia.com/about-nokia/company/story-of-nokia/nokias-first-century>

⁵³ Op. cit.

Branding - Entire process involved in creating a unique name and image for a product (good or service) in the consumers' mind, through advertising campaigns with a consistent theme. Branding aims to establish a significant and differentiated presence in the market that attracts and retains loyal customers⁵⁴. Brands are a subject to the trademark laws with regulatory international authorities so they cannot be used freely by others. Branding is crucial in marketing for many products and companies.

According to Mark Leonard, brands have become one of the most important channels for transmitting national identities to consumers. Whereas earlier generations may have identified countries primarily through their history, political institutions or high culture, today brands can form an important part of the national image of some countries⁵⁵. This phenomenon should be applied in a more complex way and many examples show that many global companies follow their individual corporate cultures rather than striving to be associated with the country of origin. “Global brands, some mass market like Nike, Coca-Cola, Burger King, others expensive like Prada, Gucci and Hermes demonstrate the individual’s need for self-definition. These global brands also provide the comfort of representing an idea – youth, energy, good taste, money and so on. Individuals from every nation seem to be susceptible to this extraordinary phenomenon. While brand loyalty is no substitute for nationality, it certainly complements it”⁵⁶.

Nevertheless, there are visible examples where the global reach of the company gets along with national identity. This example is seen in IKEA, the corporation of Swedish origin. The very first look at any of IKEA shops painted with blue and yellow colors brings the association with the Swedish flag. Although IKEA products are furniture designed for the middle class worldwide, there are also small shops with Swedish food available in the huge IKEA malls.

⁵⁴ <http://www.businessdictionary.com/definition/branding.html>

⁵⁵ M. Leonard, C. Stead, C. Smewing, *Public Diplomacy*, The Foreign Policy Centre, London 2002, p. 65.

⁵⁶ Wally Olins argument quoted in op. cit. p. 68.

Jacek Żakowski interviewed Ingvar Kamprad for the Polish weekly *Polityka* and one of the answers of the IKEA founder deserves to be recalled:

*There is no second firm, which would do as much for Sweden as IKEA does. Would the Vietnamese people know anything about Sweden without us? This is the sign of our patriotism. And if a firm can legally decrease paying taxes, it should do it. Each firm has a duty to earn, save and invest in its development. I am a Swedish patriot. I am also a patriot of the firms, which I have created*⁵⁷.

This fragment of the interview with the leader of the global corporation can lead to the conclusion that connecting the brand with the wellbeing of the national identity is possible, nevertheless it is neither the priority nor a duty of the CEOs, but rather down to good will.

Jan Melissen explains this phenomenon in the following way: nation-branding accentuates a country's identity and reflects its aspirations, but it cannot move beyond existing social realities. The art of branding is often about reshaping a country's self-image and moulding its identity in a way that makes the rebranded nation stand out. In particular it is about the articulation and projection of identity⁵⁸.

This leads to the simple conclusion that the branding of national products can play a helpful role in changing a country's image worldwide. It is important, because there are now three areas in which nations are in direct and overt competition with each other. These are:

- Brand export
- Foreign direct investment
- Tourism⁵⁹.

⁵⁷ *Mister IKEA*, *Polityka* 1 April 2005, <http://www.polityka.pl/mister-ikea/Text03,1450,165957,16/>.

⁵⁸ J. Melissen, *The New Public Diplomacy: Between Theory and Practice*, from *The New Public Diplomacy. Soft Power in International Relations*, Palgrave Macmillan 2005, p. 20.

⁵⁹ W. Olins, *Making a National Brand*, from *The New Public Diplomacy. Soft Power in International Relations*, Palgrave Macmillan 2005, p. 172.

National branding is still a weak point in the case of Poland. There are hardly any Polish brands which are recognised internationally. That was also one of the most difficult questions to answer by the young Austrians who took the survey. Nevertheless, a few of them were able to mention some Polish alcoholic beverages, like vodka Wyborowa and Żubrówka. Additionally, they pointed out firms, like Wedel, Tymbark and Hortex. There is an urgent need to improve the promotion of Polish national products in Europe. The current situation is, according Włodzimierz Szeląg, the result of inconsistency with strategy because the personnel responsible for it were changing over and they did not continue the work of their predecessors.

1.9. Public diplomacy a challenge for transformational diplomacy.

Condoleeza Rice⁶⁰ delivered a speech on 18th January 2006 at Georgetown University presenting a new notion and challenge for American diplomacy, namely *transformational diplomacy*. In her speech she presented the following explanation for the term:

I would like to define the objective of transformational diplomacy this way: to work with our many partners around the world to build and sustain democratic, well-governed states that will respond to the needs of their people - and conduct themselves responsibly in the international system... Transformational diplomacy is rooted in partnership, not paternalism – in doing things with other people, not for them. We seek to use America’s diplomatic power to help foreign citizens to better their own lives, and to build their own nations, and to transform their own futures... Now, to advance transformational diplomacy all around the world, we in the State Department must rise to answer a new historic calling. We must begin to lay new diplomatic foundations to secure a future of freedom for all people. Like the great changes of the past, the new efforts we undertake today will not be completed tomorrow. Transforming the State

⁶⁰ **Condoleeza Rice** - from January 2005 to 2009, she served as the 66th Secretary of State of the United States. Before serving as America’s chief diplomat, she served as assistant to the President for National Security Affairs (National Security Advisor) from January 2001 to 2005. Rice joined the Stanford University faculty as a professor of political science in 1981 and served as Stanford University’s Provost from 1993 to 1999. Source: <http://www.hoover.org/bios/rice.html>.

*Department is the work of a generation. But it is urgent work that cannot be deferred*⁶¹.

One of the crucial axes for transformational diplomacy, besides global repositioning, is new localisation as a regional focus. Despite the significant American representation of the diplomatic corps there are nearly 200 cities worldwide with over a million people where America has no formal diplomatic presence⁶². It seems to be impossible to face contemporary challenges looking through the framework of the country boundaries alone. In support of a regional focus the Department of State mentions:

- **Regional Public Diplomacy Centres.** Regional public diplomacy platforms are being established in Europe and the Middle East. These centres will take America's story directly to the people and the regional television media in real time and in the appropriate language.
- **Effective Forward Deployment.** Diplomats are travelling to their areas of responsibility more regularly than ever, using their expertise and experience more effectively abroad.
- **Regional Centres.** Information technology will allow work to be done anywhere in the world. Regional Centres of Excellence such as in Frankfurt, Ft. Lauderdale, and Charleston, South Carolina, will perform management support activities such as human resources or financial management⁶³.

Condoleeza Rice delivered a concrete example in her speech concerning the Middle East:

⁶¹ Source: <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2006/59339.htm>

⁶² The Fact Sheet – Office of the Spokesman of the U.S. Department of State, Washington D.C. January 18, 2006. Source: <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2006/59339.htm>.

⁶³ Op. cit.

*In the Middle East, for example, as you well know, a vast majority of people get their news from a regional media network like Al Jazeera, not from a local newspaper. So our diplomats must tell America's story not just in translated op-eds, but live on TV in Arabic for a regional audience. To make this happen, we are creating a regional diplomacy centre. We are forward deploying our best Arabic-speaking diplomats and we are broadly coordinating our public diplomacy strategy both for a region and from the region*⁶⁴.

The unfortunate war in Iraq significantly decreased the trust and respect for U.S. foreign policy during the George W. Bush administration. The time for a new solution has come and there is a huge task for public diplomacy to tell a new American story.

We can observe premises of public diplomacy appreciation from the side of President Barack Obama in the New Year 2012 speech to the people of Iran on the occasion of Nowruz.

1.10. An image as an important term in public diplomacy analysis.

Public diplomacy and international public relations have been invented in a way to work closely with so-called “image”. Before we go to the professional definitions of image, let us consider several preliminary examples. I would like to recall a short passage from the conference speech of Prof. Melissen in Madrid in 2006: *Ministries of foreign affairs in all corners of the world pay more and more attention to their countries' reputation overseas, from Chile to Japan and from Canada to Indonesia. /.../*

Speaking in Spain about public diplomacy is a little daunting. /.../ Spain is among the best examples of modern, successful nation branding, because it keeps building on what truly exists. /.../ The positive effects of country's external reputation management will only last if they are based on reality and overseas perceptions are not easily managed. Not only are foreign publics pretty elusive target groups for public diplomats, they are also the first to benefit from the democratisation of information.

⁶⁴ Source: <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2006/59339.htm>

Many countries in Central and Eastern Europe are for instance facing more adverse reports in the international press than they can handle /.../ Spain has a strong brand, delivered by the people of Spain⁶⁵.

What we can deduct from this short passage is the impression and probably also a conviction, that Spain has a positive image and brings worldwide positive associations with its beauty, culture, language etc... whereas East and Central European countries, like Poland, Slovakia, The Czech Republic and Hungary do not have this luxury when it comes to this issue. Nevertheless, in recent years problems related to the economic crisis, debts and the enormous unemployment rate among young Spaniards have modified the image of Spain associated with a European paradise. The pictures of young unemployed people at the Catalonia Place in Barcelona led to the reflection that there is an urgent need for social reforms.

Let us consider what “image” actually means.

The term “image” is in a way alternatively used to stereotype by the reaches dealing with the attitudes to different national and ethnic groups⁶⁶. According to the Polish researcher Kazimierz Wajda, an image consists of imaginations, points of view and judgements about a given people⁶⁷.

Tomasz Szarota proposed another definition of an image, which can be understood as a generalised assessment (a judgement, opinion) about a certain national or ethnic group, which includes not only the elements of traditional stereotype, but also the ascertainment derived from own observations and experiences⁶⁸.

⁶⁵ Jan Melissen – *Public Diplomacy Between Theory and Practice*; The Madrid Conference on Public Diplomacy - October 10th 2006 (Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Madrid & Elcano Royal Institute for International and Strategic Studies).

⁶⁶ K. Golemo, *Obraz Polski i Polaków we Włoszech. Poglądy, oceny, opinie*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Kraków 2010, p. 35.

⁶⁷ Op. cit. p. 35 After Z. Bokszański, *Obrazy innych etnicznych a tożsamość narodowa, Kultura i Społeczeństwo*, nr. 4/1995.

⁶⁸ Op. cit. p. 35 – 36. After T. Szarota, *Polak w karykaturze niemieckiej (1914 – 1944) Przyczynek do badań stereotypów narodowych*, edited by W. Wrzesiński, *Wokół stereotypów Polaków i Niemców, Wrocław 1991*. (After Z. Bokszański, *Stereotypy a kultura*, Funna Wrocław 2001).

It is very important to ask ourselves how the images are created. How does it happen in human psychology that such mental pictures of different nations or ethnic groups are created?

I think that these processes of image-creation are interacting at many levels. First of all, an image can be created because of personal experience with a country or a citizen (citizens) and having a first impression which can affect somehow a later judgement. According to Beata Ociepka, what is extremely important is the content of textbooks and messages and what children hear about different nations and countries from their parents, in what also constitutes very strong future judgements. Finally, the critical role which teenagers play in their group of peers and the need for acceptance will also affect certain judgements.

Nightingale and Halloran proposed the categorisation of different types and levels of relations producing a great variety of different, even contradictory images that different groups of people might have and which are related to the general image of a country:

1. The level of *relations between two countries* (current, historical, and future expectations); for example the idea of Hungary on the part of Austrian may be influenced by a fact of a common history etc.
2. The level of the *institutions* in which a person is involved in the broader sense: for example an Austrian university professor with a private interest in XIXth century impressionist painting: his image of France will be quite differently shaped from that of his colleague without such interests.
3. The level of *personal relations and experiences* with the other country; obviously people develop their national images also in the context of touristic travel, student exchanges, relations with relatives, friends and colleagues abroad, migration movements and the like⁶⁹.

⁶⁹ B. Signitzer, *Public Relations and Public Diplomacy: Some Conceptual Explorations*, article comes from the collection of *Public Relations Research. European and International Perspectives and Innovations* (ed. A. Zerfass, B. Van Ruler, K. Srirmesh), Vs. Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, Wiesbaden 2008, p. 211.

This piece of thought can be concluded with a loose enumeration of images presented by an Israeli researcher on public diplomacy, Eytan Gilboa:

The United States, for example, is associated with self-expression and technology, Germany with engineering and quality products, Japan with miniaturisation, Italy with style, France with chic, Britain with class, Sweden with design, the Catholic church with the Crucifix and the Arab world with Al-Jazeera.

/.../ States failing to establish “relevant brand equity” will not be able to successfully compete economically and politically in the new world system⁷⁰.

1.11. Stereotypes and prejudices versus public diplomacy.

The following notions: national identity and stereotypes, are very significant in the further discourse on public diplomacy. Giving new knowledge and defeating the old negative stereotypes are two of the most important challenges for public diplomacy.

Speaking about prejudices and stereotypes we need to define the differences in meaning. The prejudices according to R. Seebauer are a process of “pre-judging” something. In general, it implies coming to a judgment on the subject before learning where the preponderance of the evidence actually lies, or formation of a judgment without direct experience⁷¹. The American researchers J.F. Dovidio, J.C. Brigham, B.T. Johnson and S.L. Gaertner in the article *Stereotyping, prejudices and discrimination: approach from a different perspective*⁷² write that a prejudice should be first of all understood as a negative attitude. They quote also G.W. Allport (1954), who described a prejudice as a bias against somebody based on fault and excessive generalisation. A prejudice might either be felt by somebody or expressed.

⁷⁰ E. Gilboa *Searching for a Theory of Public Diplomacy*, The Annals of The American Academy of Political and Social Science *Public Diplomacy in a Changing World*, Philadelphia 2008, p. 67.

⁷¹ R. Seebauer, *Attitudes, attitude change and prejudice – the cornerstone of social psychology*, article from the *Mosaik Europa*, LIT, Vienna – Münster, 2006. p. 102.

⁷² C.N. Macrae, Ch. Stangor, M. Hewstone, *Stereotypy i uprzedzenia. Najnowsze ujęcie*, Gdańskie Wydawnictwo Psychologiczne, Gdańsk 1999, p. 225 – 260.

According to Allport, showing off the prejudice can have many dimensions, from very innocent ones, like a little discriminative small talk or an ethnic joke to the extreme forms, like lynching, pogroms, and genocide, as we all know from history.

Allport presented the following hierarchy:

1. **Antilocution** – People just talk about their prejudices with others. (Jokes as well).
2. **Avoidance** – a prejudiced person avoids the members of the disliked group.
3. **Discrimination** – a prejudiced person undertakes to exclude the members of disliked group from privileges and opportunities, like employment, housing, political rights, recreational opportunities etc.
4. **Physical attack** – a prejudice leads to an act of violence.
5. **Extermination** – Lynchings, pogroms, massacres, holocaust, genocide are the ultimate degree of violent expression of prejudice⁷³.

According to Allport, prejudice is not a constant process and it has its dynamics which develop from frustration to projection⁷⁴.

1. Frustration
2. Agression and hatred
3. Anxiety, sex, guilt
4. Projection⁷⁵.

The theoretical approach to prejudices shows how dangerous this socio-psychological phenomenon can be and even innocent premises of prejudices on a public level should not be overlooked. Nevertheless, some researchers undertook an

⁷³ Allport G.W., *The Nature of Prejudice*, Addison – Wesley Publishing Company, Inc. Cambridge MA, 1954, p. 14 – 15.

⁷⁴ **Projection** - may be defined as the tendency to attribute falsely to other people motives or traits that are our own or that in some way explain or justify our own. (Allport, Op. cit p. 382.)

⁷⁵ Op. cit. p. 343 – 392.

attempt to discover how to diminish and reduce prejudices. According to Brown (1986), two factors seem to be more effective than any others in reducing prejudices:

- Non-competitive contact of an equal status;
- The pursuit of common goals which are only attainable by cooperation.

Contact with a single person who contradicts previous stereotypes may reduce prejudice⁷⁶.

Stereotype apparently seems to have a synonymous meaning to that of prejudice, however its connotation differs slightly. The father of this notion is Walter Lippmann⁷⁷, who described a stereotype as a *mental picture*, which helps to deal with complex surroundings through simplifying the social environment⁷⁸. Lippmann was inspired by the printing industry, while searching the appropriate name for the phenomenon of stereotyping and the technical process of making multiple copies of the same picture in the printing house which brought the association with a similar act in human minds.

We deal with a stereotype when:

- Our emotions, judgments, attitudes (and readiness to certain actions) are reactions not to our own experience, but to a keyword in our mind, which brings the above emotions, judgments, attitudes. These keywords may be a Jew, a Greek, a Pole etc...
- A keyword induces an emotional reaction, which results in judgment and attitude and this process is mechanical towards all members of the class, which are united under a single key word.

⁷⁶ After Brown: R. Seebauer, *Attitudes, attitude change and prejudice – the cornerstone of social psychology*, article from the *Mosaik Europa*, LIT, Vienna – Münster, 2006, p. 104.

⁷⁷ **Walter Lippmann** – (1889 – 1974) was an American writer, journalist and political commentator. His column in *The New York Herald – Tribune* “Today and Tomorrow” won two Pulitzer Prizes and made him one of the most respected political columnist in the world. He has also published several books, including the influential *Public Opinion* in 1922. He is also regarded as a significant contributor to the study on stereotypes and prejudices. Upon Harvard graduation he published a book *A Preface to Politics (1913)* a penetrating critique of popular prejudices. (Sources: www.americanwriters.org).

⁷⁸ C.N. Macrae, Ch. Stangor, M. Hewstone, *Stereotypy I uprzedzenia. Najnowsze ujęcie*, Gdańskie Wydawnictwo Psychologiczne, Gdańsk 1999, p. 228.

- Stereotypes give regard to matters of social life and have social character.
- A single stereotype is always connected to a single keyword or a linguistic expression. A word serves as a password to bring up special intellectual content, a feeling or an attitude.
- Stereotypes always contain certain judgments, assessments and they always have emotional load⁷⁹.

The most significant characteristic of stereotypes is that they are extremely difficult to change or eradicate naturally if one deals with an individual or a group which presents attachment to certain stereotypes and prejudices. The reason for this is the genesis of stereotypes usually impacted by education and the pressure towards public opinion⁸⁰.

Having this definition in mind we may wonder what need we have for stereotypes? There are several functions for them:

1. To deliver information (Oakes and Turner, 1990);
2. To have better understanding and explanation for other people`s behavior and to induce higher clarification in social events (Hewstone, 1989, Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel and Forgas, 1981);
3. To facilitate communication through using a keyword for simplifying⁸¹.
For example a Jew = mean, sly, rude, rich, greedy; a feminist = an arrogant, unattractive woman; a Negro = a lazy, poor, primitive, sexually obsessed man etc.

The idea of self-fulfilling prediction can be a particularly harmful source of stereotype confirmation by the dominating group, because they can present the proofs of the stereotype “righteousness”. People interpret, explain and remember the

⁷⁹ A. Schaff, *Stereotypy a działanie ludzkie*, Książka i Wiedza, Warszawa 1981, p. 38 – 39.

⁸⁰ Op. cit. p. p. 41 – 42.

⁸¹ C.N. Macrae, Ch. Stangor, M. Hewstone, *Stereotypy i uprzedzenia. Najnowsze ujęcie*, Gdańskie Wydawnictwo Psychologiczne, Gdańsk 1999, p. 30 – 31.

behaviours of other people in a way that they justify the stereotypes they have in their minds⁸².

1.12. Professional work in public diplomacy. A public diplomat?

It is very important to consider who is actually responsible for public diplomacy. The Government? The Foreign Ministry? The Ambassador, press attaché, information officer, cultural attaché, information officer? These questions are difficult to answer, because the situation differs from country to country, but nevertheless public diplomacy should be the concern of all of them.

Ernst Sucharipa⁸³, in his essay *The Future of Diplomacy: Challenges and Tools for the 21st Century Diplomacy*⁸⁴ used the term "a public diplomat" to describe the new challenges and tasks which the modern diplomat is likely to face:

The diplomat today is also a communicator and mediator of positions of their own country vis-à-vis all sections of the politically informed public in his country.

*The main business of discreet and confidential dealings with the foreign ministry has to be complemented by public diplomacy aimed at explaining and canvassing support for positions before government circles, parliament, the political parties, the business community, the social partners, the media and the representatives of academic and cultural life*⁸⁵.

This definition gives a general overview, however it does not give the precise explanation about the scope of duties and responsibilities of the particular diplomats in the outpost (mission). In practice the main work concerning public diplomacy is delegated to the diplomats employed in the public and/or cultural affairs department of the diplomatic mission.

⁸² Op. cit. p. 133.

⁸³ **Ernst Sucharipa** – former Director of the Diplomatic Academy of Vienna. Former Permanent Representative of Austria to the UN, New York, Political Director, and Chief of Cabinet for the Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs. Source: Favorita Papers, 01/2004, Diplomatische Akademie Wien.

⁸⁴ E. Sucharipa, *The Future of Diplomacy and Tools for the 21st Century Diplomacy*, Favorita Papers, 01/2004, Diplomatische Akademie Wien.

⁸⁵ Op. cit. p. 15.

William A. Rugh in his essay *Enabling Public Diplomacy Field Officers to Do Their Jobs*⁸⁶ drew a dividing line between traditional diplomats and public diplomats. Nevertheless, they are still employees of the same ministry of foreign affairs and the same diplomatic outpost. William A. Rugh presents the following differences:

- Traditional diplomats are primarily responsible for representing our foreign policy and reporting to Washington, while public diplomacy (PD) professionals must not only explain policy but also convey an understanding of American domestic politics, society, and culture.
- Traditional diplomats are responsible for engaging primarily with host country officials, PD professionals engage with a wide variety of opinion leaders in various fields, namely anyone who is an opinion leader or influential in communication, whether in the media, academia, the arts or elsewhere.
- Traditional diplomats work mostly on classified matters while PD professionals work almost entirely in the open on an unclassified basis.
- PD professionals – unlike traditional diplomats - are also "programmers," who facilitate meetings and dialogues between Americans and foreigners by organising a whole range of activities - lectures, seminars, exchange programmes, press events, website content, etc. - which allow these encounters to take place⁸⁷.

Therefore he stresses the following skills, in this case for the American public diplomats:

- follow local public opinion closely from many different sources, including the media, and through contacts with a wide variety of people, not just official contacts;
- have excellent communication skills, to act as embassy spokesman, conduct interviews with the local media, and give public presentations, which the traditional diplomat rarely does;

⁸⁶ The Public Diplomacy Council Paper, Dec. 2008

<http://www.publicdiplomacycouncil.org/uploads/rugh.enablingpdfjobs.pdf>

⁸⁷ Op. cit. p. 3.

- be proficient in the local language, in order to communicate, one-on-one or in groups, with audiences who have limited or no English;
- be able, beginning with his or her first assignment abroad, to manage a much larger professional staff of Foreign Service Nationals than the traditional diplomat, whose FSN staff is small and has no access to much of the office`s work because it is classified⁸⁸.

Nicholas J. Cull, who is a recognised professor of public diplomacy from the University of South Carolina in Annenberg, proposed a summary of public diplomacy *know-how* for those who work on this issue. The proposal was presented in the article *Public Diplomacy: Seven Lessons for its Future from the Past*.

These lessons are:

Lesson 1 – Public diplomacy begins with listening.

Lesson 2 - Public diplomacy must be connected to policy. The golden rule of public diplomacy is that *what counts is not what you say but what you do*.

Lesson 3 – Public diplomacy is not a performance for domestic consumption.

Lesson 4 – Effective public diplomacy requires credibility, but this has implications.

Lesson 5 – Sometimes the most credible voice is not one`s own. Some of the most effective cases of public diplomacy are when the state steps back or empowers others to tell their story.

Lesson 6 – Public diplomacy is not always “about you”. Public diplomacy is about advancing foreign diplomacy and it may not necessarily concern the image of the state – it may be directed rather at engineering a general improvement of the international environment, or empowering indigenous voices within a target state or states.

Lesson 7 – Public diplomacy is everyone`s business. (No less significantly, the citizen plays a role in promoting the message or image that the public diplomat is seeking to project to the world⁸⁹).

⁸⁸ Op. cit. p.3.

⁸⁹ N.J. Cull, *Public Diplomacy: Seven Lessons for its Future From the Past*, Place Branding and Public Diplomacy, Vol. 6, Macmillian Publishers Ltd. 2010, p. 11 – 15.

1.12.1. Case study: Queen Rania Al Abdullah of Jordan and a special form of public diplomacy.



Source: TIME⁹⁰

Queen Rania of Jordan⁹¹ is a particular example of a public diplomat in favour of her national country. She is neither a career diplomat nor a foreign ministry employee, but the wife of the monarch and this fact sheds new light on how public diplomacy may be performed. Her wish was to fight against the unfair stereotypes against the Arab world. She decided to reach the international audience through the internet, namely the portal *youtube.com*. On March 27th 2007 she launched her own channel <http://www.youtube.com/user/QueenRania>. On the initial day she encouraged all YouTube users to send short appearances containing stereotypes against Arabs and she then commented. Her video, "Send me your stereotypes," was viewed by more than 1 million online users. Another video received 1.4 million page views within weeks, prompted 83 video responses from other users, and generated nearly 6,000 comments⁹².

Queen Rania of Jordan provides her explanation as to why she has decided to use YouTube as the tool for conducting her public diplomacy activity:

⁹⁰ TIME <http://www.time.com/time/europe/hero2006/rania.html>.

⁹¹ **Rania Al Abdullah** was born in 1970 in Kuwait with the Palestinian descent. She obtained a BA in Business Administration from The American University in Cairo starting a career in banking and IT. In 1993 she married the King of Jordan King Abdullah bin Al – Hussein. Currently, she is involved in charity work with the purpose of empowerment of Jordanian children, youth and women. She is also a participant of the Davos World Economic Forum panels. In 2008 at WEF Davos she contributed to the discussion about the progress of the Millennium Development Goals together with the British Prime Minister Gordon Brown and UN Secretary General Ban Ki Moon. Sources: <http://www.queenrania.jo/content/profile.aspx> and <http://www.arabianbusiness.com/509205-queen-rania-and-gordon-brown-debate-global-poverty?ln=en>.

⁹² Los Angeles Times <http://latimesblogs.latimes.com/babylonbeyond/2008/11/jordan-queen-ra.html>.

*YouTube encourages us to be active participants in a global conversation, making our voices heard, giving us the power to broadcast ourselves, increasing our knowledge of each other, breaking down the barriers between us clip by clip*⁹³.

*As Muslims we need to stand up and speak out about who we are. If we want to defy stereotypes we have to start defining ourselves and we're not going to do that just by sitting quietly at home expecting people do just get it*⁹⁴.

The questions⁹⁵ concerning the Arab world have been diverse, for example:

- Can Arab women work?
- Are there any YouTubers in Jordan?
- What does the situation of religion freedom look like in the Arab world? Does everybody have to be a Muslim?
- What is the attitude of fellow Muslims to suicide bombers?

Queen Rania is not the only high profile public figure that uses YouTube for promoting image. The British Royal family and the UK government also have their own YouTube sites. Nevertheless, they don't allow comments and disable any discussion; Queen Rania's channel actively encourages both⁹⁶. It is not exactly an online conversation; she can pick and choose which of the comments she responds to⁹⁷.

The problematic issue for all public diplomacy practitioners is the aspect of evaluation of their work. Nevertheless, in the case of Queen Rania's undertaking we can talk about positive assessment. She was given YouTube's first-ever Visionary

⁹³ Los Angeles Times <http://latimesblogs.latimes.com/babylonbeyond/2008/11/jordan-queen-ra.html>.

⁹⁴ BBC http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/7524933.stm.

⁹⁵ In preparing this case study I have referred to the following you tube videos:

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jyCB-ULChV4>;

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TFf897bUW2Y&feature=PlayList&p=E4A6856F19CF80DC&index=1>;

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zAmJIUdjSKk&feature=PlayList&p=33EA42E2A804584C&index=6>;

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ITzOc35Sfu4&feature=PlayList&p=33EA42E2A804584C&index=11>;

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JPCw3fLeBHM&feature=PlayList&p=33EA42E2A804584C&index=13>;

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EIO60Z2en3g&feature=PlayList&p=E4A6856F19CF80DC&index=0&playlist=1>;

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=shXkpL3RSgc>;

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZsqZMmTuYjE&feature=related>;

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3rdAiT6p7U8&feature=related>.

⁹⁶ BBC http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/7524933.stm.

⁹⁷ BBC http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/7524933.stm.

Award for launching an interactive online channel to combat stereotypes and misconceptions associated with Arabs and Muslims⁹⁸ in November 2008.

1.13. Can public diplomacy exist without media and journalists?

Public diplomacy is primarily associated with foreign audiences and people of the hosting country who are the receivers of the public diplomacy message. Some researchers say that the intention of public diplomacy has made professional diplomats more available to the “average” people, because they attend meetings which are aimed at people from different environments, not just at fellow diplomats. If we imagine this sort of public diplomacy carried out only through direct contact the effect of the strategy will reach no more than a few hundred people. That is why the skilful access to media is so important in public diplomacy. Public diplomacy is based on a complex relationship between three major components: the government, the media and public opinion⁹⁹.

Several studies have found clear correlations between media coverage and perceptions of foreign nations. One study found that states receiving the most attention in the U.S. media were perceived by the public to be more vital to US national interests. Negative coverage resulted in negative opinions, although positive coverage did not produce positive opinion. Another study evaluated U.S. public diplomacy activities towards the Muslim world through analysis of news coverage on Al-Jazeera against other sources of anti-American views; the study included macro-level variables such as socioeconomic factors and individual-level variables such as demographics, television exposure and general views of the West.¹⁰⁰

According to Elisabeth Noelle-Neuman, one of the most famous German researchers on public opinion, the role of media in contemporary society is absolutely critical. The content which is not presented in the media does not exist or to say in a more careful way: the chances, that these facts would be part of the reality perceived

⁹⁸ Los Angeles Times <http://latimesblogs.latimes.com/babylonbeyond/2008/11/jordan-queen-ra.html>.

⁹⁹ E. Gilboa *Searching for a Theory of Public Diplomacy*, The Annals of The American Academy of Political and Social Science *Public Diplomacy in a Changing World*, Philadelphia 2008, after: Soroka (2003), p. 62.

¹⁰⁰ Op. cit. after (Wanta, Golan, and Lee 2004) and (Nisbet 2004), p. 64.

by the contemporary audience (public opinion) are minimal¹⁰¹. The minds and convictions of journalists are also very important when it comes to the cultivation of one's country reputation and good name, because we receive news based on their experience. Journalists may report only on things they perceive in their consciousness; the readers (the media receivers) may regard only the things, which were created by the mass media¹⁰².

The above points of view presented by international scholars lead to a simple conclusion that imagining public diplomacy without the presence of media and journalists is nearly impossible. Public diplomats are significantly dependent on media and if they are not aware of this crucial relationship the probability of succeeding is very limited.

1.13.1. Celebrities as a new a category of public diplomacy.

Although Hollywood actors and rock stars are not often the subject of an academic dispute, according to Robert D. Deutsch this ought to be changed. He is convinced that the so-called "ambassadors to the world" should be regarded as a new paradigm for public diplomacy and strategic communication. In his opinion, famous American celebrities can serve very successfully as public diplomats:

*To boost our public diplomacy efforts, the United States, should appoint a dozen or so "ambassadors to the world" who would be responsible for representing American views, not governments. They should also be responsible for explaining the emotional logic of foreign attitudes to the American public and representing these perceptions within the counsels of our government*¹⁰³.

We can indeed observe a clear tendency for American celebrities to become involved in the affairs of Third World problems for a couple of years. This initiative started to become famous when Hollywood actress Angelina Jolie started to travel to the poorest countries in Asia, Africa and the Balkans, speaking publicly about the

¹⁰¹ E. Noelle – Neumann, *Spirala Milczenia (org. Die Schweigespirale. Öffentliche Meinung – unsere sociale Haut*, published by Zysk i S-ka, Poznań 2004, p. 168.

¹⁰² Op. cit. p. 167.

¹⁰³ R.D. Deutsch, *Ambassadors to the World. A New Paradigm for Public Diplomacy and Strategic Communication*, JFQ, Issue 56, 1st quarter 2010, NDU Press, p. 3.

problems of the most vulnerable people living in these countries. Her activity became even more popular when she adopted three orphans from Cambodia, Ethiopia and Vietnam respectively giving them the chance for a better life. Currently, the majority of top Hollywood stars engage in projects which are aimed at humanitarian aid in the Third World, for example: Ben Affleck, Sean Penn, Leonardo DiCaprio and Alicia Keys.

Special attention should be also given to George Clooney, who is probably one of the most recognised celebrity-diplomats nowadays. He is actively involved in helping Sudanese refugees and he strongly supports the independence of the Southern Sudan:

A celebrity absorbs the attention and interest of media about the issue which the government does not want to bear responsibility for. We cannot take any political or binding decisions but we can effectively encourage politicians, says the actor¹⁰⁴. What is very important an actor does not have to worry about bureaucratic limitations and access to the government and therefore he can make sure that the voice from the Sudanese village is heard in the international arena¹⁰⁵. George Clooney does not seem to confirm the thesis of Robert D. Deutsch, who stresses the need for celebrities to boost the public diplomacy efforts of the United States. The actor has another point of view: *I am not associated with the United Nations or with the United States; nothing puts a limit on me. I am a guy with a camera....I am sort of paparazzo, who fights the genocide – said George Clooney*¹⁰⁶.

George Clooney is a positive example of the celebrity-diplomat, but not all the efforts of other actors and public figures have been appreciated. There are many critical voices that say that they are taking part in charity projects only to make themselves more popular in media. Such an accusation was raised against Gwyneth Paltrow, who took part in the charity campaign, "I am African". The actress posed for

¹⁰⁴ J. Avlon, *Misja Celebryty*, Newsweek, 9/2011, 6.03.2011, p. 50.

¹⁰⁵ Op. cit. p. 50.

¹⁰⁶ Op. cit. p. 50.

the photo below and this was regarded by some African female activists as a vain way to promote only herself; the photo was a subject of parody later on.



Source: <http://annansi.com/blog/2006/08/gwyneth-paltrow-declares-i-am-african-like-david-bowie/>

Parody:



Source: <http://gawker.com/#!/193729/gwyneths-african-ad-inspires-imitators>

1.14. What public diplomacy is not.

Public diplomacy is by all means about convincing and influencing. The line between public diplomacy and propaganda might be very thin. Even former practicing diplomats, like Richard Holbrook, have seen public diplomacy as a subtle form of propaganda. Jan Melissen, one of the most recognised experts in the subject from the academic field is against this sort of juxtaposition. Before further comparison, let us recall some theoretical background about propaganda.

David Welch provides a general definition of propaganda as the *deliberate attempt to influence the opinions of an audience through the transmission of ideas and values for the specific purpose, consciously designed to serve the interest of the propagandist and their political masters, either directly or indirectly*¹⁰⁷.

It is also important to distinguish what the functions of propaganda are and this in turn will give further understanding:

Integrational function – J. Ellul, V. O'Donnell and G.S. Jowett. The basic aim of this function is the stabilisation of the ruling regime both political and social. Propaganda intends to unify and strengthen the existing structures. Integrational propaganda is addressed to the educated and well-informed receiver as more susceptible to the propaganda¹⁰⁸.

Adaptation function – this function is intended to raise the receivers (people) to the action or a certain act, but the real aim of this function is to acquire the acceptance for the ideology, the new system of power and political system, but also to educate new behaviours. Propaganda with this function goes very often with the psychological techniques, exaltations and promises of extraordinary future perspectives¹⁰⁹.

Interpretation and information function – consists of the information and interpretation, but information plays a minor role. On the basis of the information, the

¹⁰⁷ D. Welch, *Power of Persuasion*, History Today, 49, August 1999, p. 24 – 26.

¹⁰⁸ B. Dobek – Ostrowska, J. Frasz, B. Ociepka, *Teoria i praktyka propagandy*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Wrocław 1997 p.29.

¹⁰⁹ Op. cit. p. 30.

interpretation is passed on¹¹⁰.

Disinformation and unmasking function – this function is sometimes called “the black propaganda” and it is applied in the case of so-called external propaganda, the object of reaction of the opponent or the enemy of the state¹¹¹.

Propaganda is still associated negatively. Hitler's and Stalin's governments, known as the two bloodiest and disastrous regimes, would have had rather little chance to rise into such influential power without the sort of manipulation which can be granted by propaganda. These two leaders and their information advisors were aware of the power of propaganda. J. Ellul describes political propaganda as the technique of influencing citizens which is elaborated on and applied by the institutions of the government, administration, political elite, pressure groups etc. The basic aim of political propaganda is the modification of the social behavior of citizens according to the interests of the sender¹¹². It is worth mentioning that political propaganda is not only the domain of totalitarian systems. Political propaganda is also practiced in democratic systems. A particular example is campaign propaganda which is an element of the election process. The aim of this sort of propaganda is to acquire the highest possible number of votes and ultimately the winning of power¹¹³.

The phrase *public diplomacy* is sometimes used as a euphemism for propaganda. I do not agree with this statement, because if we consider the *per se* meaning of political propaganda we should bear in mind that there is a significant manipulation factor, which is not necessarily a component of public diplomacy. Mark Leonard sees it in the following way: public diplomacy is in fact about building relationships: understanding the needs of other countries, cultures and peoples; communicating our point of view; correcting misperceptions; looking for areas where we can find common cause. The difference between public and traditional diplomacy is that public diplomacy involves a much broader group of people on both sides, and a

¹¹⁰ Op. cit. p. 30.

¹¹¹ Op. cit. p. 30.

¹¹² J. Ellul, *Propagandes*, Paris 1990, p. 89.

¹¹³ B. Dobek – Ostrowska, J. Fras, B. Ociepka, *Teoria i praktyka propagandy*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Wrocław 1997 p.32.

broader set of interests that go beyond those of the government of the day¹¹⁴. From this perspective public diplomacy intends to initiate a long term process of multidimensional connection between citizens of country A and country B.

1.15. Proposal of own definition.

In this first chapter I have presented five definitions of public diplomacy. Each of them has different connotations such as: strategy planning (M. McClellan), a government process of communicating (H.N. Tuch), a process of different relations with people (P. Sharp), a form of international public relations (J. Melissen), or a political instrument with analytical boundaries (B. Gregory). This diversity shows that there is still much debate over the meaning of public diplomacy and the generally accepted and recognised explanation is still to be written. I find the definitions of H.N. Tuch¹¹⁵ and P. Sharp¹¹⁶ to be the most convincing.

M. McClellan speaks about enabling a target country's political leaders to make decisions that are supportive of advocating the country's foreign policy objectives. I think that this is too narrow a perspective of public diplomacy's role, because this suggests only a short-term perspective of strategy and only if there is a need to achieve certain political goals. I think that omitting the need for relationship-building is a mistake, because this is crucial for the well-being of bilateral and multilateral international relations.

I also do not agree with the diplomats and researchers who see public diplomacy as a sort of propaganda, because I insist that there must be a strong emphasis on ethics and trust in international dialogue. Any process of international exchange based on lies or manipulation must lead to failure at a certain point.

¹¹⁴ Op. cit. p. 9.

¹¹⁵ **Public diplomacy** is a government's process of communicating with foreign publics in an attempt to bring about understanding for nation's ideas and ideals, its institutions and culture, as well as its national goals and current policies.

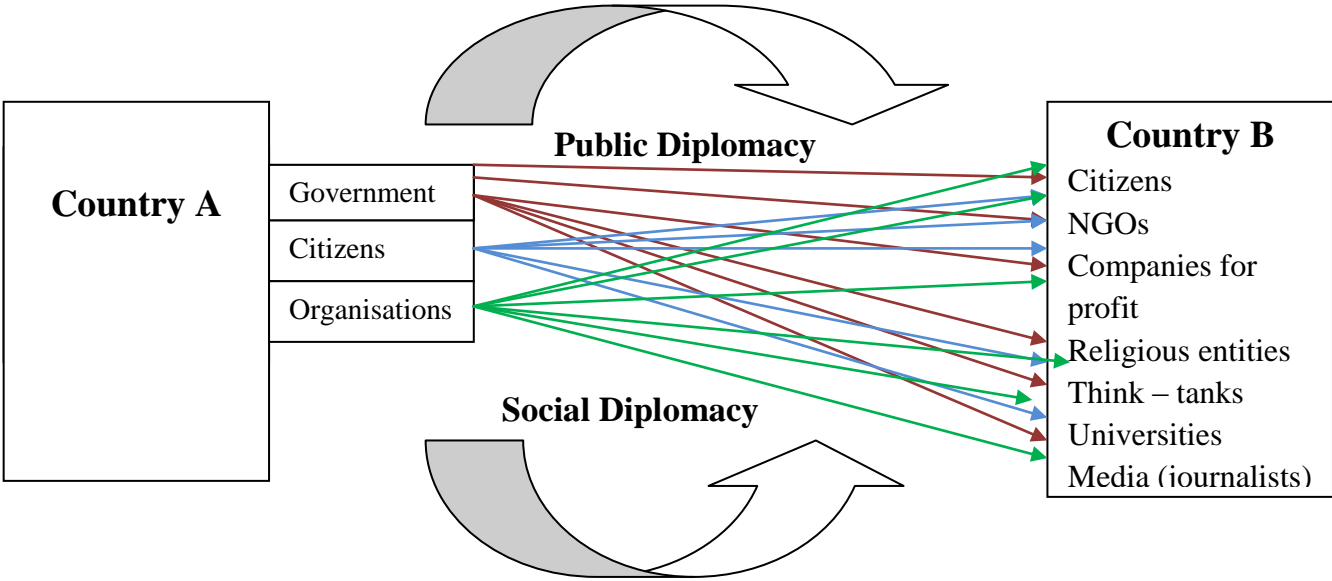
¹¹⁶ **Public diplomacy** is the process by which direct relations with people in a country are pursued to advance the interests and extend the values of those being represented.

I consider public diplomacy as a process of international communication, but with the emphasis on a government as the initiator of the information transfer. My proposal for a public diplomacy definition is the following:

Public diplomacy is a transfer of information from a government of country A to country B or to a cluster of international interlocutors in the framework of international communication processes. This transfer is directed to subjects such as for-profit organisations, non-profit organisations, individuals, religious entities, media organisations etc. in order to bring familiarity with country A, an understanding of actions and political objectives, and finally to initiate multidimensional long-term contacts beneficial for both sides.

W. Ph. Davison enumerates three levels of international communication: elite, diagonal and civilisation and cultural influence of societies. I think that public diplomacy should be seen as a sub-channel in this process, because this is an act of direct communication of a government A to the elites and citizens from country B. These contacts can be maintained through: a web page of a Ministry of Foreign Affairs, folders, handouts, media, books, social electronic media, lectures, keynote speeches etc.

Proposal of own model of public diplomacy communication process



1.16. Important academic centres for public diplomacy.

An important question about public diplomacy is where should the diplomats, adepts, students and practitioners learn about this subject?

The basic sources of knowledge about public diplomacy are brief courses, usually lasting from a few days up to several weeks organised in the framework of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs. John Hemery wrote an article *Training for Public Diplomacy: an Evolutionary Perspective*¹¹⁷, which was a result of research based on the survey of diplomatic training programmes in some 20 countries on all continents, both in large states and in small developing ones.

The author recalls different examples of how different governments deal with public diplomacy training. For example, the Indian Foreign Service Institute ostensibly does not teach public diplomacy¹¹⁸, however there are courses offered, which teach diplomats public diplomacy skills, for example a module on communication skills and public speaking. Besides, the diplomats are offered an orientation session at the Indian Council of Cultural Relations as a part of training on cultural studies.

The same situation concerns two, probably the most known in the world, international entities, namely the United Nations and the European Commission. The United Nations has highly sophisticated and well-funded programmes to influence public attitudes, but has no training in public diplomacy for its international officers¹¹⁹. The same situation concerns the European Commission.

The example of the United States is worth mentioning. The US Department`s Foreign Service Institute (FSI) has a set of 13 public diplomacy courses ranging in length from one day to eight weeks¹²⁰. However, according to the author, the Republic of Korea is

¹¹⁷ The article was published in: *The New Public Diplomacy. Soft Power in International Relations*, edited by Jan Melissen, Palgrave Macmillian 2005.

¹¹⁸ Op. cit. p. 199.

¹¹⁹ Op. cit. p. 208.

¹²⁰ Op. cit. p. 200.

at the top of the evolutionary training for public diplomacy – at least of the countries covered by his survey. The Korean programme deals with communication and media skills and promoting national interests. But in addition to these staples, Korea has a programme for midlevel and senior diplomats that seeks to understand how the practice of diplomacy itself is being affected by changes in the international system, how the concept of national interest is changing, and how civil society and international NGOs contribute to transnational relations. The Republic of Korea conducts sociological analysis of the impact on diplomacy of mass democracy and what it terms “over-communication syndrome”¹²¹.

However long the tradition of public diplomacy is, there are already several influential institutes, centres and schools where knowledge about public diplomacy can be obtained.

I would like to present five academic and think tank institutions which train professionals in public diplomacy. These are:

1.16.1. The Edward Murrow Center – The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, Boston, MA, U.S.A.

The Edward Murrow Center was established in 1956 and it has the longest tradition among the American schools which offer scholarships in public diplomacy. First of all, the centre serves as the clearing house, where different materials and archives on public diplomacy are collected. More than 2,000 documents are housed in the Murrow Memorial Room at The Fletcher School and the Tufts University Archives¹²².

Other forms of activity at the Murrow Center are events, conferences and workshops on public diplomacy. The last event that was organised by the Murrow Center was the Murrow 100th Anniversary Conference: *Public Diplomacy and International Citizenship* in April 2008.

¹²¹ Op. cit. p. 204 – 205.

¹²² Source: <http://fletcher.tufts.edu/murrow/about/message.html>

The Murrow Center has not conducted own academic courses for students, but contributed financially to the courses offered at the Fletcher School at the Tufts University in Medford MA. The following courses were sponsored: International Communication, Communications, Policy Analysis and Modeling, International Information and Telecommunications Technology and Policy, The New Digital Media: Technologies and Their Societal Impact, The Dynamics of International Communications and Public Diplomacy Today¹²³.

Despite the announcement of the revitalisation vision¹²⁴, the Center has not announced significant changes and undertakings.

1.16.2. The Institute for Public Diplomacy and Global Communication – The George Washington University School of Media and School of International Affairs, Washington D.C., U.S.A.

Originally founded in 1999 as the Public Diplomacy Institute, the Institute for Public Diplomacy and Global Communication (IPDGC) is an interdisciplinary academic and policy centre affiliated with the George Washington University School of Media and Public Affairs and Elliott School of International Affairs¹²⁵. The mission statement of the Institute assumes to bring together scholars, government officials, politicians and media practitioners to approach public diplomacy and facilitate common understanding. Beside these meetings, the public diplomacy undertakings of the IPDGC are: teaching, research, scholarship, conferences and seminars.

1.16.3. USC Center on Public Diplomacy – The University of Southern California's School for Communication, Los Angeles, U.S.A.

The USC Centre on Public Diplomacy is a relatively new entity, because it was established in 2003 in partnership with the Annenberg School for Communication and the School of International Relations at the University of Southern California.

The major activities are focused on research on media and public diplomacy, but also

¹²³ The data comes from 2005.

¹²⁴ The revitalisation Vision of the Murrow Centre predicts: digitising Murrow Tape Collection, raising funds for employing the Edward R. Murrow Professor of Public Diplomacy and acquiring funds for scholarships for students and fellowships for researchers.

¹²⁵ <http://ipdgc.gwu.edu/AbouttheInstitute/>.

organising conferences¹²⁶ and conducting the CPD Distinguished Speaker Series. The CPD also offers a two week summer programme¹²⁷ for mid-career professionals who work in public diplomacy.

1.16.4. Public Diplomacy Council

The Public Diplomacy Council was founded in 1988 under the name of the Public Diplomacy Foundation, which was later changed to the present name. The objectives¹²⁸ of the Public Diplomacy Council were made on the basis of the following assumptions of the founding members:

- Publics and their opinions matter increasingly in a globalising world.
- U.S. statecraft should rely on careful analysis of the public dimension of issues.
- Informed judgments about global trends depend on an understanding of social and cultural dynamics and public opinion here and abroad.
- Civil society, the arts and educational communities are crucial intermediaries with counterparts in other nations.
- Public Diplomacy budgets, training, and recruitment do not reflect the growing importance of public diplomacy. 21st Century diplomacy will rely increasingly on the mastery of modern telecommunications, yet the growth in mass communication creates a more urgent need for interpersonal communication¹²⁹.

The CPD consists of the Board of Directors and 11 members.

1.16.5. The Foreign Policy Centre – London, U.K.

The Foreign Policy Centre is a British think tank, which was established in

¹²⁶ Some recent conferences under the auspices of the CPD were: *The 2008 Beijing Olympic Games: Public Diplomacy Triumph or Public Relations Spectacle?* (Jan. 2009) and *The American Military and Public Diplomacy in Africa* (Feb. 2008).

¹²⁷ The core courses of summer training are: Introduction to Public Diplomacy, Soft Power and Public Diplomacy, Listening and Public Diplomacy, Advocacy and Public Diplomacy, Cultural Diplomacy and International Exchanges, International Broadcasting, Media Diplomacy, Framing Public Diplomacy, Evaluation of Public Diplomacy, Public Opinion and Public Diplomacy, Designing and Planning PD Strategies.

¹²⁸ The main objectives of the CPD are: to encourage teaching and research, increase understanding of public diplomacy, maintain relations with the Department of State, provide highly qualified individuals to work in the framework of the CPD.

¹²⁹ http://www.publicdiplomacycouncil.org/More_About_the_Council.html

1998 and carries out research on the following policy ideas:

- Effective multilateral solutions to global problems;
- Democratic and well-governed states as the foundation of order and development;
- Partnerships with the private sector to deliver public goods;
- Support for progressive policy through effective public diplomacy;
- Inclusive definitions of citizenship to underpin internationalist policies¹³⁰.

The Centre runs a special programme on public diplomacy which is pursued through panels with experts, seminars and publications. Current research focus is on diasporas, innovative use of technologies for effective monitoring and evaluation, and the 2012 London Olympics¹³¹.

The staff consists of eight professionals and 26 associates, including Mark Leonard whose books brought a significant practical contribution to the field of public diplomacy.

1.16.6. The Netherlands Institute of International Relations, Clingendael, The Hague, The Netherlands.

The Dutch Institute Clingendael is also worth mentioning in the context of public diplomacy because one of its flagship undertakings, the Diplomatic Studies Programme¹³² stresses the importance of research on public diplomacy. Current projects on innovations in diplomacy deal with nation branding and public diplomacy, foreign ministries and change, diplomatic representation, sub-state diplomacy, diplomatic theory, and consular affairs¹³³. The Institute has a diverse profile and it deals with many academic undertakings. It describes itself as a think tank and diplomatic academy. However, although the official status of the Clingendael is non-profit, the budget is two-fold. Half of the budget is generated by the Institute's

¹³⁰ <http://fpc.org.uk/about/>

¹³¹ <http://fpc.org.uk/topics/public-diplomacy/>

¹³² Besides the diplomatic programme, the Clingendael Institute runs the following specializations (programmes):

Clingendael European Studies Programme (CESP), Clingendael Security and Conflict Programme and Clingendael International Energy Programme (CIEP).

¹³³ <http://www.clingendael.nl/cdsp/research/>.

activities (i.e. courses, seminars, research projects, workshops on international negotiations etc.) and the remainder is made up of subsidies from the Dutch Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Defence¹³⁴.

The strong side of the Clingendael Diplomatic Studies Programme (CDSP) is also the personality of its director Jan Melissen, who is a recognised scholar in the field of public diplomacy. He has published several influential publications on public diplomacy, including being quoted in *The New Public Diplomacy* (Palgrave-Macmillan, 2005 and 2007). Besides this he is also a founder of *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*.

1.17. The United Nations and public diplomacy. Case study: The United Nations Department of Public Information – public diplomacy under a different name.

According to the John Hemrey research, the United Nations devotes no funds towards public diplomacy training for its officers, but that does not mean that the UN does not conduct public diplomacy. The body responsible is **The Department of Public Information**.

The Resolution which put the corner stone under the informational and public affairs policy of the UN was issued on January 1st 1946. It was clearly stated in its introduction that the United Nations cannot achieve its goals for which it was created without informing the people and the world about the purposes and activities of the UN. An important fact about the Resolution is the outline of information and public affairs policy which was presented in 16 points. The most important resolves were:

- The Department of Public Information must be organised in such a way as to facilitate spreading the information about its purposes in the broadest possible way worldwide;
- The United Nations must not engage in propaganda;

¹³⁴ Op. cit.

- The scope of the Department of Public Information should be divided into the following categories: press, publications, radio, films, graphics, exhibitions, public liaison;
- The Department of Public Information should deliver daily, weekly and periodical releases from the Headquarters and other offices worldwide;
- The United Nations should have its own media;
- The Department of Public Information should conduct the promotion and non-commercial distribution of documentary films, posters and exhibitions related to the United Nations;
- The Department of Public Information should encourage governmental, non-governmental and educational institutions to spread information about the United Nations and deliver the necessary resources and workers for this purpose.

The Department of Public Information (DPI) was one of the first eight departments created in the Secretariat. The DPI in 2004 consisted of 70 units and eight offices overseas. The following four should be mentioned:

- The Public Affairs Division – its purpose is to conduct the promotion of campaigns in a global character, to prepare programmes for journalists etc.
- The News and Media Division – enables contact between the international media and journalists with the United Nations organisation. This division prepares all the information in the UN media: UN Radio, UN TV, United Nations Chronicle and the UN web site www.un.org.
- The Library and Information Resources Division – looks after the books and documents collected by the Dag Hammarskjöld Library.
- The Office of the Spokesman of the Secretary General – coordinates all activities with the media where the UN Secretary General is involved.

Another assignment is also conducting everyday briefings to accredited journalists. In 2004 the office employed 12 persons.

1.17.1. Public diplomacy tricks - *Reham Al-Farra Memorial Journalists' Fellowship Programme.*

The Department of Public Information launched the Reham Al-Farra Memorial Journalists' Fellowship Programme in 1981 and this may be given as an interesting example of the public diplomacy of the UN. The Fellowship is aimed at talented and outstanding journalists from developing countries aged 25 to 35 on average. The purpose of this programme is to train the participants on the UN and to give them deep knowledge about the UN to enable their specialisation on the topic. Additionally, the fellows acquire knowledge about the modern American media to give them practical insight into free and independent journalism. This is because the majority of the participants come from developing countries where the media is often state-owned and fully controlled by the government.

In general, the programme starts in September (the time of the General Assembly session) with around 12 participants from across different continents¹³⁵. They participate in meetings with high profile UN officers and discuss UN assignments. Besides this they are invited for briefings and talks with high officials of the IGOs such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund and with the editors and reporters from the most influential American media outlets such as CNN, The Wall Street Journal and The Bloomberg News Centre.

Upon termination of the fellowship, journalists return to their respective countries and are supposed to cover the UN and specialise in this topic.

1.18. Public diplomacy or cultural diplomacy?

Another point in the discourse that requires clarification can be summarised in

¹³⁵ In 2004 the following countries were represented: Belize, Brunei Darussalam, Djibouti, Grenada, Guyana, Iraq, Latvia, Pakistan, Romania, Solomon Islands. 2004 is mentioned, because the author of this dissertation was an intern in the UN Headquarters that year and closely assisted to the chief of the Special Project Unit – Joanna Piucci who was responsible for the *Reham Al – Farra – Memorial Journalists' Fellowship Programme.*

a question: what is the difference between public diplomacy and cultural diplomacy? There are scholars who use these terms synonymously, for example J. Fernand Tanguay from McGill University:

Cultural Diplomacy, or public diplomacy, is a concept which appeared in the post - World War II period when all nations felt the need to *know each other better*¹³⁶. Milton C. Cummings understands cultural diplomacy as *the exchange of ideas, information, values, systems, traditions, beliefs, and other aspects of culture, with the intention of fostering mutual understanding*¹³⁷. Whereas the DiploFoundation¹³⁸ regards cultural diplomacy as the domain of diplomacy concerned with establishing, developing and sustaining relations with foreign states by way of culture, art and education but is also a proactive process of external projection in which a nation's institutions, value system and unique cultural personality are promoted at both a bilateral and multilateral level¹³⁹.

According to Emil Brix, cultural diplomacy plays an even greater role in the case of smaller states like Austria. Foreign cultural policy is often used by smaller states to distinguish themselves from their politically and economically powerful neighbours¹⁴⁰.

The most popular cultural diplomacy tools are:

- Intercultural exchange programmes
- Educational exchanges and scholarships
- Cultivation of ties with foreign journalists, academics, key foreign leaders, etc.
- Programmed cultural visits of artists (painters, dancers, musicians etc.)
- International broadcast of cultural events, symphonies, concerts, etc.

¹³⁶ Banquet address *Cultural Diplomacy*, Slavic Drama Symposium, University of Ottawa, 2 – 4 May 1991.

¹³⁷ M. C. Cummings, 'Cultural Diplomacy and the United States Government: A Survey', (Center for Arts and Culture: Washington D.C., 2003), p. 1.

¹³⁸ **DiploFoundation** is a non-profit organisation based in Malta, with offices in Geneva and Belgrade. In June 2006, Diplo was granted Special Consultative Status with the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). Source: <http://www.diplomacy.edu/Diplo/default.asp>.

¹³⁹ Source:

<http://textus.diplomacy.edu/textusBin/BViewers/oview/culturaldiplomacy/oview.asp?FilterTopic=%2F38139>.

¹⁴⁰ E. Brix, *Cultural Work Abroad: Between Management and Diplomacy*, DA Favorita 01/2004, Diplomatische Akademie Wien, p.42.

- International culture-related conferences, symposiums and workshops
- Language promotion
- Publications¹⁴¹ .

The responsible bodies which initiate cultural bilateral relations are naturally the governments and the ministries of foreign affairs. Nevertheless, we can also talk about cultural diplomacy at the international governmental level in the example of UNESCO¹⁴². This organisation acts as a coordination centre for the conduct of collective cultural diplomacy¹⁴³.

Getting back to the question about the difference between public diplomacy and cultural diplomacy, I would not agree with the Canadian diplomat J. Fernand Tanguay that both of these notions have the same meaning and should be used as substitutes. I would argue that cultural diplomacy is just a part of the broader public diplomacy. Cultural diplomacy does not really include involvement in business relations, which is also a task and challenge for public diplomacy to attract foreign investors through organising trade fairs, economic seminars, expert panels, information centres etc...

1.19. Public diplomacy versus social (civil) diplomacy.

There is a certain tendency in talks with experts about public diplomacy to identify that there is a need to develop civil diplomacy in order to bring more significant results in desirable goals. Let us consider what the difference is between social diplomacy (which is sometimes called civil diplomacy) and public diplomacy. Social diplomacy means any activity related to the foreign policy of a state conducted by different non-governmental organisations, foundations, groups and influential individual citizens, namely all the actors and factors which do not represent a state, a government or a ministry of foreign affairs. This can be, for example, any activity which aims at approaching nations, improving mutual relations, promoting a country

¹⁴¹ <http://textus.diplomacy.edu/textusBin/BViewers/oview/culturaldiplomacy/oview.asp?FilterTopic=%2F38142>.

¹⁴² The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) founded on 16 November 1945 describes its functions as the following:

- a laboratory of ideas and a standard – setter to forge universal agreements on emerging ethical results;
- a clearing house – for the dissemination and sharing of information and knowledge with the member states.

Source: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/faq>.

¹⁴³ <http://textus.diplomacy.edu/textusBin/BViewers/oview/culturaldiplomacy/oview.asp?FilterTopic=%2F38141>.

in the world, using lobbying etc. In the case of Poland this means using Polish *Polonia*¹⁴⁴ and other personal contacts. This is about organising meetings and providing humanitarian aid etc. Those activities should supplement the official governmental contacts of the official Foreign Service with the assumption that other governments are not the sole addressees of foreign policy, but so is national and international public opinion¹⁴⁵.

An example of the civil diplomacy initiative in Polish–Austrian relations can be seen in the Polish-based NGO, The Polish-Austrian Association, which was established in Warsaw in 1979. Their primary statute goal is to conduct activities in order to deepen friendly relations between Austria and Poland and to develop cultural, economic, scientific, technical and touristic cooperation between the two countries. The association intends also to approach the history, arts, culture and socio–economic achievements of Austria in Poland¹⁴⁶. The Polish-Austrian Association has its headquarters in Warsaw, but additionally it has regional compartments in several Polish cities: Gdańsk, Toruń, Zielona Góra and Słupsk.

One of the most active branches of the Polish-Austrian Association is located in Toruń. That unit was established in 1996 with an initial membership of 50 persons¹⁴⁷. The flagship initiative of this unit in Toruń is *Days of Austria in Toruń*, which has been organised for the past ten years. The majority of events are hosted in the town hall of Toruń city. Different ideas are presented each year, for example presentations, concerts and fashion shows.

According to Beata Ociepka, the involvement of NGOs in the development of Polish-Austrian relations is still too weak. The potential is nowadays very significant, but in this case still not used. Many associations devoted to Polish-Austrian cooperation do not even have their own websites and this naturally impedes the circuit of information and the possibility to increase interest among a wider audience.

¹⁴⁴ Polonia should be understood as the Polish diaspora living abroad in any country.

¹⁴⁵ J. Sutor, *Leksykon dyplomatyczny*, LexisNexis, Warszawa 2005, p. 101.

¹⁴⁶ Source: <http://bazy.ngo.pl/search/info.asp?id=48180>.

¹⁴⁷ Source: www.torun.pl/dokumenty/tpa_info_2008.pdf.

1.20. Why do we need public diplomacy?

Even though public diplomacy is usually considered to be a new invention and is sometimes associated with the luxury of wealthy countries, which can afford extra resources for maintaining public information officers, there is in fact a proven record of public diplomacy's relevance. The first proof of how important public diplomacy can be is presented in the example of the United States and its activity during the Cold War. There were threats of nuclear conflict and psychological pressure, but in fact public diplomacy was the major tool of warfare of the United States, which helped to win this conflict. In 1946 President Harry Truman signed the Fulbright Act which established the long tradition of prestigious Fulbright scholarships that allows one to spend at least a year in the USA and take advantage of its education system. Seven years later in 1950, Radio Free Europe was established by George F. Kennan representing the United States Department of State and Frank G. Wisner¹⁴⁸ of the Office of Policy Coordination, later the United States Central Intelligence Agency, and it played a tremendous role in the fight against communism. Its role was to transmit uncensored news and information to audiences behind the Iron Curtain¹⁴⁹. Later on in 1953, Radio Liberation started to broadcast in Russian. The radio waves of RFE and RL were extremely popular amongst the former satellite states, especially taking into account that many influential citizens who migrated to the West worked for those radios broadcasters. Jan Nowak Jeżiorański was a famous Polish journalist who fought with communists via his involvement with radio sponsored by the United States. The CIA initiated the action of interspersing around 300 million handouts with anti-Communist content in Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland¹⁵⁰. Radio Free Europe was extremely popular and besides the influence of the Catholic Church it was a very significant factor which stimulated the anti-Communist resistance of Polish society.

Another reason why we need public diplomacy is to fight against stereotypes and prejudices, a topic which was already discussed extensively in this first chapter of the dissertation. I believe that the negative image of an entire country follows the

¹⁴⁸ Source: <http://www.rferl.org/section/history/133.html>

¹⁴⁹ Op. cit.

¹⁵⁰ J. Semlin, *Wolność w eterze*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu M. Curie – Skłodowskiej, Lublin 1999, p. 42.

citizen of that country around on numerous occasions, for example into the job market, when applying for international visas or when establishing business activity. There have already been successful examples of positive changes in this regard, like in Ireland, Switzerland and Croatia.

Public diplomacy is not just about the good reputation of a country, but is also about presenting the truth and an own point of view. Reasonable communications strategies can prevent or at least mitigate the consequences of verbal attacks and prospective accusations of other governments in media or by the public during high-level diplomatic meetings. This applies not only to crisis management, but also to long term information strategy and campaigns.

Finally, public diplomacy is needed as a tool to build trust, transparency and credibility in the international arena. The 21st century is the age of information, which is the crucial commodity for international markets, and the country which intends to perform its politics in secret has small chance of attracting investors and business partners. Countries such as North Korea, Iran and Belarus, which seem to totally forget dialogue-oriented public diplomacy are the most alienated countries on the globe suffering from a great deal of economic, political and social problems. Naturally, having successful public diplomacy is not the entire means by which to solve these problems, but it is certainly a good first step towards it in my opinion.

1.21. Methodology in public diplomacy

Public diplomacy as a field of research still needs a significant contribution from the researchers' side. There remains confusion about the definitions and understanding of public diplomacy. Researchers and diplomats seem to observe public diplomacy from different perspectives.

The following crucial questions appear: what are the ways and methods of approaching public diplomacy? How can this phenomenon be described precisely? Is it possible at all to give a full picture of bilateral public diplomacy between country A and country B? To what extent is this an objective and verified piece of work and to what extent is it just the personal judgment and intuitive point of view of the

researcher?

Indeed the research work breeds many doubts and fears about the preciseness and credibility of presenting the arguments and conclusions, but nevertheless this relatively new field in international studies should not be overlooked or neglected because of methodological problems.

There is definitely a need to look for inspiration from other fields of social science. Academic studies of public opinion (and new tools and social network analysis and Internet mining), cultural anthropology, social psychology, and communicative action theory remain relevant to the new world of public diplomacy¹⁵¹. However, there are first premises that the methodology of public diplomacy is slowly developing. One of the articles devoted exclusively to this issue appeared in 2007 in *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* by Pierre C. Pahlavi. The author enumerates three important factors of public diplomacy evaluations. These are:

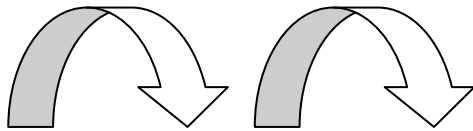
- the pursuit of measurable objectives;
- the ability to estimate appropriately the effects of these programmes in terms of audience size and opinion.
- the ability to estimate the concrete effects of these programmes in terms of foreign policy objectives¹⁵².

The important components of public diplomacy strategy and execution have been presented in the graphical form:

¹⁵¹ B. Gregory, *Public Diplomacy: Sunrise of an Academic Field*, *The Annals of The American Academy of Political and Social Science Public Diplomacy in a Changing World*, Philadelphia 2008, p. 283.

¹⁵² P. C. Pahlavi, *Evaluating Public Diplomacy Programmes*, *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, edited by J. Melissen and P. Sharp, Vol 2, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, Leiden – Boston 2007, p. 256.

Table ¹⁵³



INPUTS	OUTPUTS	OUTCOMES		
		Short – Term	Intermediate	Long – Term
International broadcasting programmes; Educational and cultural programmes	Number of activities completed	Audience size; Audience awareness; Audience quality; Audience trust	Change in foreign public opinion	Political, economic and strategic payoffs

According to P.C. Pahlavi we will probably have to wait ten to fifteen years before the cultural, educational and audiovisual initiatives launched at the outset of this decade bear fruit and we can usefully gauge their success¹⁵⁴.

Beata Ociepka from the University of Wrocław in Poland assumes that the change of the image of the country usually comes after 20 years. According to her, it is not only media coverage that plays a role, but it is also crucial to see the changes in school textbooks and this then has is a long term effect, because it takes a long time. We should also take into account what the groups of peers say amongst themselves and what kind of message they hear from their parents. That is why the experts estimate about a twenty year long process. We can learn a lot from the experience of Spain and Ireland about the length of the process¹⁵⁵.

In my opinion every researcher should use the broadest variety of methodological tools used in the social sciences, namely, surveys, public opinion polls, interviews, case studies, media coverage monitoring and analysis. Any assessment of public diplomacy in bilateral relations should be supported by a solid SWOT analysis, which takes into account not only current achievements and reversals in cultural, educational and business relations, but also should take into account the

¹⁵³ Source: op. cit. p. 257.

¹⁵⁴ Op. cit. p. 275.

¹⁵⁵ Interview with Professor Beata Ociepka – appendix nr 5.

historical background, which is usually one of the primary conditions which facilitates or impedes mutual dialogue between the states.

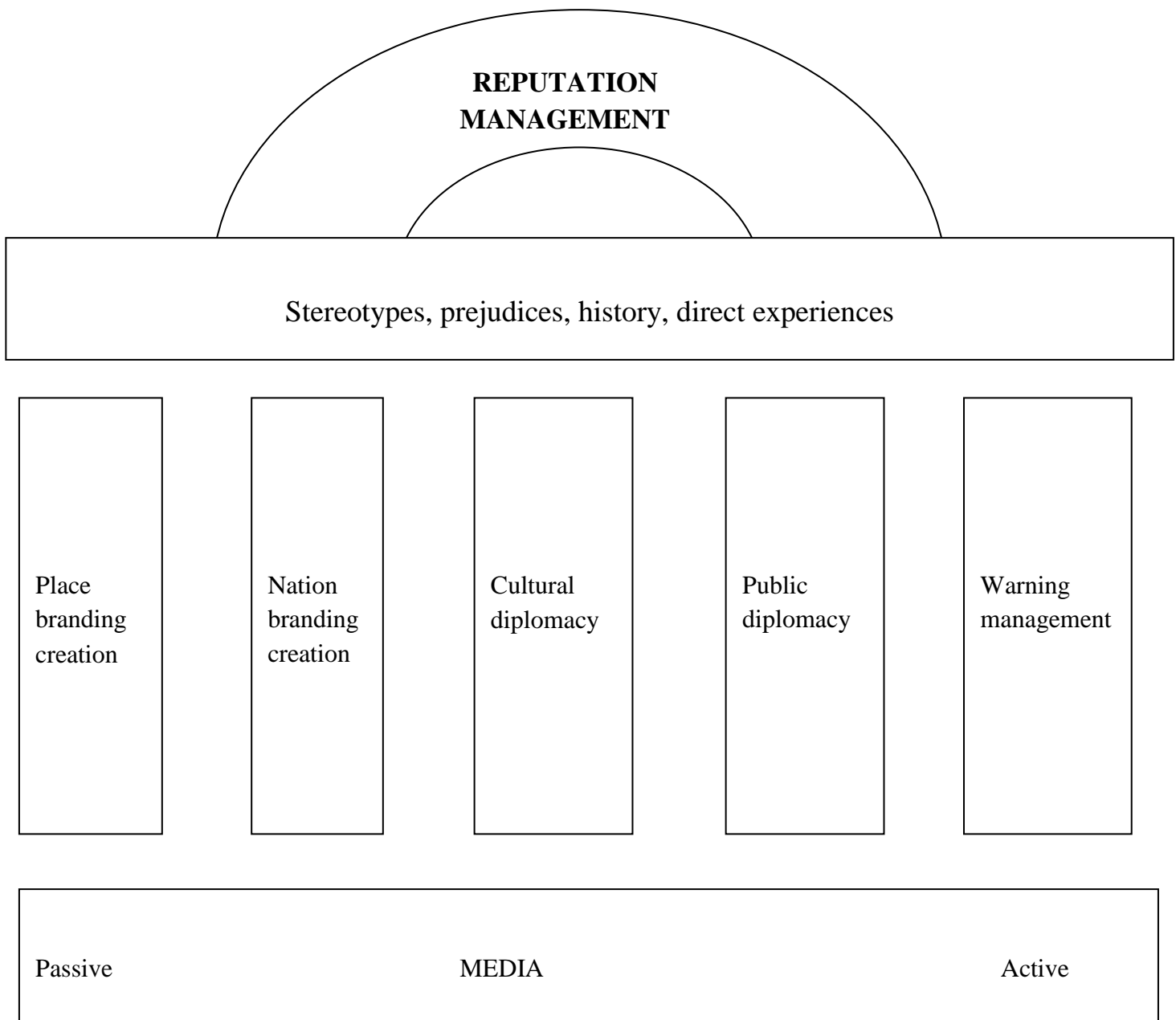
1.22. Above public diplomacy: reputation management.

According to Gyorgy Szondi instead of speaking about “positive image” more appropriate is to point out *positive reputation* as the general goal of international public relations in the case of countries of Central and Eastern Europe¹⁵⁶. Reputation must be well-deserved, whereas images can be created, manipulated and do not always reflect reality¹⁵⁷.

Gyorgy Szondi proposes a very interesting model of reputation management presented in the form a pantheon, where public diplomacy is just one of the elements of the final work which must be done in order to succeed and achieve the goals.

¹⁵⁶ Ociepka B., *Dyplomacja publiczna*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, Wrocław 2008, p. 69.

¹⁵⁷ Op. cit. p. 69.



PANTHEON OF REPUTATION MANAGEMENT BY GYORGY SZONDI¹⁵⁸

This pantheon gives a general overview of the elements which compose the entire picture. The Hungarian also author proposes further categorisation with respect to specialisation of reputation management.

¹⁵⁸ G. Szondi, *Filary zarządzania reputacją; dyplomacja publiczna w Europie Wschodniej z perspektywy public relations*, edited by B. Ociepka, *Dyplomacja publiczna*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, Wrocław 2008 p. 72.

Specialisation of reputation management¹⁵⁹

Topic	Specialisation	Goal	Subjects
Tourism	Place branding creation	Attracting tourists; the stimulation of tourism industry.	National and regional tourism organisations; travel agencies; marketing and branding agencies.
Economic Policy	Nation branding creation	Creation of national brand, which could help in the sale of products abroad and support the trade relations; attracting investors; getting the comparative advantage; expanding exports getting “the effect of the country of origin”.	The Ministry of Economy; Agencies of investment and export promotion; chambers of commerce, trade organisations, multinational organisations.
Culture (heritage, language, art, film etc.)	Cultural diplomacy	Promotion of culture, language, educational exchange, preserving the good	The Ministry of Culture; The Ministry of Foreign Affairs; cultural institutions, cultural

¹⁵⁹ Source: Op. cit. p. 70 – 71. (The author presents in his categorisation also concrete examples from different countries, but this was not quoted in the table above).

		reputation of a country; change of negative and false stereotypes; creating mutual understanding among cultures.	attaches, media and cultural organisations.
Foreign policy	Public diplomacy	Creation of open environment for foreign policy goals; pursuing these goals; changing the policy of other countries; raise the country's international profile, its politicians, governments.	The government; The Ministry of Foreign Affairs; NGOs, mass media abroad.
Unethical politics and activities; images	Warning management	Creation of images inconsistent with reality; creation and promotion of negative images; discrediting of regimes, countries and governments; creation of crisis situations.	The Ministry of Defence; the government; foreign governments, intelligences.

Summary

The purpose of the first chapter was to present the notion of public diplomacy from many different angles and as precisely as possible, especially when it comes to the context of Polish-Austrian relations. It also approaches a summary of the most recent theoretical heritage in the field of public diplomacy and attempts to explain what the real effect of it is.

As we can see from the opening chapter public diplomacy is one of the pillars of the reputation management process next to place branding, nation branding creation, cultural diplomacy and warning management. Public diplomacy used alone may not bring the desired effect and it should be used together with other tools. Public diplomacy when seen as one of the elements of a broader process can be effective.

Public diplomacy cannot exist without an audience and the natural channel is media. I have tried to discover the real power of it. It is by all means critical, but other forms of international communication matter as well. In my opinion any form of direct contact with an official of a country such as a diplomat or a government member is very important. It is difficult to change stereotypes, but according to Renate Seebauer personal contact is an efficient way towards the change. Diplomats and governments should take more time to meet with people in public debates, panels etc. and thus through their accessibility contribute to the success of public diplomacy. I believe that local authorities and 'friends of Poland' from different countries play a very important role. I have recalled the examples of Martin Pollack and Emil Brix later on in the dissertation. It is also very important not to forget the potential of the significant number of Poles living in Austria. They could play a more significant role in the field of social diplomacy and thus support the overall effort.

Chapter II

The historical outline of Polish–Austrian diplomatic relations.

2.1. Polish - Austrian relations: a more than 1,000 year long tradition.

The relations between Poland and Austria are dated by historians as going back more than 1,000 years. According to Krzysztof Baczkowski these ties and contacts between the two states were quite incidental and accidental until the era of Maximilian I from the Habsburgs House, which had assumed the German throne and expanded its power in Austria. Maximilian became the king of Germany and in 1508 he received the crown of the Holy Roman Empire, although had never been crowned by the Pope.

The power of the Habsburg dynasty was confronted with that of the House of Jagiellonian, which had ruled Poland since 1386. The relations between these two monarchies are probably one of the most peculiar in the history of Europe. On the one hand the Habsburgs and the Jagiellonians were related to each other with the ties of blood and on the other hand they were usually standing on two extremes competing for power and influence, particularly in Hungary and in what is now the Czech Republic. To see just how close the family relations were it is enough to start with the genealogical tree of Maximilian I. He was the grandson of Cymbarka, who was a niece of Vladislav II Jagiellonian¹⁶⁰. Cymbarka herself was married to the Austrian Prince Ernest the Iron. Thus, the Emperor Maximilian was a cousin of Casimir Jagiellonian¹⁶¹.

The first serious conflict between the House of Habsburgs and the Jagiellonians arose in 1490 when Martin Korwin – the Hungarian king - died and both dynasties laid the claim for his throne as heirs. Maximilian I, in order to strengthen his chances of winning over the Hungarian throne, proposed a plan of grand anti-Polish coalition in

¹⁶⁰ M. Biskup, K. Górski, *Położenie i sytuacja międzynarodowa Polski w drugiej połowie XV wieku*, in: M. Biskup, K. Górski, *Kazimierz Jagiellończyk*, Warsaw 1987, p. 128-140; *Problem turecki w polityce państw europejskich na przełomie XV i XVI wieku*, in: „VII Powszechny Zjazd Historyków Polskich w Krakowie 1958. Referaty i dyskusja”, Warsaw 1960, p. 35-56. Quoted after: *Austria Polska. 1000 lat kontaktów*, Historical Work, No. 121, Uniwersytet Jagielloński, Kraków 1997, p. 22.

¹⁶¹ Op. cit. p. 22.

1491 to Russia, the Teutonic Order, Livonia, Sweden and Moldova¹⁶². Despite advanced efforts, this coalition was never established because Ivan III of Russia did not want to cooperate with the Teutonic Order and the other candidates to the anti-Polish union remained undecided¹⁶³. In fact the victory was on the Polish side, because Vladislav II Jagiellonian received the Hungarian throne upon getting the support of the Hungarian assembly of electors and defeating his own brother Jan Olbracht, who had also claimed the same privilege. Maximilian I could not accept this situation and he invaded Hungary a year later after the election, but Vladislav II Jagiellonian chose the way of compromise and granted the German monarch the hereditary rights to the Hungarian throne, missing out his brother Jan Olbracht. This move guaranteed relative peace for a couple of years until 1499/1500, when a new balance of power came into existence. The alliance between the Pope, Venice and France was established formally against the Turks but there was a certain anti-Habsburg sentiment in it as well. On July 14th 1500, Poland and Hungary set up an alliance with France in Buda, which was additionally backed by a marriage between relatives¹⁶⁴. In response Maximilian I started to play with the Teutonic Order card and in 1501 he urged the Grand Master of the Order to refuse the oath of faithfulness to the Polish King¹⁶⁵.

The relations had quite a sinusoidal course, full of diplomatic ups and downs. In 1514 Maximilian lost his faith in the alliance with Russia and even in 1515 these two Houses met in order to negotiate the marriage treaty between their relatives, namely Ludvik Jagiellonian with Maria the granddaughter of Maximilian I and her brother Ferdinand with Anna Jagiellonica¹⁶⁶. Some historians tend to even speak about about temporary friendship between the Habsburgs and the Jagiellonians during this

¹⁶² H. Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I. Das Reich, Österreich und Europa an der Wende zur Neuzeit*, Bd. I – V, München 1971 -1986. Quoted after: *Austria Polska. 1000 lat kontaktów*, Historical Work, No. 121, Uniwersytet Jagielloński, Kraków 1997, p. 23.

¹⁶³ K. Baczkowski, *Państwo Polsko – Litewskie w koncepcjach politycznych Maxymiliana I, Austria Polska. 1000 lat kontaktów*, Historical Work, No. 121, Uniwersytet Jagielloński, Kraków 1997, p. 23.

¹⁶⁴ Op. cit. p. 26.

¹⁶⁵ *Codex epistolaris saeculi decami quinti*, vol. 3, wyd. A. Lewicki, Cracow 1894, p. 492. Quoted after: *Austria Polska. 1000 lat kontaktów*, Historical Work, No. 121, Uniwersytet Jagielloński, Kraków 1997, p. 26.

¹⁶⁶ K. Baczkowski, *Państwo Polsko – Litewskie w koncepcjach politycznych Maxymiliana I, Austria Polska. 1000 lat kontaktów*, Historical Work, No. 121, Uniwersytet Jagielloński, Kraków 1997, p. 34.

historical period. Many Polish magnates were supportive of the Habsburgs.

The next step and important turning point comes at the end of the 1590s when negotiations over the anti-Turkish league began. Poland was at this time a buffer state and defending its borders from the Turks was one of the top priorities of the Jagiellonians.

Additionally, the religious context of Catholic Poles strengthened the search for allies with similar backgrounds. There were of course “friends of Turkey” among the top Polish politicians but in fact the decision to hold back the Turks was made. The Poles introduced several conditions to be fulfilled, before the coalition was established. These were:

1. The allies should include: the German Emperor and the German states, the Pope, Italian dukes, Spain, Denmark and eventually Venice and Moscow.
2. The alliance should be for an indefinite period of time and the allies could not join any other union without the permission of Poland;
3. The types of armies should be determined and battles were not welcome on Polish territory;
4. The allies should cover one third of the war costs borne by Poland;
5. The aims and endeavours were to be discussed in advance (Poles hoped for the Duchies close to Donau River);
6. The Poles demanded to fulfil the Będzin Accord by Maximilian I¹⁶⁷.

The Polish requirements were indeed high and some may even say on the edge of arrogance, so the engagement of the Habsburg Emperor Maximilian seemed to be

¹⁶⁷ J. Macurek, *Zápas Polska a Habsburku o pristup k Cernému Mori na sklonú 16. Stol.* Praha 1931 (=Sbírka pojednání a rozprav, 18), p. 25. Quoted after: J.P. Niederkorn, *Rokowania na temat przystąpienia Polski do Ligi Anytirczej w talach 1595 – 1597 from Austria Polska. 1000 lat kontaktów*, Historical Work, No. 121, Uniwersytet Jagielloński, Kraków1997, p. 77.

negligent. The result was that the anti-Turkish coalition ended up with failure. Nevertheless the history did not forget the conflict and a new wave of Turkish danger arose nearly eighty years later opening a new chapter in Polish-Austrian history.

2.2. The Battle of Vienna (1683) as a new chapter in Polish–Austrian relations in modern history.



/The Battle of Vienna - Pauwel Casteels - oil on canvas - after 1683; currently stored in Museum Pałac w Wilanowie (Warsaw) Poland/.

Source: http://www.wilanow-palac.pl/bitwa_pod_wiedniem.html

The Battle of Vienna, which is considered as probably the most important breakout in modern European history shows from the very beginning the complex and uneasy character of Polish-Austrian relations. If the battle was lost and the power of the Ottoman Empire advanced then history would surely change its path.

The powerful Turkish army, pretending willingness to help the Hungarian insurgents fighting against the Habsburg dominance, reached Belgrade¹⁶⁸. They were guided under the command of Grand Vizier Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Pasha. He was subordinate to the sultan Mehmed IV, who was the absolute monarch famous for his

¹⁶⁸ L. Podhorodecki, *Jan III Sobieski*, Bellona, Warszawa 2010, p. 139.

lavish lifestyle and enormous expenses of his court and who was not interested in participating in the conquering in person, so practically all military decisions were made by the Vizier Kara Mustafa. One Venetian defender of Candia even said that he would not undergo peace until transforming St. Peter`s Basilica into Sultans` stables¹⁶⁹. The economies of all three participants of the conflict, namely Austria, Poland¹⁷⁰ and in particular Turkey were significantly enfeebled and they all looked for new expansion and gains. Additionally, the religious context of the rivalry between Christianity and Islam was visible and motivating for both sides. The symbolic act took place before the battle, when the special envoy with a letter was sent by the Ottoman side to the Austrian Emperor Leopold I directing him to convert to Islam, pay the financial tribute or meet on the battle field.

The siege of Vienna by the Ottoman army lasted from July 14th 1683 and it was clear that the Habsburg Emperor would not be able to confront the Turkish rival alone. Leopold I sent Count Waldstein to the Polish King John III Sobieski asking him for help and making him the commander in chief of all the troops incorporated into the Holy League, which included also the representatives from Bavaria, Saxony, Franconia, Swabia and Grand Duchy of Tuscany.

Significant support was given also by the Vatican. Pope Innocent XI engaged himself in fostering the idea of defeating unbelievers. The order of Jesuits subordinate to the Pope joined Austrian and German troops in fighting against Muslims. The agitation work was also done by Polish priests who encouraged Polish men and nobility to fight bravely against the enemy. That is why King John III Sobieski saw no other reasonable way than to join the coalition of Christian countries and to challenge the Ottoman Empire troops on the battle field.

The Sultan participated in a solemn ceremony on January 2nd 1682 in Constantinople announcing the holy war – *jihad* – against the Christian Empire¹⁷¹. The core part of the

¹⁶⁹ Op. cit. p. 139.

¹⁷⁰ Poland was at this time associated with Lithuania and the official name of the entity was the Polish - Lithuanian Commonwealth.

¹⁷¹ M. Hryniewicz, *Bitwa po Wiedniem*, Wydawnictwa Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, Warszawa 1983, p. 25.

Ottoman army was the janissaries – an elite unit of 55,000 soldiers who were raised and trained in fanatic hatred against Christians and discipline¹⁷².

When the Ottoman troops started to surround Vienna in July 1683 there was no way back and the preparations were fully ongoing on the Austrian–Polish side. Austria tried to win over France and Venice as allies, but unsuccessfully, so the only possible solution was Poland. The Emperor and the King formalised the cooperation in an ally treaty, which was at this time an example of collective security. The document was signed April 1st 1683 and it assumed the participation of 60,000 Austrian soldiers and 40,000 Polish soldiers¹⁷³ and in case of unexpected attack on Cracow or Vienna by the Turks, the monarchs were obliged to immediately come for help¹⁷⁴. It is quite interesting to note why the chief command was given to Poland despite the Habsburg Monarchy being attacked, plus they had a bigger army. The answer given by historians like Marek Hryniewicz is that the Emperor Leopold I was not a keen battle fighter and the natural choice was John III Sobieski¹⁷⁵. The Emperor Leopold, as the second born, was raised to become a priest. He simply did not have the nature of a warrior¹⁷⁶. Jan III Sobieski was highly confident in duels and carrying battles.

The battle with the Turks began very early on the morning of September 12th 1683. The powers were relatively comparable with a slight preponderance of Turkey who had 80,000 troops as against 70,000 Polish and Austrian troops¹⁷⁷. The place of the battle was mainly in the area of Kahlenberg Hill and the Wienerwald. The location of the Christian alliance was much more favourable, because they were stationed on top of the hills, whereas the Turks waited for the battle in valleys. The first move was made by the Habsburg and German army and the hard battles were carried. The decisive moment came after 12 hours when the attack was led by the Polish king in

¹⁷² Op. cit. p. 26.

¹⁷³ Op. cit. p. 33.

¹⁷⁴ Op. cit. p. 33.

¹⁷⁵ Op. cit. p. 33-34.

¹⁷⁶ G. Hagenau, *Jan Sobieski Retter Wiens und des Abendlandes*, Lecture from March 2nd 1993, Buchbiderei Vrba Helmut, Wien, p. 31.

¹⁷⁷ L. Podhorodecki, *Jan III Sobieski*, Bellona, Warszawa 2010, p. 148.

front of a spearhead of 3,000 heavily-armed winged Polish lancer hussars. This charge broke the lines of the Ottomans, who were tired from the long fight on both sides. In the confusion, the cavalry headed straight for the Ottoman camps, while the remaining Vienna garrison sallied out of its defences and joined in the assault¹⁷⁸. In the end the battle ended with the Polish-Habsburg victory.

The nature of the further continuation of Polish-Austrian relations is indeed surprising, because in theory it should have continued in harmony and trust, but what happened was slightly different. The Emperor Leopold presented a very cold and distanced attitude to King John III Sobieski and the Polish soldiers. He refused, for example, to deliver food to the Polish army after the battle. According to Leszek Podhorodecki the frigidity of the Habsburg Emperor had political motivations. Leopold I was afraid of relations between John III Sobieski and the Hungarian insurgents, who were highly sympathetic towards him. The Polish king defended the insurgents and he asked the Emperor for amnesty for them. Leopold I was afraid that John III Sobieski could dominate all of Hungary and embed his son Jacob on the Hungarian throne¹⁷⁹. It is difficult to say if John III Sobieski had second thoughts about the cold relations with the Habsburgs. Gerda Hagenau, who was a Polish-Austrian writer, mentioned¹⁸⁰ the features of John III Sobieski's character, like vanity and desire for fame, which could be a hindrance with the Austrian Emperor.

2.3. The partitions of Poland by the Habsburg monarchy and the Galicia.

2.3.1. The Aetiology.

The historical ties between Poland and Austria have been strongly intertwined for centuries. After the common fight against the Ottoman Empire under the guidance of King John III Sobieski in 1683 a new chapter in the history of the two countries began. Starting in 1772 Poland became a part of the Habsburg monarchy as a result of the hostile takeover. There are many reasons why Poland for nearly 150 years was not

¹⁷⁸ Source: <http://www.wien-vienna.com/vienna1683.php>

¹⁷⁹ L. Podhorodecki, *Jan III Sobieski*, Bellona, Warszawa 2010, p. 154.

¹⁸⁰ G. Hagenau, *Jan Sobieski Retter Wiens und des Abendlandes*, Lecture from March 2nd 1993, Buchbiderei Vrba Helmut, Wien.

present on the maps of Europe and not only because of the imperial moves of Russia, Prussia and Austria.

The historians agree that the partitions would not be possible if not for the internal crisis and economic weakness of Poland. The short-sighted egoism of the nobility and the ambitions of competing clans for power in the country should be pointed out as the objective reason of the failure of the Polish state¹⁸¹. Additionally, there were unfortunate changes in Polish agriculture at the turn of the XVI/XVII centuries, because the manorial system was implemented and this turned out to be highly ineffective for the entire Polish economy which was based a great deal on the work of farmers. It was proven that the negative effects based on the manorial system economy induced the retardation of the agricultural technique and increased the exploitation of farmers because higher drudgery was demanded¹⁸². Logically, this has to result in weakening the condition of the entire country. The shortages in the national treasury disturbed the military recruitment and soldiers' pay. The soldiers were establishing confederations and collected taxes on their own which further ruined the country¹⁸³.

The foreign policy of Russia, Prussia and Austria and the general international situation should not be overlooked either. Petersburg could count on the solidarity of the two neighbours of Poland, because there was an alliance between Austria and Russia since 1726 and also Prussia did not see any other alternative than cooperation with Russia¹⁸⁴. These three empires signed the Treaty of Löwenwold, known in history also as the Treaty of Three Black Eagles, which was the first accord between the three conquerors of Poland. The *entente cordiale* of the three “black eagles” was aimed at preventing the election of Stanisław Leszczyński for the Polish king, who was supported by France, and to deliver their own candidate on the Polish throne¹⁸⁵.

¹⁸¹ T. Cegielski, Ł. Kądziała, *Rozbiory Polski 1772 – 1793 – 1795*, Wydawnictwa Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, Warszawa 1990, p. 12 -13.

¹⁸² Op. cit. p. 13; after quotation of Zbigniew Wójcik.

¹⁸³ Op. cit. p. 14.

¹⁸⁴ M. G. Müller, *Partitions of Poland. History of Poland and Europe of the 18th Century* (Polish edition), PTPN, Poznań 2005, p. 19.

¹⁸⁵ Op. cit. p. 19.

2.3.2 The Austrian involvement in the first partition of Poland in 1772.

The purpose of this chapter is to focus on the Austrian behaviour and its role in conquering Poland in 1772 as a crucial breakthrough in the history of Polish - Austrian relations, so that is why other facts relating to the two other conquerors, namely Prussia and Russia will not be presented in this chapter.

The historians agree that the first move towards the partition of Poland was made by Austria. The models of Polish defeat had already been discussed in Potsdam and Vienna in 1768/1769. The Austrian Chancellor Kaunitz presented in 1768 the project of alliance with Prussia and the Ottoman Empire based on territorial exchange¹⁸⁶. The King of Prussia was about to resign from the alliance with Russia and give the Silesia region to Austria. As a return favour, Austria promised to help Prussia to conquer part of the Royal Prussia and Kurland ignoring Poland¹⁸⁷. Already in 1770, Austria annexed Spisz and supported Polish confederates.

The first official partition of Poland came two years later and the official Partition treaty was announced on August 5th 1772. The lands annexed by Austria were called *terrae revindicatae*, because of the heritage rights of the Hungarian king to the Halicko –Włodzimierskie Duchy purchased in 1214 and The Empress Maria Theresa considered herself as the lawful heiress of the Hungarian throne¹⁸⁸. These lands were naturally not the dream gains for the Austrian Empress, because she hoped for the exchange of this part of Poland into better ones¹⁸⁹. Nevertheless, Austria was given through the Partition Treaty of 1772 the territory of 78,000 km² inhabited by more than 2.5 million people¹⁹⁰. The population of the province included Poles, Ruthenians (today Ukrainians), Germans (including Austrians) and Jews. Galicia, invented in 1772, enjoyed a historical existence of less than a century and a half, from 1772 to the end of World War I and the abolition of the Habsburg monarchy in 1918. Galicia was then removed from the map of Europe and today, almost a century later, it belongs to

¹⁸⁶ Op. cit. p. 41.

¹⁸⁷ Op. cit. p. 41. After: A. Beer, *Die erste Theilung Polens*, vol. 1, p. 193.

¹⁸⁸ M. Tyrowicz, *Galicja. Od pierwszego rozbioru do Wiosny Ludów 1772 – 1849*. Wydawnictwo Zakładu im. Ossolińskich, Cracow – Wrocław 1956, p. 18.

¹⁸⁹ Op. cit. p. 18.

¹⁹⁰ Op. cit. p. 18.

the category of extinct geopolitical entities¹⁹¹.

Upon the annexation the area was divided into nine directorates, and fifty nine (and later on twenty nine) districts by the new Austrian administration¹⁹².

The map of the Austrian gains during the partitions of Poland 1772–1918¹⁹³.



Ten years after the partition under the administrative reform the districts were renamed into nineteen circles¹⁹⁴ (*Ger. Kreis*). It should be also mentioned that Austrian officers who were sent to administer the new territories were rather negative. The Austrian bureaucrats called these parts of Poland: *Bärenland* – the land of Bears - to stress their primitive and highly agricultural character¹⁹⁵. During the Habsburg monarchy there was an idiomatic expression “Galician poverty” used as a proverb.

¹⁹¹ L. Wolff, *The Idea of Galicia. History and Fantasy in Habsburg Political Culture*, Stanford University Press, Stanford 2010 p. 3.

¹⁹² Op. cit. p. 21.

¹⁹³ Source: <http://encyklopedia.interia.pl/haslo?hid=118504>

¹⁹⁴ These were: lwowski, tarnopolski, stanisławowski, kołomyjski, brzeżański, czortowski, stryjski, samborski, żółkiewski, złoczowski, przemyski, rzeszowski, sanocki, jasielski, tarnowski, bocheński, wadowicki, sandecki and bukowski.

¹⁹⁵ Op. cit. p. 18.

“Galician relationships” going hand in hand with “Galician poverty” are the synonyms of backwardness, ignorance, bribery and lawlessness. Neither the state nor the landowners invested in the development of bigger industry. The Government in Vienna treated this region first of all as a provider of raw materials and an important market for its cheap products¹⁹⁶.

The Austrian administrators were not aware of the rich loads of minerals, like coal, or mineral waters in the beginning¹⁹⁷. Other goods like salt and iron ores were partly exploited from the territory of Galicia and Londometria. The Austrian administration under the rule of Maria Theresa did not organise the lowest village communes and the administration over peasants was still under courts of the landlords¹⁹⁸. This had several negative outcomes. First of all, it fostered the feudal system and the poor situation of farmers working in the manorial system was out of control and in higher instances giving grounds for many abuses over farmers, their work and resources. Other partition lands, in particular Prussia, did not have problems, because there were first promises of technological progress and development, which were not observed in the Galicia region. Another problematic issue was the centralistic system of rule, where all the decisions were made in Vienna¹⁹⁹. This had automatically led to the fact that only privileged and wealthy people could afford to travel to Vienna to present their claims and care for their business. The poorest and most vulnerable people had practically no chance to fight for justice. The official language of the Austrian administration in Galicia was German and the command of this language was not common, especially since a great deal of Polish peasants were illiterate in their mother tongue.

Joseph II took power after his mother Maria Theresa. He was known as the "enlightened absolutist" monarch and his name was given to the term *josephinism*²⁰⁰,

¹⁹⁶ M. Pollack, *Cesarz Ameryki. Wielka Ucieczka z Galicji*, Wydawnictwo Czarne, Wołowiec 2011.

¹⁹⁷ Op. cit. p. 18.

¹⁹⁸ Op. cit. p. 22.

¹⁹⁹ Op. cit. p. 24.

²⁰⁰ "<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/306433/Josephinism>"

"<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/306433/Josephinism>"

"<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/306433/Josephinism>"

"<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/306433/Josephinism>" - generally means subjecting the Roman

associated with reforms and certain religious freedoms granted to society. This tendency was also visible on the Polish land, because the Tolerance Act issued in 1781 made all religions equal and many privileges were taken away from the Catholic Church such as chairmanship over education, censorship of books and jurisprudence over marriage issues²⁰¹. The social group which achieved certain freedoms and advantages was certainly the peasants. He abolished for example, his personal slavery over them in 1782. The farmers received - unknown up until this time - independence from their superiors, namely nobility. They could finally marry a desired person without the permission of a landlord, learn crafts, change profession; but still they could only change land or village only upon prior approval of a landlord and finding a proxy for their place²⁰². A year later, the dimension of drudgery was announced to three days a week in favour of the superior court²⁰³ and this meant that the peasants had only two working days to take care of their land and crops.

The historians mention one more particular characteristic of Joseph II's rule, namely lethargy in culture and education. This was a result of very strong control, censorship and intervention in all cultural fields. Additionally, the German language was introduced unconditionally, which naturally eliminated a certain amount of culture addressees²⁰⁴. According to historians and historical sources coming from this period the development of art, like classical painting or literature, was nearly non-existent. Nevertheless, in spite of many problems a significant amount of money was transferred every year to the treasury of the Habsburg family. This totalled 15 million

Catholic Church in the Habsburg lands to service for the state, but the origins and extent of such subjection have generated controversy. Both Maria Theresa and Joseph were devoutly Roman Catholic, but both also believed in firm state control of ecclesiastical matters outside of the strictly religious sphere. To improve the economy, Maria Theresa ordered restrictions on religious holidays and prohibited the taking of ecclesiastic vows before the 24th birthday. She insisted that clerics be subject to the jurisdiction of the state in nonecclesiastical matters and that the acquisition of land by the church be controlled by the government.

Source: HYPERLINK "<http://www.britannica.com/>" www.britannica.com

²⁰¹ M. Tyrowicz, *Galicja. Od pierwszego rozbioru do Wiosny Ludów 1772 – 1849*. Wydawnictwo Zakładu im. Ossolińskich, Cracow – Wrocław 1956, p. 25.

²⁰² Op. cit. p. 27.

²⁰³ Op. cit. p. 27.

²⁰⁴ Op. cit. p. 28.

florins in 1816²⁰⁵.

After the death of Joseph II the throne was inherited by his brother Leopold II, but his rule lasted only 1.5 years, so it was definitely too short a time to judge the real impact of his influence over the partition land Galicia and Lodometry. The majority of historians stress the will of continuation of Joseph II's reforms and they refer to him as an enlightened despot. What should be unconditionally mentioned is his rule was in the times of the French Revolution (1789), when the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen was announced.

The first and third articles of what is probably the most popular Declaration say:

Men are born and remain free and equal in rights. Social distinctions may be founded only upon the general good.

The principle of all sovereignty resides essentially in the nation. No body nor individual may exercise any authority which does not proceed directly from the nation.

Such powerful movements with the above postulates had to initiate fear and nervousness on the courts of absolutist monarchs including the Habsburg monarchy. The conspiracy and plans for the uprising against Austria began well ahead of the French Revolution, because already in January 1769 in Cracow the first secret act was signed²⁰⁶, but more concrete actions appeared after the French Revolution. The opposition movements were based abroad because of security reasons, mostly in France and Italy. The most well-known leaders of the conspiracy movement were: Walerian Dzierżycki, Józef Wybicki, Franciszek Barss and Henryk Dąbrowski.

2.3.3. The Third Partition of Poland and its consequences.

Tadeusz Kościuszko lost his patriotic uprising in 1794. The instability on Polish territory motivated Russia, Prussia and Austria in favour of further partitions.

²⁰⁵ Op. cit. p. 25.

²⁰⁶ Op. cit. p. 44.

Austria was particularly interested in further expansion, especially taking into account that the Habsburgs did not take part in the Second Partition of Poland. On October 24th 1795 the negotiations between the empires were finalised and Poland was partitioned for the third time in its history. The Habsburg Monarchy received the city of Cracow and part of the Małopolska region between Pilica, Wisła and Bug River and additionally a part of Mazowsze and Podlasie region. This was 47,000 km² inhabited by 1.2 million people²⁰⁷.

The hopes for freedom increased all over Europe, but they were successfully suffocated in 1815 together with the Congress of Vienna and the instalment of the Holy Alliance concluded by the monarchs from Austria, Russia and Prussia and gradually supported by the majority of European states. There were two major missions of this alliance. First of all, it was the balance of power, which lasted for more than a hundred years, but we should also remember the religious dimension of the Alliance. The Act of Holy Alliance's creation was affected by the religious ideas and contained references to the teaching of Jesus Christ, which "taught the men to consider each other as brethren, and not live in hostility and malice, but in peace and love"²⁰⁸. Finally, the crucial outcome of this act, which was strongly lobbied by Austria in person of the chancellor Klemens von Metternich, was decisive reactive action against revolutionary movements on the lands gained via partitions.

The times of the rule of the next Habsburg Emperor Franz I were quite hard economically for the Galicia inhabitants and were marked by the retardation and further abuse of the peasants, who had to do unpaid work for the landlords and additionally pay three different taxes. Additionally, there was a string of calamities in 1827 in the Galicia region; a locust attack, a contagion of livestock, a drought, and a widespread potato cancer²⁰⁹. There was an epidemic of typhus and dysentery exactly a

²⁰⁷ Source: http://portalwiedzy.onet.pl/69946,,,rozbiory_polski,haslo.html.

²⁰⁸ Boris Yeltsin Presidential Library article: *Holly Alliance was signed*, source: <http://www.prlib.ru/en-us/History/Pages/Item.aspx?itemid=179>.

²⁰⁹ M. Tyrowicz, *Galicja. Od pierwszego rozbioru do Wiosny Ludów 1772 – 1849*. Wydawnictwo Zakładu im. Ossolińskich, Cracow – Wrocław 1956, p. 67.

year later in 1828²¹⁰. Production was very much based on potato cultivation and the sugar industry, so this opened the door for alcohol distillery. This fact contributed to a situation whereby next to illiteracy, alcoholism was the second burning problem in Galician villages.

A difficult economic situation and mandatory payments for Austria created fertile ground for the development of conspiracy and revolution movements. The major headquarters of opposition were based in Cracow and in Lviv. The students' secret union Numa was created in Cracow in 1834 under the guidance of Walerian Wielogłowski, Lesław Łukaszewicz and Ludwik Gorzkowski²¹¹. The second influential organisation was Dykasteria under the guidance of Franciszek Smolka, a practicing lawyer and the son of an Austrian officer who devoted his career and fought for Polish independence risking his life: he was sentenced for capital punishment, but later freed. The crisis came in 1845, just before the Spring of Nations, when 45 death sentences were declared against Polish opposition activists²¹².

The uprising of the Revolutions of 1848 known also as "the Spring of Nations" reached also Galicia. On March 18th the National Committee [Komitet Narodowy] was established in Cracow, headed by Józef Krzyżanowski, and 18 demonstrations also took place in the capital of Galicia, Lviv; in both cities national guards were formed, as well as academic legions; the national guard in Cracow was headed by Piotr Moszyński a landowner from Volhynia, who represented the interests of the local nobility; in Lviv by two journalists: Jan Dobrzyński and Józef Dzierzkowski²¹³. The protesters demanded civil rights, abandonment of censorship and the introduction of the Polish language to schools and offices.

During the protests the governor of Austria in Galicia, Franz Serfin von Stadion, took a risk and announced the abolition of corvée without the consultation and permission of the Emperor, who eventually supported his decision a few weeks later. According to

²¹⁰ Op. cit. p. 67.

²¹¹ Op. cit. p. 75.

²¹² Op. cit. p. 80.

²¹³ J.T. Pekacz, <http://www.ohio.edu/chastain/dh/galacia.htm>.

historians, when it comes to the Revolution of 1848, this was the main achievement of this time. Upon the suppression of the Spring of Nations a new movement appeared in Galicia. This was *Stańczycy*, a group of conservative Galician intellectuals who obliged to defend Christian and Western values, stand against Russia and collaborate closely and loyally with the Habsburgs and Austria²¹⁴. The major leaders of this movement were Stanisław Tarnowski, Stanisław Koźmian and Józef Szujski. The *Stańczycy* also had their press organ *Czas* (“The Time” in English), which was issued in Cracow from 1848 to 1934 and then in Warsaw in the years 1935 to 1939.

The pressure put on the entire Habsburg monarchy during the Revolutions of 1848 inclined the Emperor Franz I to create Autonomy in Galicia in 1861. The system of the new entity was outlined by the State's Status and according to which the State's Court based in Lviv was the most important institution in Galicia²¹⁵. It had competence in local budget, self-government, agriculture, forestry and road-building²¹⁶. Another crucial aspect of the new autonomy was implementation of the Polish language in the offices and in the education system and in that way one of the most critical postulates of the opposition was fulfilled.

2.4. The Period 1918 – 1945.

Bilateral diplomatic relations between Poland and Austria were established after World War I. The first delegate of the Polish government Ernest Habicht started his outpost assignment on November 11th 1918, whereas the first Austrian delegate Cabon Ugron was nominated eleven days later the same year. The initial Polish-Austrian relations lasted only until 1938 because of the *Anschluss*. As a result the Polish Delegation in Vienna was liquidated and all the consular offices were subordinated to the Polish Embassy in Berlin.

The new era in Polish–Austrian diplomatic relations began after World War II. Austria was occupied by the four allies and still had no sovereignty, and the future of the

²¹⁴ <http://portalwiedzy.onet.pl/61578,,,stanczycy,haslo.html>

²¹⁵ http://historia.gazeta.pl/historia/1,101069,6897283,Poczatek_autonomii_Galicji.html

²¹⁶ Op. cit.

country was still uncertain and questioned. Nevertheless, the first Polish delegate Colonel Leszek Krzemień was sent in May 1945.

Later on two political representatives Feliks Mantel (Poland) and Walter Tenschert (Austria) were exchanged in 1946.

2.5. The Period 1945–1969. Difficult endeavours in search of mutual dialogue.

The modern postwar chapter in the history of Austria begins on May 18th 1955, when independence was bestowed. After the death of Joseph Stalin the negotiations over the renewing of the sovereignty of Austria speeded up. The result of these negotiations was also internationally-recognised neutrality; the occupant troops were withdrawn and the Anschluss with Germany was abolished. Additionally, the natural consequences were also de-Nazification and eradication of the national socialism policy. The Austrian State Treaty was signed in the Belvedere main hall by the four Foreign Ministers: John Foster Dulles (USA), Harold Macmillan (United Kingdom), Antoine Pinay (France) and Vyacheslav Molotov (Soviet Union). The Austrian side was represented by Leopold Figl. The contemporary retrospection of Günter Dürriegl on the 50th anniversary of the State Treaty is highly laudable. *With the year 1955, that annus mirabilis, began Austria's story of success. The country began to prosper in financial, social, cultural and intellectual terms. And this is how Austria has succeeded in becoming one of the richest nations in the world at the beginning of the 21st century./.../. Because "Austria is free"*²¹⁷.

The reason for this enthusiasm did not come from the Austrians alone. The key answer for this good start, which Poland was denied, was the Marshall Plan. No European nation benefited more from the Marshall Plan than Austria. The so-called "counterpart funds" (Austrian Schillings earned by selling American ERP-financed products in

²¹⁷ G. Dürriegl, *Fifteenth of May 1955*, from the album *The New Austria* on the basis of the Exhibition to Commemorate the 50th Anniversary the State Treaty 1955/2005, Österreichische Galerie Belvedere 16 May – 1 November 2005, p. 147.

Austria at market prices deposited by the government into bank accounts for future investment) became the most important investment tool in reviving the Austrian economy during a capital-starved time²¹⁸.

Nevertheless, diplomatic relations between Poland between 1948 and 1956 were far from thriving. Włodzimierz Borodziej stressed the dominating feeling of strangeness (Fremdheit) in the early years after the war as the two countries of Poland and Austria through the Iron Curtain were shifted to the two distant realities²¹⁹. Another burden was still a relatively fresh historical memory, since around one hundred war criminals (NS – Verbrecher) were detained in the Polish prisons²²⁰.

As a result the quasi-diplomatic relations in the early 1950s had a tentative character. Finally, in November 1954 envoy missions in the rank of embassies were established²²¹.

The 1960s can be regarded as a relatively dead period in Polish–Austrian relations. The only highlights from the decade are two visits, rather in the form of courtesy, of the Minister of Foreign Affairs: Bruno Kreisky in March 1960 and the second visit paid by the Vice Chancellor Bruno Pittermann in February 1962.

The Polish efforts to tighten the relations were comparably intense. The Minister of Foreign Affairs Adam Rapacki paid an official visit to Vienna in March 1961 and the next visit of the Prime Minister Józef Cyrankiewicz was received in September four years later. The historians do not write any significant remarks about the importance of these visits. Nevertheless, the diplomats managed to negotiate and conclude the following documents:

- 11 XII 1963 – The Agreement on Mutual Relations in the framework of

²¹⁸ G. Bischof, *Allied Plans and Policies for the Occupation of Austria, 1938 – 1995*, from the collection *Austria in the Twentieth Century*, Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick (U.S.A.) and London 2002, p. 179.

²¹⁹ W. Borodziej, *Die Volksrepublik Polen und Österreich 1948 – 1956*, from *Der österreichische Staatsvertrag 1955*, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien 2005, p. 418.

²²⁰ Op. cit. p. 419.

²²¹ Op. cit. p. 420.

Civil Law²²² and its documents. The Agreement came into force on 20 February 1974.

- 17 XI 1967 – The Trade Agreement for the years 1968–1972.
- 17 XI 1967 – The Payment Settlement.
- 20 XII 1967 – The Accord on Cultural and Scientific Cooperation, which entered into force on 20 January 1968.

The 1960s was a time of full employment and urban acceleration in Austria, whereas in the case of Poland the economic progress seemed to take a few steps back. It is the infamous period of the Władysław Gomułka rule as the First Secretary of the Communist Party (PZPR) and implementing taxes and regulations on everyday products, including luxurious goods like cars, but over time including food products as a response to economic problems.

In the case of such differences we can only talk about the nominal character of Polish-Austrian diplomatic relations in the 1960s. The year 1970, when Władysław Gomułka quit the guidance of the party, opened a new period in the relations.

2.6. The 1970s. Consolidation of cooperation.

The 1970s is a special period in the history of Polish-Austrian relations. This was the time of the two leaders: Edward Gierek (Poland) and Bruno Kreisky (Austria).

The early 1970s started tragically with the events of workers' strikes and protests on the coast in Lenin's Shipyard. The Communist Party led by Władysław Gomułka was not able to keep its authority and there was an immediate need for a change in leadership. Edward Gierek was chosen for the position of First Secretary of the Polish United Workers Party on December 20th 1970. Raised in *bourgeoisie* France and Belgium he was a new quality not only for Polish society but also for the Western partners, which awarded him with significant trust. The years 1970 to 1975 marked the period of economic acceleration possible only through huge credits from the Western

²²² All the names of the treaties presented in this chapter are own translations from Polish into English.

countries. Edward Gierek, who was fluent in French, managed to attract many Western leaders. Indeed, there were grounds for such optimism as nominal salaries rose and products considered by the Poles as luxurious appeared. Nevertheless, this trend was to last only until 1976 when the next crisis occurred in the Polish economy, because nearly all investments were on credit while the real financial needs for development were much higher than the assets. As a result, Polish debts to international creditors in December 1976 totalled 12.2 billion USD and in the last month of 1979 the debt doubled up to 22.3 billion USD²²³.

The Polish government started the year 1970 with the killing of non-subordinate workers of the shipyard demonstrating the full dimension of the totalitarianism, whereas the Austrians could choose their own government in free democratic elections. The great winner was the SPÖ (Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreichs) led by the charismatic leader Bruno Kreisky, a former journalist, while the Secretary of State and the Minister of Foreign Affairs put tremendous focus on engaging Austria in international affairs.

There was certainly no area in which Chancellor Kreisky himself attended to the details more meticulously than in the field of foreign policy²²⁴. This phenomenon of such activity of a neutral country in the international arena was indeed historical. It is very important to be aware of the Austrian attitude towards the Cold War actors. Kreisky himself never made a secret of the fact that in this Cold War, the ideological-military-economic confrontation between the Communist Bloc under Soviet leadership and the “West” under the aegis of the United States, his allegiance was clearly and uncompromisingly on the side of the West²²⁵.

In spite of this clear alignment Vienna was still a meeting point for the high profile East-West settlement dialogue during the interwar period, including the signing of the

²²³ J. Gajdek, *Polnisch – österreichische Beziehungen in den 70er, 80er and 90er Jahren im Spiegel der Presse der beiden Länder*, Diplomarbeit, Universität Wien 1999, p.19.

²²⁴ O. Rathkolb, *The Kreisky Era, 1970 – 1983*, from the collection *Austria in the Twentieth Century*, Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick (U.S.A.) and London 2002, p. 286.

²²⁵ Op. cit. p. 287.

SALT II Treaty on 18th June 1979. Additionally, the high point of this new role for the tiny neutral state of Austria was certainly the negotiations before and after the Conference for Security and Cooperation (CSCE) in 1975 in Helsinki, where Austria succeeded both in coauthoring measures for the reductions of tensions and in implementing resolutions to do with concrete mechanisms for the observance of human rights²²⁶.

Polish–Austrian diplomatic relations in comparison with the 1960s were much more intensive and cooperative. There were 17 high profile mutual diplomatic visits in the respective capitals between 1970 and 1979. Sixteen agreements²²⁷ and accords were concluded in these years, which gives an increase of 23.5% in comparison with the years 1960 to 1969. The following agreements deserve special attention:

- 14 VI 1972 - The Agreement on Cultural and Scientific Cooperation;
- 18 VII 1972 – The Agreement on the Mutual Abolishment of Visa Duty;
- 6 IX 1973 – The Agreement on Economic, Trade, Scientific and Technical Cooperation.

The crucial agreement in Polish–Austrian relations was The Agreement on Cultural and Scientific Cooperation signed during the three day official visit of the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs Stefan Olszowski and The President of the Austrian Republic Dr. Rudolf Kirchschlager in Vienna. The importance of this Treaty is that it is an essence of the contemporary cultural and scientific relations in the respective countries.

²²⁶ Op. cit. p. 287.

²²⁷ The other concluded agreements are: The Accord on cultural and scientific cooperation (9 VI 1970); The Agreement on Regulation of the Particular Financial Issues (6 X 1970); The Long Term Agreement on the Trade and Payment Circulation and on Economic Cooperation (9 IX 1971); The Consular Convention (22 VII 1975); The Long Term Programme on Further Development of Economic, Industrial, Scientific and Technical Cooperation (2 X 1974); The Accord on Electrical Energy Delivery from Poland to Austria and on The Export of the Austrian Investment Goods on Credit Conditions and related Problems (1 X 1974); The Agreement on Prevention of Double Taxation on Incomes and Property (2 X 1974); The Agreement on Cooperation in Health Protection (23 V 1975); The Agreement on Cooperation in Tourism (29 IV 1976); The Long Term Agreement about Commodity and Payment Circulation and on Economic Cooperation (22 IX 1976); The Agreement on Cooperation and Mutual Help in Customs Issues (16 XII 1977); The Agreement on Extradition (27 II 1978); The Agreement on Legal Cases on Penal Issues (27 II 1978).

The Parties of the Agreement obliged each other to support the mutual exchange of researchers, books and publications (Art. 2), enhancing the cooperation between The Polish Academy of Sciences and The Austrian Academy of Sciences (Art. 3), establishing scholarship opportunities for the citizens of the respective countries (Art. 4), the mutual recognition of academic degrees and diplomas (Art. 5), fostering mutual command of the language through the exchange of teachers and organising summer language courses (Art. 8).

Additionally, Articles 11, 12 and 13 include the general outline of desired cultural cooperation such as fostering contact between artists and architects, organising exhibitions and enhancing the translation of literature masterpieces with the possibility of scholarships for the translators.

The importance of this Agreement depends on the fact that it is still the basis for bilateral cultural relations between Poland and Austria up to contemporary days and every six years the conventions are renewed.

2.7. The 1980s. Austria comes for help.

The early 1980s opened with one of the most difficult chapters in Polish contemporary history. The government, helpless with the economic breakdown and the workers' upheavals, responded with violence. Additionally, the significant dependence on Moscow's will and decisions, only served to speed up the decision of the State Council led by Wojciech Jaruzelski about implementing Martial Law in Poland on December 13th 1981. The history of this tragic historical event is known worldwide. The Solidarity movement was deprived of the legal status of existence, the leaders and members were interned in separation camps, telephone communication was switched off, the police hour was implemented, and the availability of food products was under restriction. All human rights were suspended.

The consequence of Martial Law was a huge wave of emigration and escape from Poland to the West. Austria was one of the antecedent and desirable places chosen as a destination. The result was visible to the naked eye and a highly anxious time for the

Austrian government. An additional reason for the choice was the possibility of the non-visa movement guaranteed by the Agreement signed between the respective governments on July 19th 1972.

In consequence, on December 19th after the implementation of the Martial Law in 1981, the official report informed of the arrival of 3,000 Poles in ten days with more arrivals expected²²⁸. This fact frightened the Austrian government and as a result the Agreement on non-visa movement was suspended. Nevertheless, it must be noted that Polish–Austrian diplomatic relations never broke down and were indeed sustained during Martial Law. The official number of Polish citizens residing in Austrian territory during Martial Law was 30,000²²⁹.

One very interesting fact about the attitude of Austrian citizens is the significant help that was initiated for the Polish victims of Martial Law. The National Committee offered 10 million schillings, and the city of Bregenz raised 100,000 schillings²³⁰. Additionally, lots of spontaneous help was initiated amongst the youth, for example the Catholic youth from Hernals collected 20 tons of basic articles as well as 105,000 schillings²³¹.

Speaking of diplomatic efforts, the period of 1980 to 1989 was intensive and historically important. The number of official diplomatic visits during this time was 12 and they resulted in nine agreements, accords and protocols. These were:

- 20 II 1980 - Agreement on Broadening Economic, Industrial and Technical Cooperation for Small and Medium Size Enterprises;
- 20 II 1980 – The Protocol on Broadening Industrial Cooperation on the Markets of Third Countries between the Polish and Austrian Enterprises;
- 2 V 1980 – The Long Term Agreement on Cereal Delivery;

²²⁸ J. Gajdek, *Polnisch – österreichische Beziehungen in den 70er, 80er and 90er Jahren im Spiegel der Presse der beiden Länder*, Diplomarbeit, Universität Wien 1999, p.42.

²²⁹ <http://zakorzenienie.most.org.pl/za11/08.htm>

²³⁰ Op. cit. p. 41.

²³¹ Op. cit. p. 41.

- 22 VIII 1985 – The Accord on the Extension of Debt Payment for the Years 1982 to 1984;
- 22 VIII 1985 - The Accord on the Guarantees of the Austrian Government for the Credit for Poland;
- 22 VIII 1987 – The Agreement on the Prevention and Disclosure of Crimes and Providing Security in the area of Trafficking;
- 24 XI 1988 – The Agreement on the Cooperation in the area of Environment Protection;
- 24 XI 1988 – The Agreement on Support and Investment Protection;
- 15 XII 1989 – The Agreement on Information Exchange and Cooperation in Nuclear Security and Radiation Protection;

The early 1980s, for Austria and Poland, was the time of totally two different economic and social perspectives. The year 1983 ended the Kreisky Era. The SPÖ lost its overall majority in the Austrian National Council and was forced to make an arrangement with one of the other parties in the parliament²³². The Coalition was formed between SPÖ and FPÖ under Fred Sinowatz (SPÖ) as Chancellor and Norbert Steger (FPÖ) as Vice Chancellor²³³.

2.8. After the end of the Iron Curtain.

The Great Change in Poland's political system began nine years after the Solidarity movement led by Lech Wałęsa came into existence. The first bilateral talks between the communist government and the democratic opposition took place in 1989 and the debate is widely known as the Round Table negotiations. The aim of this event was to find common solutions to the political, social and economic crises, and to find new directions in the country's development and the progressing model of Polish

²³² A. Pelinka, *Austria between 1983 and 2000*, from the collection *Austria in the Twentieth Century*, Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick (U.S.A.) and London 2002, p. 321.

²³³ Op. cit. p. 321.

democracy²³⁴.

The Round Table negotiations lasted from February 6th to April 5th 1989. The most important aspect of this event was the confrontation between the ruling regime and the opposition, whose members were earlier imprisoned and prosecuted for strikes and criticism of the government. This time they were partners in negotiations. The Round Table consisted of 57 representatives, including Solidarity leaders, ruling government members, neutral experts and authorities and even senior leaders of the Roman Catholic Church²³⁵. The introductory compromise was government approval for the legalisation of trade unions and independent students' organisations in return for a non-confrontational election²³⁶, which guaranteed a majority in parliament for the ruling communist coalition. This was the first step towards Polish democracy. In April 1989 nobody assumed that the Round Table agreement would indeed contribute to the resurrection of a free Poland. The result was the bipolar model of power, with two political wings: both the communist government and democratic opposition played a decisive role and shared the power²³⁷.

After the change of government Polish foreign policy started to gravitate towards different institutions, considered to be “Western”, but also on the other hand Poland was trying to find a place in the changing political environment of Central and Eastern Europe. Poland had to also try to find a balance between the “new” Western institutions, such as the European Union, NATO, OSCE and the Council of Europe and the old ones including the Warsaw Pact and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

Finally, on December 16th 1991 Poland signed an Association Agreement

²³⁴ Hirs J.Z., *Historia Polityczna Polski 1939 – 1998*, Bauhaus s.c., Białystok 1998, p. 463.

²³⁵ The Roman Catholic Church and its representatives played a significant role in the transition process. First of all, through the sermons of priests in the parishes, where they encouraged resistance toward the communist regime. One of the priests, **Jerzy Popiełuszko**, was murdered by the Secret Police in October 1984. Later Father Jerzy Popieluszko earned fame as a national hero. A great role is ascribed to Pope John Paul II, whose pilgrimages to the Motherland united the social resistance against Communism. Furthermore, John Paul II through his close relations with Zbigniew Brzezinski talked to the CIA, considering different ways to weaken the Communist regime in Poland.

²³⁶ The agreement gave 65% of seats in the Lower House (Sejm) to the ruling party coalition and 35% of seats to the opposition. The election to the Upper House (Senat) was fully free.

²³⁷ Hirs J.Z., *Historia Polityczna Polski 1939 – 1998*, Bauhaus s.c., Białystok 1998, p. 464 – 465.

(Układ Europejski), which established multilateral economic relations with the European Community and it initiated a long and reluctant way to European Union Membership, which lasted altogether 13 years. Nevertheless, the fact of the failure of the communist system opened up a new chapter in Polish history.

The period of 1990 to 1999 was a time of intensive Polish–Austrian dialogue. There were 11 official visits of the Polish governmental representatives in Austria and nine visits of the Austrian governmental representatives in Poland.

The result of the visits was eight Agreements as follows:

- 16 III 1990 – The Agreement on the Stabilisation Fund;
- 19 IV 1990 – The Agreement on the Mutual Execution of Judicial Rulings;
- 21 VI 1991 – The Protocol on Food Aid (Austria);
- 17 IX 1991 – The Agreement on Readmission
- 17 IX 1992 – The Agreement on a Mutual Tuition Exemption for Polish and Austrian Citizens.
- 23 I 1995 – The Agreement on Equivalence in Higher Education;
- 27 X 1995 – The Agreement on Economic, Technical and Technological Cooperation;
- 7 IX 1998 – The Agreement on the Social Safeguard.

The perspective of sovereign foreign policy naturally affected the relations with Austria. However, the major obstacle in the making of a promising start was the high level of debt of Poland to Austria, which in November 1989 reached the level of 35 million Schillings. Despite the problematic issues of these debts, the Austrian side granted Poland help for further transitional development. The Minister of Economy, Schüssel, delivered the amount of 20 million Schillings as financial help for the Polish

state²³⁸.

The important starting point in Polish–Austrian relations after the fall of Communism was the opening of the General Consulate of the Austrian Republic on December 8th 1990 with the involvement of the respective Ministers of Foreign Affairs: Alois Mock (Austria) and Krzysztof Skubiszewski (Poland). The first Consul General nominated for this post was Emil Brix, who is well known for his contribution through his engagement in intercultural dialogue, and who already in 1986, together with Erhard Busek, published *Projekt Mitteleuropa* with a new vision of order for Central Europe. He envisaged the role of Austria as the bridge between the West and the East. He proposed the development of a harmonious neighbourhood with the new Eastern democracies united in a cluster under the leadership of Austria. The participation of Germany was not predicted in this platform of cooperation and this idea was to strengthen the position of Austria and balance the influence of Germany in this part of Europe.

Emil Brix published a number of articles where he expressed the new relationship between Austria and the new Eastern transition states. In the article *Warum braucht Österreich eine Mitteleuropapolitik?* the major fundamentals which should be taken into account are:

1. Austria, like no other former Western state is located in Central Europe.
2. Austria borders more than 50 % with Central and Eastern European states.
3. The economically and culturally based interest is evidently related to the Central and Eastern European countries, like Hungary, Slovakia and Slovenia.

²³⁸ J. Gajdek, *Polnisch – österreichische Beziehungen in den 70er, 80er and 90er Jahren im Spiegel der Presse der beiden Länder*, Diplomarbeit, Universität Wien 1999, p. 65.

4. The trade and economic relations of Austria with these countries have been growing gradually since 1989.
5. The fall of the Iron Curtain switched the advantage of being a neutral state into a disadvantage. The demarcation of the security system of WEU and NATO excluded Austria.
6. The identity of Austria is grounded on Central European ties.
7. Central European cooperation can be a remedy to protect Austria from German hegemony²³⁹.

Speaking about Poland, Emil Brix predicted a special role also for public diplomacy in deepening common regional interests:

Gemeinsame Bemühungen im Bereich der "public diplomacy" könnten ein wirksamer Ansatz für eine Vertiefung der regionalen Interessengemeinschaft sein.

He explained this quote in a personal interview:

Basically, I had in mind that it is useful that the region that includes Poland and Austria would act together to promote the knowledge and the interest in our two countries, because we have a lot of things in common and we can create a stronger interest on the international scene toward the issue than we do it separately. That concerns certainly the soft power side of diplomacy, public diplomacy, and I think the most obvious example can be the old notion of Galicia, the cultural area of Southern Poland in the XVIII, XIX and XX centuries²⁴⁰.

Turning to the most recent times, the new caesura of Polish–Austrian relations starts on May 1st 2004, when Poland officially entered the European Union. Naturally, this process was not straight and fluent and the Polish side faced a number of difficulties and sceptical opinions. Such attitude was also shared by the Austrian population. The government was more favourable about Polish prospective

²³⁹ E. Brix, *Warum braucht Österreich eine Mitteleuropapolitik*, from a collection Schweiz und Österreich. Eine Nachbarschaft in Mitteleuropa, Referate des Symposiums 25 and 26 Nov. 1993 in Vienna, p. 172 – 173.

²⁴⁰ Interview with Ambassador Emil Brix – appendix 1.

membership and during the Austrian Presidency of the European Council in the second half of 1998 the substantial accession negotiations were completed. The reason for the negative attitude of the Austrians toward Polish membership was the economic crisis induced by the unfortunate investment in Central and Eastern Europe²⁴¹. On November 7th 2002 the President of Poland Aleksander Kwaśniewski met the President of Austria Thomas Klestil, who officially expressed his support for Polish accession endeavors to the European Union.

The most problematic issue was naturally excluding the possibility of access to the Austrian work market from negotiations and imposing the transitional periods of protection until 2011.

The diplomatic undertakings concerning the EU accession overwhelmed the period 2000 to 2006. In this time only five agreements were concluded:

- 24 X 2000 – The Agreement on Cooperation due to Voluntary Allowances for the Former Forced and Enslaved Workers of the National Socialist Regime;
- 10 VI 2002 – The Agreement on Cooperation in Preventing and Battling Crimes;
- 10 VI 2002 – The Agreement on Receiving Persons Residing without a Stay Permit;
- 2 VI 2003 – The Agreement on Completing and Facilitating the Application of the European Convention on Legal Help in Punitive Cases;
- 13 I 2004 – The Agreement on the Double Income and Property Taxing Exemption.

²⁴¹ J. Barcz, *Optionen für eine österreichisch – polnische Interessengemeinschaft in der EU – die polnische Perspektive*, from the collection *Das neue Polen in Europa. Politik, Recht, Wirtschaft, Gesellschaft*, Studienverlag, Innsbruck 2006, p. 77.

The existence of the Iron Curtain lasted for 43 years and this created significant gaps, mostly from an economic aspect, between Poland and Austria. The task of European Integration is to diminish these inequalities and speed up the process of economic development.

2.9. The impact of history on Polish-Austrian relations.

One of the biggest intellectual challenges and peculiarities in Polish–Austrian relations may be the fact that these countries existed within a united territory in the XVIIth and XIXth centuries. There are still many visible mutual impacts in culture and architecture. Probably anyone who has ever visited Vienna and Cracow will notice many similarities in the city urban planning. Why then is there such a gap in mutual understanding, and a distance and great need for public diplomacy effort and campaigns?

I see a significant impact of history on the relations of these two countries. Although Austria and Poland maintained relations from the end of the XVth century these were rather problematic. The Houses of Habsburg and Jagiellonians competed for influences in Europe. Later on, the great victory over the Ottoman Empire in 1683 was not used for further reconciliation. We can assume that John III Sobieski and the Emperor Leopold I did not pay respect to each other and further partnership was enfeebled.

Finally, the hostile takeover of Polish land during the First and Third Partitions never made any possible ground for trust between these two countries. The Empress Maria Teresa was not satisfied with the land she got because of its widespread poverty. At first, phrasal expressions with a stereotypical context like *Galician poverty* or *a land of bears* started to be used by Austrians. Later on, after World War I, the defeat of Austria and the dissolution of the Austro–Hungarian Monarchy strengthened the distance between those two nations in my opinion. Poland focused on building newly-regained independence. The history after 1939 was even less fortunate for these two countries. Adolf Hitler, who was born in the provincial Austrian town Braunau in 1889 after becoming the leader of the German Reich had a particularly disdainful attitude

towards Poles, comparing them even to intellectually retarded animals in 1939.

World War II and the defeat of Hitler brought further separation because of the Iron Curtain. Austria as a Western democracy and Poland as an Eastern Communist country were on two opposite poles and the road to harmonious coexistence was impeded once again. I believe that the year 2004, when Poland joined the European Union, has opened a new chapter in the history of Polish-Austrian relations.

Basic comparative analysis of Austria and Poland in 2009

Country:	AUSTRIA	POLAND
Area:	83,870 sq km	312,679 sq km
Population:	8,210,281	38,482,919 (July 2009 est.)
Life expectancy at birth:	<i>male: 76.6 years</i> <i>female: 82.56 years</i>	<i>male: 71.65 years</i> <i>female: 79.85 years</i>
Religions:	Roman Catholic 73.6%, Protestant 4.7%, Muslim 4.2%, other 3.5%, unspecified 2%, none 12% (2001 census)	Roman Catholic 89.8% (about 75% practicing), Eastern Orthodox 1.3%, Protestant 0.3%, other 0.3%, unspecified 8.3% (2002)
Government type:	Federal Republic	Republic
GDP (purchasing power parity):	\$325 billion (2008 est.)	\$667.4 billion (2008 est.)
GDP - per capita (PPP):	\$39,200 (2008 est.)	\$17,300 (2008 est.)
Unemployment rate:	3.7% (2008 est.)	9.7% (2008 est.)
Oil – production:	24,920 bbl/day (2007 est.)	37,670 bbl/day (2007 est.)

Source: www.cia.gov The World Factbook.

Summary

The aim of the second chapter was an attempt to find out if there is any connection between the negative stereotypes of Poles and the historic context. We can indeed observe a very surprising result, because there was a historical period when Poland was a victim of Austrian domination, but nevertheless Poles do not have a bad opinion about Austrians. On the Austrian side the situation is different, because many Austrians are still sceptical about Poland and its citizens. The party FPÖ even made one of the political arguments presenting “the negative” impact of the new EU members for the Austrian job market.

Today, the economic divisions between Poland and Austria are still visible, especially when it comes to GDP income per capita. My opinion is that that creates a stronger background for stereotypes than history.

Chapter III

Diplomatic Representation of Poland in Austria (2009)

3.1. The Embassy of the Polish Republic.

The major diplomatic outpost of Poland in Austria is the Embassy of the Polish Republic in Vienna located in Hietzinger Hauptstraße 42 C. It consists of four departments and two professional teams under the guidance of the Ambassador. The current departments of the Polish Embassy are:

→ The Political and Press Department

→ The Economic Department

→ The Consular Department

→ The Department of Trade and Investment Promotion

Additionally, there are two teams responsible for administration and finances along with the office of the military attaché in the Polish Embassy.

The building of the Embassy is a stylish villa located on the Hiezinger Hauptstrasse 42 C in Vienna. The history of this building began in 1900, when Franz Zweig inherited the piece of land for the building of a family house. The recognised Viennese architect Joseph Hudetz proposed the project of the current building in 1903 and construction work started just after the project was created and accepted²⁴².

²⁴² http://www.wien.polemb.net/gallery/Wieden/Kronika/Album/Ambasada/BOTRP_Buch.html.



The Embassy of the Polish Republic.

Source: <http://www.wien.polemb.net/>.

The villa was bought by the People's Republic of Poland in 1956 and it is possessed up until today serving as the Embassy and the Consulate²⁴³.

3.2. The Polish Institute.

The integral part of the Embassy is the Polish Institute (pol. Instytut Polski) established in 1974. The Institute plays a significant role in governmental public diplomacy



The Polish Institute. Source: <http://www.polnisches-institut.at/pl/o-nas> .

The legal basis for the existence of this institution is the Polish-Austrian

²⁴³ Op. cit.

Agreement on Cultural and Scientific Cooperation (1972). The major task of the Institute as the outpost of the Polish Ministry of the Foreign Affairs is the broad presentation of the tradition and history of Polish Culture and also the actual cultural and social phenomena, especially in the international context. The other task is to inspire and foster the direct exchange between Austria and Poland in the field of culture and the arts. The Institute is the partner of all who are interested in Poland in Austria and serves also for cooperation of institutions and private bodies, but also as a platform for the personal contacts of the two societies²⁴⁴.

The Institute is led by the Director²⁴⁵ in the diplomatic rank of the First Counselor and it is also an integral part of the Polish Embassy. An interesting issue is the audience to which the programme of the Institute is directed. Małgorzata Grudzińska described it:

Our activity is directed to the broad audience. /.../ There were no security officers or ID control at the entrance. Everybody is welcome. The Institute and the Library are open to public. Many pedestrians who were passing by accidentally visited our Institute to learn more about it. Moreover our cultural programme which is published once in two months is distributed to more than 2,000 receivers. The diplomats have a certain knowledge about Poland, because of their assignment, whereas the knowledge of the “average” Austrian about Poland is very limited. Our role is to encourage the interest in Poland among the Austrians and to inspire them to visit places like Cracow, Katowice, Warsaw, Tatras Mountains etc... /.../ We must be also aware that many events are addressed to a specific group of people. They are maybe not elite, but they are associated with the so-called high culture. We have had recently gathering with Olga Tokarczuk. Nevertheless, I was kindly surprised, because around 150-200 people came for this event. The guests were both Austrian and Polish²⁴⁶.

The Institute possesses a significant independence from the Ministry. The team led by the Director prepares the yearly programme proposal which is sent for approval of the Foreign Ministry in Warsaw.

²⁴⁴ <http://www.polnisches-institut.at/pl/o-nas>

²⁴⁵ During the writing of this doctoral thesis Małgorzata Grudzińska was the Director of the Polish Institute .

²⁴⁶ Interview with Małgorzata Grudzińska – appendix 3.

3.3. The Honorary Consulates.

The official Polish diplomatic corps receives special assistance from the honorary consuls. The rights and obligations of the honorary consul are legally expressed in the Act on the Functions of the Consuls of the Polish Republic from February 13th 1984. According to Polish Law the Honorary Consul has the following obligations:

- To promote and develop friendly relations and cooperation between the Polish Republic and the host country;
- To protect the rights and interests of the Polish Republic in the host country;
- To strengthen the ties between the Polish Republic and Polish citizens (Polonia) in the host country
- To foster economic, cultural, scientific and technical cooperation between the Polish Republic and the host country²⁴⁷.

The most significant difference between the honorary consul and the “regular” consul is the lack of remuneration for work and additionally the honorary consul is responsible for covering the expenses of the consular bureau and its staff. Additionally the honorary consul has no authority to issue visas and passports.

Nevertheless, the honorary consul has the right to use the flag and the national symbol²⁴⁸ of the country he/she represents.

There are four honorary Consuls of Poland in Austria:

1. Siegfried RESL – Innsbruck
2. Gerold ORTNER – Graz
3. Jürgen HINTERWIRTH – Salzburg
4. Albert Ferdinand SAMMER – Klagenfurt

²⁴⁷ The February 13th 1984 Act updated in (Dz. U. z 2002 r. Nr 215, poz. 1823 oraz z 2004 r. Nr 173, poz. 1808).§ 9.1.

²⁴⁸ In the case of Poland the national symbol is a white eagle on a red background.

3.4. The Polish Academy of Science – The Vienna Unit (Stacja Naukowa PAN w Wiedniu).

An important institution in the “Polish life” in Vienna is The Vienna Unit of the Polish Academy of Sciences (VUPAS). The major difference between the Embassy and the Polish Institute is that the VUPAS is not affiliated to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and thus possesses full autonomy and independence from the government. However the role is also directed in the promotion of Polish interests and the staff under the supervision of the Director²⁴⁹ remains in close cooperation with the Polish diplomats stationed in Vienna.

The VUPAS was established on January 25th 1991 and the primary task is to foster the tradition of scientific cooperation and to inspire new projects in order to deepen existing contacts in Austria²⁵⁰.

In practice the official undertakings of the VUPAS are:

- ✦ promotion of achievements of Polish science in Austria;
- ✦ organisation of scientific lectures and exhibitions;
- ✦ organisation of international conferences in humanities, natural sciences, technology and medicine;
- ✦ fostering assistance in contacts between Polish and Austrian scientists;
- ✦ participation in the realisation of cooperation agreements between Poland and the Austrian partners²⁵¹.

²⁴⁹ The current Director of the VUPAS is professor Bogusław Dybaś, an historian.

²⁵⁰ http://www.viennapan.org/Internet_2007/Historia.html

²⁵¹ http://www.viennapan.org/Internet_2007/Zadania.html



The Building of the VUPAS. Source: www.viennapan.org.

Additionally, the VUPAS hosts the Professors' Club which associates the professors of Polish origin who pursued academic careers in Austria.

The Professors' Club came into existence in 2004 and was initiated by the former Polish Ambassador Irena Lipowicz. The purpose of this club is the integration of the society of Austrian intellectuals, who have Polish origin. The Club members meet several times a year. They initiate different undertakings, for example a competition for young Polish musicians and painters. The existence of the club is based on its own status and it is affiliated to the PAN. Currently, its Chief is Prof. Ewa Wiedner – Zając²⁵².

3.5. Polish Centre for Tourist Information in Vienna.

The performance of tourism and mutual movement between the respective countries can be by all means a mirror of bilateral relations. The level of willingness to visit each other's country should be important information for diplomats in terms of what can be done better in their work. Austria emphasises tourism as a crucial factor in

²⁵² Interview with Professor Bogusław Dybaś – appendix 2.

creating and maintaining the positive image of Austria overseas. The number of Austrians visiting Poland was 317,800²⁵³ in 2007.

The official Polish response and assistance to Austrian tourists is the Polish Centre for Tourist Information (PCTI) in Vienna with the mission:

*We propagate the positive image of Poland on the markets of our activity. Acquiring new groups of tourists we impact on the change of stereotypes and prejudices which are the result of lack of knowledge about our country*²⁵⁴.

The legal basis for the existence of the PCTI is the bilateral agreement on tourism between Poland and Austria which was concluded on 29 April 1976. The PCTI itself was established in December 1996 as the Tourism Information Point and the Representative Office of the Polish Tourism Organisation for Austria and Switzerland.

The status tasks of the entity are the following:

- a) Creating a positive image of Poland as a destination and promoting Polish tourist products;
- b) Initiating and conducting market research related to tourism to Poland;
- c) Mediating contacts between the Polish, Austrian, Swiss and Hungarian entities in tourism and facilitating the exchange of information between them;
- d) Providing access to information related to Poland;
- e) Gathering the actual information related to tourism development to Poland;
- f) Gathering information on Polish tourist firms²⁵⁵.

The instruments used in the activities of PCTI are:

- ✗ participation in trade fairs

²⁵³ <http://www.intur.com.pl/przyjazd.htm>

²⁵⁴ <http://www.wien.polemb.net/?document=91>.

²⁵⁵ <http://www.wien.polemb.net/?document=91>.

- ✗ public events in cooperation with all the Polish organisations and representative bodies acting in Austria, including the Polish Embassy, the Office of the Trade Counselor, and the Polish Academy of Sciences
- ✗ direct cooperation with the operators of the tourist movements in Austria.

The Polish–Austrian touristic movement is naturally not free from obstacles and problems. According to Włodzimierz Szelaḡ, the director of the PCTI, the major obstacle is the weak situation regarding fast and cheap transport. Although there are five flights a day between Warsaw and Vienna these are mostly for business people and the prices for the tickets are high. The cheapest tickets to Warsaw are €150 to €200 and the average price is between €400 and €450. There is also a railway connection to Poland but the duration of the journey has not changed since 1901. Additionally, the train stops too many times on the territory of the Czech Republic²⁵⁶.

This tells us that communication between Vienna and main Polish cities is still far from perfect and this factor can impede further development of direct relations between Poles and Austrians, which is quite surprising, because many cheap airline operators are already in the market.

Summary

Public diplomacy understood as a government's process of communicating with a foreign public in an attempt to bring understanding for a nation's ideas and ideals, its institutions and cultural as well national goals and current policies (Tuch definition) requires a closer look at the institutions which pass on the message from government to foreign public. The major institution of government in this sphere is naturally the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but just this entity alone would never be able to fulfill this mission. That is why I wanted to present a deep analysis of outposts subordinate to the government, which play a role in public diplomacy. These are: the Polish Embassy in Vienna, the Polish Institute in Vienna and partly the honorary consuls. The most crucial role is played by the Embassy, but limited budget and a relatively small staff of

²⁵⁶ Interview with Włodzimierz Szelaḡ– appendix 8.

the Embassy are major obstacles in large profile undertakings. Governmental activities are supported by several bodies which are not directly subordinate to it. These are the Vienna Unit of the Polish Academy of Sciences and the Polish Centre for Touristic Information in Vienna, which make efforts to bring Poland closer to Austrians. In the case of VUPAS the outreach is limited to only the very elite circle of academic intellectuals. In the case of PCTI – the role is very promising and important. This would be a very strong asset but again the problem lies with the very limited number of people working on it. At the time of research and conducting interviews there were only two people employed in the office: the Director and his secretary.

A strong point was the charismatic personality of Włodzimierz Szelaḡ, the Director of PCTI, who was deeply devoted to the mission, but just one person is not enough. In my opinion the biggest problem is that civil society organisations like NGOs, associations etc. should play a more critical role in supporting government efforts. In most cases they are invisible and hardly active.

Chapter IV

Public diplomacy and the aspiration of Poland to European Union membership.

4.1. Polish public diplomacy strategy during membership negotiations with the European Union.

The Great Change in Poland's political system began nine years after the Solidarity movement led by Lech Walesa came into existence. The first bilateral talks between the communist government and the democratic opposition took place in 1989 and the debate is widely known as the Round Table negotiations²⁵⁷. The aim of this event was to find common solutions to the political, social and economic crisis, and to find new directions in the country's development and the progressing model of Polish democracy²⁵⁸.

After the change of government Polish foreign policy started to focus on potential membership with so-called "Western" institutions, but on the other hand Poland tried to find a place in the changing political environment of Central and Eastern Europe. Poland shuttled between the European Union, NATO, OSCE and the Council of Europe, and the Warsaw Pact and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

On December 16th 1991 Poland signed an Association Agreement (Układ Europejski), which established multilateral economic relations with the European Community, but the European side was reluctant to establish the possibility and the approximate time of further formal integration.

Two years later in June 1993 during the Copenhagen Summit, the European Union accepted the idea of the future membership of the Central and Eastern European countries, namely, Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary. In the "White Book" EU-Polish relations were discussed in detail and the development of these relations was divided into short and long term. Poland presented its official application to the EU on April 15th 1994 and until the completion of the negotiation and accession

²⁵⁷ The process of the Round table negotiations was precisely described in chapter nr 2.

²⁵⁸ J.Z. Hirszt, *Historia Polityczna Polski 1939 – 1998*, Bauhaus, Białystok 1998, p. 463.

processes, this remained the top priority in Polish policy until 2004.

Poland lavishly celebrated the beginning of the new chapter in its European history when European Union membership was granted on May 1st. However the years of negotiation and supporting the Polish candidacy were an extremely hard and demanding period, which lasted around 10 years. A special minister and quasi-ministry was established to coordinate Polish endeavors on a rolling basis.

The Office of the Committee for European Integration (UKIE) inaugurated its activity on October 10th 1996 under a status assigned to it by a Regulation of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of 2 October 1996. It coordinates the works of all ministries and institutions directly engaged in the process of Poland's integration with the European Union. UKIE continues the work previously conducted by the Bureau for European Integration and the Bureau for Foreign Assistance. The latter was part of the Council of Ministers' Office and was set up pursuant to Council of Ministers' Resolution No. 11/91 dated 26 January 1991 establishing the office of a Government Plenipotentiary for European Integration and Foreign Assistance. Their task was to support the work of the Government Plenipotentiary²⁵⁹.

The Poles were supportive of European Union membership. They voted in a two day long referendum on June 7th and 8th 2003; with 77% of the electorate voting "yes" and a turnout of 59%, the approval was more pronounced than forecast by many observers²⁶⁰. Nevertheless, the will of the Polish population was not sufficient and the approval of all EU countries was required in order to enlarge it.

The best way to observe the former attitudes is to see the results of the survey made by the European Commission:

²⁵⁹ Source:

<http://www.cie.gov.pl/www/en.nsf/0/FD3E837173275164C1256E8300256BE9?Open&RestrictToCategory=Office%20of%20the%20Committee%20for%20European%20Integration%20%28UKIE%29%3EGeneral%20information%20about%20UKIE>

²⁶⁰ <http://www.euractiv.com/en/enlargement/poland-eu-referendum/article-110232>

Table: Support for Polish membership of the EU (per cent)

	2000		2001	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Austria	40	28	45	29
France	23	60	33	54
Germany	34	45	36	48
Great Britain	69	16	75	15
Spain	36	46	42	44
Sweden	52	18	53	19

Source: http://europa.eu.int/comm/public_opinion/cf/nationoutput_en.cfm

Naturally, there was a significant need to expand the efforts to convince the government of EU countries about the righteousness of Polish candidacy. In 2000, the first complex Polish public diplomacy campaign was launched in the countries of the EU. It consisted of two programmes which covered the years 2000 to 2003²⁶¹. These documents were:

- *Framework Programme for the Foreign Promotion of Poland's EU Accession Process* - scheduled for 2000 – 2002;
- *Programme for the Promotion of Poland in the EU during Ratification of the Accession Treaty*,

Both Programmes had the same aim to help Poland win over support for EU accession; however they were directed at different target groups. The Framework Programme was about to reach the societies at large in the old member states in case of a referendum vote for enlargement and the opinion leaders and functionaries of European institutions from these countries²⁶². The second programme's message was

²⁶¹ B. Ociepka, M. Ryniejska, *Public Diplomacy and EU Enlargement: the Case of Poland*. Discussion Papers in Diplomacy No. 99, Netherlands Institute of International Relations Clingendael, June 2005, p. 2.

²⁶² Op. cit. p. 13.

directed towards the parliaments and societies of the EU²⁶³.

Besides the Office of the Committee for European Integration (UKIE) three other ministries were involved in public diplomacy undertakings, namely the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Culture, Ministry of Economy and Ministry of Education. Additionally, in 2004 a new state institution, the Council for Promotion of Poland, was established. The Council has been an advisory institution to the Polish Prime Minister. It consisted of the Minister of Foreign Affairs and State Secretaries from the Ministry of Economy, Ministry of Culture, Education, Science, Defence, Treasury and the Committee of European Integration²⁶⁴.

The major public diplomacy message directed to the EU negotiators, politicians and member of parliaments was:

- Poland is a country well prepared to take over the duties arising from EU membership;
- lists of practical benefits for a given member country and the EU as a whole, resulting from Poland`s membership;
- suggestions on economic benefits stemming from Poland`s EU membership;
- the concept of Poland as a country successfully cooperating with EU structures²⁶⁵.

The message directed to media, which is a significant element of public diplomacy, was based on the three following pieces of information:

- Poland as a state fulfilling the political and economic Copenhagen criteria for EU membership;
- Poland as a country eager to share its experience in “transformation and integration know how” (Baltic states, Romania, Slovakia, Ukraine and Russia);

²⁶³ Op. cit. p. 4.

²⁶⁴ Op. cit. p. 12.

²⁶⁵ The Framework Program, quoted after: B. Ociepka, M. Ryniejska, *Public Diplomacy and EU Enlargement: the Case of Poland*. Discussion Papers in Diplomacy No. 99, Netherlands Institute of International Relations Clingendael, June 2005.

- Poland as a country present and active in European political structures, military structures and worldwide organisations²⁶⁶.

Journalists and other decision-makers were encouraged to learn more about Polish endeavours through a number of initiatives, which were part of the public diplomacy strategy. These were:

- Study trips for politicians, journalists, functionaries, and opinion leaders;
- Conferences, seminars, lectures and other events about European integration;
- Media events co-operation with editors and journalists;
- Economic promotion, regional sector presentations, trade missions and participation in fairs and exhibitions²⁶⁷.

4.2. Public diplomacy and EU negotiations with Austria.

The hardest job to be done in pre-accession negotiations was with Austria and Germany. Germans and Austrians placed the emphasis on “the different mentality of Poles²⁶⁸”. The surveys carried out in these countries proved the reluctant attitude towards Poland and its candidacy.

In 2000, a new Polish ambassador in the Austrian Republic was nominated and the former Minister of Foreign Affairs chose Irena Lipowicz²⁶⁹ for this position. She commented on this decision in a special interview made for the purpose of this

²⁶⁶ The Framework Programme, quoted after B. Ociepka, M. Ryniejska, *Public Diplomacy and EU Enlargement: the Case of Poland*. Discussion Papers in Diplomacy No. 99, Netherlands Institute of International Relations Clingendael, June 2005.

²⁶⁷ The Framework Programme, quoted after: B. Ociepka, M. Ryniejska, *Public Diplomacy and EU Enlargement: the Case of Poland*. Discussion Papers in Diplomacy No. 99, Netherlands Institute of International Relations Clingendael, June 2005.

²⁶⁸ B. Ociepka, M. Ryniejska, *Public Diplomacy and EU Enlargement: the Case of Poland*. Discussion Papers in Diplomacy No. 99, Netherlands Institute of International Relations Clingendael, June 2005, p. 11.

²⁶⁹ **Professor Irena Lipowicz** – was born in 1953 in Gliwice. She graduated in law from the Silesian University and started to work there as an assistant. She received her PhD in 1981. Before that she was an active member of the Solidarity movement. In 1988 she took over a position of professor of law at the University of Kardynał Wyszyński. She successfully ran for the parliamentary mandate in 1991 and held her position the Sejm till 2000. She started her mission as extraordinary ambassador in the Austrian Republic from 2000 until 2004. She was awarded several high profile honorary awards, including The Great Gold Medal of Merit for the Austrian Republic, the distinctions of Styria and Upper Austria. She was chosen for the office of Ombudsman in 2010.

dissertation:

The stereotype of our country and society was that negative, that it became one of the reasons why I became an ambassador. Before my nomination I was the chair of the Polish – Austrian group in our Parliament and I was not thinking about a change, but the news coming from Austria about lack of acceptance of Polish membership in the EU were so alarming that upon the request of professor Geremek I decided to take over the Embassy in Vienna. In Professor Geremek's point of view, who was at this time the Minister of Foreign Affairs, there was a need to have an ambassador who will combine different skills and will fight for the broad social and political acceptance for Poland²⁷⁰.

/.../ First of all, we diagnosed the lack of knowledge of Austrian society about our country. Poland was little known and hardly popular. Different prejudices and stereotypes have been stimulated²⁷¹.

Ambassador Irena Lipowicz undertook a number of initiatives and public diplomacy undertakings. The major highlights:

- The Polish Year in Austria (an exhibition in the Kunsthistorisches Museum);
- Conference of Polish Architects;
- The Chopin festival in Gaming (NÖ);
- Lectures at various Austrian Universities²⁷².

Ambassador Lipowicz has found a number supportive Austrians who helped her get support for the Polish candidacy. These were: Prince Karel Schwarzenberg, Cardinal Christoph Schönborn, Cardinal Franz König, Honorary Consul of Styria Gerold Ortner, Leon Zelman and Andreas Khol.

The Austrian mission was much more complex, because it demanded advanced and unconventional ways of reaching the public and the appropriate decision makers. It

²⁷⁰ Interview with Professor Irena Lipowicz – appendix 4.

²⁷¹ Op. cit.

²⁷² Op. cit.

was not just usual ambassadorial tasks:

My traditional “hard” ambassadorial tasks were around 40 % of my job, whereas the rest 60 % were unconventional activities. Some colleagues – ambassadors - were critical about me. There were also voices from the Austrian side that my style is too expansive, especially after I have organized the Christmas Eve dinner for the Polish prisoners embedded in the Austrian prisons²⁷³.

Summary

Although the topic of the dissertation clearly states that the major emphasis is on the years 2007 to 2009, the understanding of the contemporary situation would not be possible without knowing the perspective of the crucial years 1994 – to 2004 when Poland was fighting for EU membership. This was a hard task, because an ex-communist country with a ruined economy was welcomed with deep scepticism. The situation of Austrian support was very difficult in the initial process of negotiations. Nevertheless, all Polish governments after the fall of Communism, no matter from the left or the right side of the political scene, were fully devoted and determined to fight for integration with Europe. This 10 year project was completed with success and there were several reasons for it.

First of all, tremendous work was done by The Office of the Committee for European Integration led by Danuta Hübner, who is a gifted negotiator. Poles were internally united to support this idea and said “yes” in the referendum. Significant effort was made by the Polish diplomatic corps in convincing a reluctant foreign public towards Polish EU membership. The best example is Professor Irena Lipowicz, who was fighting for support in different social circles. She is very charismatic and she managed to convince top political figures that Poland was a trustworthy partner. Later on there was a vacancy in the ambassadorial post and according to Professor Lipowicz her great efforts were not continued. This could be also a reason for deterioration.

The aim of this chapter was to present how peculiar and complicated the situation of Poland before EU accession was.

²⁷³ Op. cit.

Chapter V

Public Diplomacy in Polish-Austrian relations 2007–2009.

5.1. The legal basis and the decision-making process in the Polish foreign policy.

The superior legal act for the Polish Republic is the Constitution (Konstytucja Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej) adopted on April 2nd 1997 and which is one of the primary sources of law. The Constitution presents the rights and obligations of the particular powers: executive, legislative and judicial. The considerations about the legal basis and process of the decision-making should begin with the constitutional grounds for foreign policy.

The Constitution talks about the two crucial actors in Polish foreign policy: The President and the Council of Ministers, with the emphasis on the role of the Prime Minister and the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Article 133 of the Constitution precisely defines the role of the President, who is referred to in the first paragraph as the representative of the state in external relations. There are three functions of presidential power in foreign relations:

1. To ratify and to enunciate the international treaties with a notice given to the Upper and Lower House;
2. To nominate and to enunciate the representatives of the Polish Republic to the other states and to international organisations;
3. To receive the certifying and cancelling letters of the representatives of the other states and international organisations in Poland.

The President (art. 133 § 3 of the Constitution) *cooperates* with the Government but this expression is not exactly clarified. Nevertheless, the President also enjoys the right to conduct direct talks with the representatives of other states (personal diplomacy), to espouse the nomination for the ambassador upon the request of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, to grant the *exequatur*²⁷⁴ on the basis of reciprocity.

Finally, the general statement of Art 133 § 3 informs that the President *cooperates* in foreign policy with the Prime Minister or the appropriate minister when the need

²⁷⁴ The permission of the receiving state for exercising the function of the Chief of the Consular Office.

arises.

The Constitution gives the prevailing role in foreign policy to the Council of Ministers with the statement of art. 146 § 1 with the right:

1. To perform the general guidance in the scope of the relations with the other states and the international organisations;
2. To conclude the international treaties, which demand the ratification and also to conclude and to enunciate the international treaties.

According to the Constitution the Prime Minister coordinates the works of the members of the Ministerial Cabinet, including also the Minister of Foreign Affairs. According to the Ordinance of the Council of Ministers (31 May 1974 and 24 March 1983) the Prime Minister has the right to nominate and to dismiss the Ambassador accredited to the United Nations.

Nevertheless the major actor in the decision-making process is the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The document, which regulates the authorisation of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, is the Ordinance of July 1st 2002. According to which, the Minister manages the administration of the Foreign Service. Additionally, the Minister has the responsibility:

- to represent and protect the Polish interests abroad;
- to cooperate with the Polish citizens living abroad and to promote the oversee cultural and educational outposts.
- to promote Poland and the Polish language abroad;
- to initiate and elaborate the policy and to present these projects on the forum of the Ministerial Council;
- to execute and coordinate the policy of the Council of Ministers by the organs, offices and unites which are subordinated to him;
- The Minister of the Foreign Affairs represents the Government in the Parliament (Sejm), responds to the interpellations of the members of the parliament and delivers the exposé;
- The Minister of the Foreign Affairs addresses to the President upon the

approval of the Prime Minister the proposal for nomination and dismissal of the Polish Ambassadors accredited to the foreign states and the international governmental organisations and requests the *agreement* for the ambassadors of the foreign states.

Additionally, according to the ordinance from October 20th 2001, the Minister of the Foreign Affairs is additionally obliged to:

- supervise the Polish Institute of the International Affairs in Warsaw, the Western Institute, Zygmunt Wojciechowski Institute in Poznan and to supervise the diplomatic outposts, missions, consular offices and Polish institutes;
- represent the Polish Republic in the front of international organs, which control the Human Rights.

Finally, the Parliament should be mentioned. It plays a role when it comes to confirming international treaties, voting on the budget of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and using the interpellations and discussions. **The Lower House (Sejm)** performs the general supervision of the Government and foreign policy.

5.2. The governmental institutions of the public and cultural diplomacy of the Polish Republic.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs led by the Minister of Foreign Affairs consists of 17 Departments²⁷⁵ and it is the highest office in the execution of foreign policy. The headquarters of Polish public policy is located in the framework of the Department of Public and Cultural Diplomacy created in 2008. The official assignment of this entity enumerates eight fundamental tasks:

1. to analyse and guideline the strategic direction of public and cultural diplomacy, to guideline the priorities for overseas outposts in the field of public and cultural promotion and to assure the instruments for its realisation;
2. To monitor and systematically analyse the Polish image in the media and the

²⁷⁵ *Department of Africa and the Middle East, Department of the Americas Department of Asia and Pacific Region, Department of Central and Southern Europe, Department of Western and Northern Europe, Eastern Department, Department of Public and Cultural Diplomacy, Department of Consular Affairs, Department of United Nations and Human Rights, Department of Security Policy, Department of Legal and Treaty Issues, Department of Strategy and Foreign Policy Planning, Department of the European Union, Department of Development Co-operation, Department of the Co-operation with Polish Diaspora, Department of Foreign Economic Policy, Diplomatic Protocol.*

public opinion environment abroad, and to prepare long-term activities to shape the positive image of Poland abroad in cooperation with the appropriate units from the overseas outposts;

3. to supervise the diplomatic outposts in the field of cultural, educational, informational and scientific cooperation and to establish long-term cooperation with cultural and scientific institutions as well as with the media.
4. to forecast the development of and manage the system of promoting the internet pages of the Ministry and diplomatic outposts;
5. to manage the content of the Ministry's internet page and its coherence with the overseas outposts;
6. to initiate, prepare and negotiate the projects of the international agreements and the executive programmes in the field of cultural, educational and scientific cooperation and also regarding youth exchange;
7. to organise study trips to Poland for the representatives of public opinion from foreign countries and especially for the people who have an impact on the interests of the Polish Republic and also for the organisers of cultural and media life;
8. to cooperate with state and foreign institutions as well as NGOs in the field of public diplomacy and cultural and scientific promotion worldwide²⁷⁶.

The responsible entities for Polish public diplomacy in Austria are:

- a) The Embassy of the Polish Republic (The Political and Press Department under the guidance of the Ministerial Counselor);
- b) The Polish Institute (an integral part of the Embassy);

The approximate annual budget of these two institutions for public diplomacy is around 150,000 EUR²⁷⁷. The number of the official professional staff registered by

²⁷⁶Source: <http://www.msz.gov.pl/Zadania,Departamentu,Dyplomacji,Publicznej,i,Kulturalnej,13839.html> .

²⁷⁷ The data comes from 2008 and is the summary of joint expense (the Embassy - 30 000 EUR; the Polish Institute 120 000 EUR). Source: Interview nr 8 with Sławomir Wolny and the Yearly Report of the Polish Institute.

the Foreign Ministry is six persons²⁷⁸.

5.2.1. The Minister of Foreign Affairs Radosław Sikorski on public diplomacy.

Radosław Sikorski, who was nominated for the office of the Minister of Foreign Affairs in 2007, actually mentioned public diplomacy in his annual speech to the Lower House (Sejm) for the first time in 2009. He officially announced the introduction of public diplomacy to the work of the Foreign Service, which is quite surprising, because his predecessors were also working on public diplomacy years before. Radosław Sikorski said in his speech:

*We introduced the term public diplomacy to the work of the Polish Foreign Service. Its task is not only abroad understood promotion of Poland it is also about convincing the public opinion abroad to our assessment and understanding of international problems*²⁷⁹.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs mentioned also the notion of image, saying that *Poland is proud of the image of a peace loving country and one which is able to share with the peace. May the motto of the anniversary of 1989 be **Freedom. Made in Poland***²⁸⁰. The Minister stressed the role of history and he announced that he will fight for the historical truth in mass media.

As the flagship document relating the promotion of Poland, Radosław Sikorski mentioned **The Framework Strategy of Promotion of Poland until 2015**. As the key goals he enumerated:

- Strengthening the prestige of Poland in the international arena;
- Presenting Poland as an attractive country for investment, academic studies, developing scientific cooperation and becoming a destination for leisure and tourism²⁸¹.

²⁷⁸ <http://www.wien.polemb.net/?document=8>.

²⁷⁹ Source: <http://www.msz.gov.pl/Informacja,Ministra,Spraw,Zagranicznych,25358.html>

²⁸⁰ Op. cit.

²⁸¹ Op. cit.

5.3. Polish public and cultural diplomacy on the internet.

The internet is becoming a critical medium in everyday life for the majority of European Union citizens. The virtual net is widely used in information, advertising and sales. It is also becoming more frequent in promotional activities which are also part of public and cultural diplomacy²⁸². There are many pros as to why the use of the internet should be expanded in this field. It provides a chance to reach broad audiences and allows the presentation of more extensive content than in other media, such as press or TV. The content can be changed quickly depending on needs and in addition the financial cost is low²⁸³. There is also no doubt that the majority of tourists look for information on the internet and therefore this important channel must not be overlooked.

In this regard the potential of Austria, when it comes to internet access, is very promising because according to Internet World Stats 74.8 %²⁸⁴ of Austrians in 2011 had internet access which gives one of the best results in Europe and it is higher than the average on this continent by 16 %²⁸⁵. What should be also mentioned at this point is the fact that 2,574,700²⁸⁶ Austrians had Facebook accounts in 2011, which points towards the high use of social media, which in my opinion will be a very important tool of public and social diplomacy in the future.

Marta Mickiewicz enumerates five top internet pages, which concentrate on the promotion of Poland:

www.poland.gov.pl

www.culture.gov.pl

www.solidarity.gov.pl

www.wv2.pl

²⁸² B. Ociepka (edited), *Dyplomacja Publiczna*, article: M. Mickiewicz, *Polska dyplomacja kulturalna*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, Wrocław 2008, p. 129.

²⁸³ Op. cit (p. 129 – 130) after: J. Szepankiewicz, *Od dyplomacji publicznej do marki dla Polski*, „Rocznik Polskiej Polityki Zagranicznej 2006”, Warszawa 2006, p. 272.

²⁸⁴ Source: www.internetworldstats.com

²⁸⁵ Op. cit.

²⁸⁶ Op. cit.

www.1956.pl²⁸⁷

I would add to this list several other pages like:

<http://www.pot.gov.pl/> (Polish Tourism Organisation)

www.terazpolska.pl

www.ilovepoland.pl

www.iam.pl

The page www.poland.gov.pl was officially acknowledged as the official governmental portal for the promotion of Poland in December 2004²⁸⁸. It is available in nine languages: Polish, English, German, French, Russian, Arabic, Portuguese and Chinese. The website is divided into four main sections. These are:

- **Experience Poland** – it provides extensive information on the state, society, history, geography, culture, media and famous Poles;
- **Practical Information** – which covers all information on crossing border formalities, accommodation, travelling by plane, train, bus, car etc. Additionally a visitor may also learn more about the climate, medical care, Polish holidays, customs and traditional Polish cuisine;
- **Tourism** – presents things worth seeing, options for active leisure and pictures of Poland;
- **Science and business** – it includes a link “Investor’s Guide” explaining why it is worth investing in Poland. A visitor of a website can also get a lot of information about Polish education, law, international economic relations and science.

The central part of the website is devoted to slides with recommendations on events and activities, which are worth undertaking in Poland. An interesting addition is a link to a website on Poland for children www.kula.gov.pl. Small visitors can click on any location on the map of Poland and in the form of a cartoon learn about the most

²⁸⁷ B. Ociepka (edited), *Dyplomacja publiczna*, article: M. Mickiewicz, *Polska dyplomacja kulturalna*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, Wrocław 2008, p. 130.

²⁸⁸ Op. cit. p. 131

popular cities in Poland. The website for children is available in Polish, English and Chinese.

Finally, an internet user may browse through www.poland.gov.pl to get directly to a one of the official social media pages of Poland. These are:

- Facebook
- Flickr
- Twitter

The Facebook profile contains useful information about current cultural events and several photo albums with Polish landscapes. The number of Facebook fans (“likes”) has been 2,227²⁸⁹ with 771 observers on Twitter²⁹⁰. In relative terms these numbers are low and there is a need for further promotion.

Generally, the assessment of the official website of Poland is positive and any visitor can access extensive information on a requested topic.

5.4. Polish culture as a brand and the role of the Adam Mickiewicz Institute.

Even though the principal role of public and cultural diplomacy belongs to the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, there is one more important entity which works on Polish culture to make it internationally recognised. This is the Adam Mickiewicz Institute created in 2000. Acting as a government institution, its objective is to promote Polish culture abroad and initiate international cultural cooperation²⁹¹. The main goal of the institution is to increase the value of Poland's brand as a cultural asset and boost Poland's effectiveness and efficiency in the area of culture. The Institute undertakes a number of actions to promote Polish culture worldwide. The major ways in which they try to reach the international audience are:

- Promotional projects;
- Sending postal information and maintaining the website www.iam.pl and www.culture.pl

²⁸⁹ Data collected on 06. 01. 2012.

²⁹⁰ Data collected on 06. 01. 2012.

²⁹¹ Source: Adam Mickiewicz Institute <http://www.iam.pl/en/press-room/information-about-the-institute.html>

- Organising conferences;
- Organising study visits;
- Cooperating with international institutions and governments²⁹²;

The flagship undertaking of the Adam Mickiewicz Institute is the organisation of a Polish Year. Between 2001 and 2011 the Polish Year was organised in Russia, Spain, Austria, Sweden, Ukraine and Israel. These projects are usually on a large scale, for example in the case of Israel, where the Polish Year was organised between 2008 and 2009, there were 140 events under the emblem of the Polish Year within 14 months in more than 20 Israeli towns with 180,000 viewers. These projects were covered by 1,500 media releases and every twentieth Israeli citizen had contact with Polish culture that year²⁹³

5.5. The promotion of Poland through “Teraz Polska” action.

Important action, which should be also mentioned in the context of the promotion of Poland, is the initiative “Teraz Polska”, which can be translated as “Poland Now”. This undertaking is coordinated by the Foundation under the direction of Krzysztof Przybył. The entity intends to make the emblem (a symbol) of “Teraz Polska” the economic symbol of Poland.

The emblem of “Teraz Polska”²⁹⁴:



The main goals of the Foundation are:

²⁹² Source: Op. cit.

²⁹³ Source: www.poland-israel.org

²⁹⁴ Source: www.terazpolska.pl

- Informing about Polish products and services of the highest quality;
- Informing about the achievements of local government;
- Creating and preserving the positive image of companies that are the laureates of “Teraz Polska” competition;
- Integration of the laureates and exchange of knowledge and experiences;
- Education on modern business;
- Promotion on products, services and municipalities awarded the emblem “Teraz Polska” in Poland and abroad;
- Facilitating the adaptation of Polish society to the changes of economic system;
- Charity²⁹⁵.

The major activity of this Foundation under the honorary patronage of the President of the Polish Republic is a contest²⁹⁶, which aims to choose the best products and services that are originally Polish. These are about to become a benchmark and a pattern for others and the winners can use the emblem of “Teraz Polska” on their products.

One fact which is slightly unfortunate is that the participants of this competition must apply themselves through filling an application form and paying a fee. The jury then reviews them and awards the best products and services with the logo “Teraz Polska”. I think that through this procedure only companies, who care for good PR, have the chance to be noticed, whereas really outstanding firms, which offer the best services and products and do not apply, have no chance to be awarded. I think this procedure must be changed to become more competitive and more credible.

The newest initiative of the Foundation is the contest “Outstanding Pole” with the goal of creating the positive image of Poles through showing their achievements in Poland and abroad. The first edition was performed in 2010 and the winners were: Wojciech Kilar (one of the most prominent Polish composers) and Hilary Koprowski, who is a virusologist and immunologist. He invented the first vaccination against polio and

²⁹⁵ Op. cit.

²⁹⁶ The first edition of the contest was organized in 1993 and it is performed annually.

Heine–Medina disease. In the second edition in 2011 the laureates were:

- Professor Maria Siemionow – a Polish surgeon working in the USA, who successfully made the first transplantation of a human face in 2008.
- Professor Jacek Jassem – an oncologist, who carried out social actions against smoking and who was also awarded by the Mayor of Vienna.
- Adam Małysz – a top Polish ski jumper.

The contest is organised simultaneously in Poland and abroad in five categories: business, culture, science, personality and a “Young Pole”.

5.6. The legal foundations of public diplomacy in Polish–Austrian relations.

Public diplomacy planning is a peculiar issue. Poland does not have a strategy of public diplomacy, although there was a plan to create it until the end of 2009 which did not happen due to political reasons, and we will not have it again this year, because of the election in the Fall of 2011²⁹⁷. Since there has been a classical strategy of looking a couple of years ahead, Polish public diplomacy is based on a number of initiatives and short-term plans which correspond to temporary needs. Nevertheless, we should not forget the historical sources, treaties, accords and protocols which created the general outlook of Polish public diplomacy in Austria.

The basis for cultural relations between Poland and Austria is *the Treaty on Cultural and Scientific Cooperation* on June the 14th 1972 in Vienna. The derivatives of this Treaty are the conventions which are elaborated every three years but they are compatible with the basic Treaty. Additionally, there are also the supportive documents and here, The Executive Programmes should be mentioned. The Executive Programme for the years 2007 to 2009 was the result of the meeting of the Polish–Austrian Commission on Cooperation in Culture, Science and Education 2007 – 2009 held between 2nd and – 5th December 2006.

The Protocol of the Executive Programme consists of 49 articles which relate

²⁹⁷ Interview with Professor Beata Ociepka – appendix 5.

to all the aspects of cultural and scientific cooperation. Nevertheless, this document should be mentioned as the legal foundation in public diplomacy, because the cultural undertakings create a platform for the promotion of Poland and this is also a significant channel of communication of the Polish official representatives with the Austrian audience.

The major fields of cooperation are defined in article 26 and these are literature, plastic arts, photography, film, theatre, dance, music, and the protection of cultural goods. The cooperation is performed in the framework of the cluster of institutions (Art. 38, 39, 42 & 44). The operational outposts of cultural life in the Polish–Austrian relations are the Polish Institute in Vienna, the Austrian Forum of Culture in Warsaw and Cracow, the Austrian Institutes in Warsaw, Cracow and Wroclaw, the Polish National Library and the Austrian National Library, the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna and the Royal Castle, the Polish–Austrian Society, the Austrian–Polish Society, the International Chopin Society in Vienna, the Adam Mickiewicz Institute in Warsaw, The Book Institute, the International Cultural Centre in Cracow and the Institute for the Donau Region and Central Europe in Vienna.

Another document, which should be also taken into account, is the document outlining the strategic guidelines regarding public diplomacy which is prepared in the DPCD and distributed to the Polish diplomatic representations overseas. The document entitled *Th guidelines for diplomatic outposts regarding public and cultural diplomacy for 2009*²⁹⁸ was published in 2008 for the first time. It has a very laconic and general character, especially given that the length is three pages long and it leaves grounds for the diplomats in charge to present their creative contributions to the proposals.

The document gives the desirable examples of the basic and universal tools of public diplomacy and promotion in the exercise of strategic guidelines. These are:

- initiating projects with local partners and participating in the projects of external partners, like seminars, conferences, academic courses, exhibitions,

²⁹⁸ The document was made available to me for the purpose of this dissertation and it can be obtained upon the agreement of the Embassy of the Polish Republic in Vienna.

which concurs with the maximal use of the available infrastructure;

- organising study trips for journalists, editors and scientists, which have meaning for the positive image of Poland;
- initiating and co-sponsoring publications abroad important for Poland or translated from Polish, encouraging translators and local publishers to use the programmes of the Book Institute, namely ProgramTranslatorski@Poland, Kolegium Tłumaczy, and Samples Translations@Poland;
- including Polish elements in cultural and scientific events, like festivals, trade fairs etc.
- extending contacts in the public opinion environment and cooperating with the most influential media. These include inspiring or ordering publications and organising press conferences.

Additionally, there are also recommendations for the activities of diplomatic representations especially in 2009. These are:

- Analysis of the experiences in promotion of the selected EU members during their period of presidency;
- monitoring and stimulating the cooperation of universities, exchange programmes and scholarship assistance;
- exercise of the EUNIC programme and the UNESCO conventions;
- realisation of the multilateral projects: exhibitions, publications, festivals, concerts, conferences and concours in cooperation with the Visegrad Group members and the Cultural Platform of the Central Europe;
- supporting the departments of Polish Studies in cooperation with the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Science and High Education;
- assisting and developing the works on certified exams with Polish as a Foreign language²⁹⁹.

²⁹⁹ Op. cit.

5.7. The overview of public diplomacy 2007 - 2009.

Polish public diplomacy in 2007:

The dimensions of Polish public diplomacy coordinated by the Polish Institute in 2007 can be divided into six categories:

- a) Poland and its history 2007;
- b) Culture & art;
- c) Film;
- d) Theatre;
- e) Music and musical culture;
- f) Literature.

In the category of history only five undertakings were organised and two of them were devoted to the memory of the holocaust. These were: the presentation of Anna Mieszkowska's book *Mother of the Holocaust Children* and the screening of the movie about Irena Sendler in Vienna and Ebberreichdorf. The second event was the days of Janusz Korczak and his days in the children's theatre Duschengel in Vienna.

History was not a key point in the strategy of 2007, whereas art and culture definitely gained attention. There were 25 exhibitions organised with the involvement of Polish artists in Austria in 2007. The majority of these exhibitions were authored by contemporary Polish artists, who focussed on modern techniques. In this group a few names and exhibitions should be mentioned:

- Paweł Althamer – Quantity as Quality;
- Marzena Nowak – contemporary paintings
- Wojciech Krzywobłocki – Permutations
- Anna Konik – Our Lady Forever
- Katarzyna Kobro – Die Blaue Blume
- Marta Deskur, Robert Rumos and Artur Żmijewski – Gestures of Identity.

What is very surprising and what can be also taken as a weak point in the cultural dimension is the fact that only artists who were known only in narrow art circles were presented to the Austrian audience. There was only one exhibition, where the pictures from the collection of the National Museum in Warsaw had been used in the Belvedere Museum. I think that the lack of presence of the Polish classics in painting like Jan, Matejko, Stanisław Wyspiański, Józef Chełmoński, Artur Grottger, Jerzy Kossak, Juliusz Kossak, Józef Mehoffer, Władysław Podkowiński, Olga Bozańska, Piotr Naliwajko and Wilhelm Sasnal in the exhibitions organised in Austria simply decreases the opportunity to rise the rank of these events. These names are the most recognised Polish painters and their works should definitely be presented in Austria.

The second weakness of the public diplomacy strategy in 2007 was the very limited offer of Polish films screenings. There were only nine films presented in Austria and two of them were devoted to children. The remaining seven screenings were authored by Krzysztof Kieślowski, Sławomir Fabicki, Filip Marczewski, Tomasz Wolski, Sławomir Mucha and Krzysztof Koterski. There are also several names missing from the most recognised worldwide Polish movie directors, like Andrzej Wajda, Roman Polański and Jerzy Skolimowski.

The theatre pieces prepared by the Polish artists were slightly better represented, because the Austrian audience had the opportunity to watch fifteen performances. Among the directors of the pieces were: Lidia Amejko, Maria Woytyszko and Bogusław Schaeffer. Theatre is surely a more elite art than cinema and the language difficulties can weaken the message of the piece, and in my opinion film dubbing may have meant the chance to reach more a numerous audience than just a theatre piece.

Music seemed to be quite popular in the public diplomatic strategy, because there were thirty one events organised on the Polish side in 2007. What could be quite surprising is a great deal of the concerts were devoted to jazz music. The classical and sacred music was not often presented to the audience. The majority of musicians were coming from hardly recognised groups even in Poland and the probability of attracting

Austrians seemed to be minimal in my opinion. The big Polish names in music like Krzysztof Penderecki, Zbigniew Preisner and Wojciech Kilar were not invited to Austria in 2007. I think that the weak point is that the public diplomacy in music hardly took into account the rock music for example, which could have been an efficient trick to attract a young generation of Austrians.

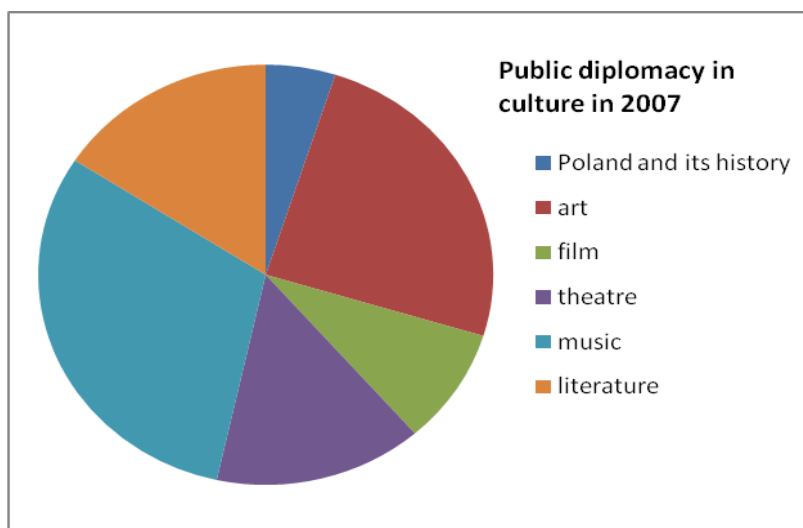
When it comes to the Polish literature-related events, there were eleven meetings with Polish authors and five book presentations in 2007. However, even though the number of initiatives is not large it should be stressed that in the case of literature several outstanding and popular authors were invited to Austria. Some of them are best-selling writers in Poland and they have chances to be noticed on the Austrian book market. I would like to mention several names: Wojciech Kuczok, Michał Witkowski, Manuela Gretkowska, Dorota Masłowska and Andrzej Sapkowski.

Martin Pollack is quite sceptical about the role of literature in public diplomacy, because the number of Austrians reading East European writers is very limited. He said: *when I speak about Kapuscinski readers I do not mean the hundreds of thousands readers, but about much smaller group in the entire European German speaking territory. As a writer I am aware that we deal with a very small non-representative group of society. They do not have so much power as the politicians do. They have a much stronger and socially influential power, namely the media.*³⁰⁰

³⁰⁰ Interview with Martin Pollack – appendix 6.

In conclusion the public events can be visualised graphically in the chart:

Chart 1.



Polish public diplomacy in 2008

The historical part of public diplomacy in 2008 began with the exhibition Korczak and his children. The community paid by life devoted to the memory of the hero doctor Janusz Korczak at the beginning of the year. Additionally, five more events were devoted to the topic of holocaust and the fate of Jews. Other historical undertakings were related to the heritage of Joseph Roth and Andrzej Kuśniewicz. All together there were twelve events and one insert about Polish culture in Die Presse in September 2008.

There were thirteen exhibitions organised under the patronage of the Polish Institute in 2008. Marzena Nowak, Michał Budny, Marek Karewicz, Ewa Partum, Jarosław Kozłowski, Bartosz Mucha, Józef Robakowski and Dorota Buczkowska had the chance to present their works in Austria throughout the year. Moreover, there was a study trip for the Austrian curators of art and art journalists to Warsaw, Cracow and Łódź which was organised in November 2008. These sorts of travels and exchanges are for sure one of the most effective tools of public diplomacy.

There were again only nine screenings presented to the Austrian audience in the framework of the public diplomacy programme, but that year the movies and directors were extraordinary. Films like *The Pianist* by Roman Polański and *Katyń* of Andrzej

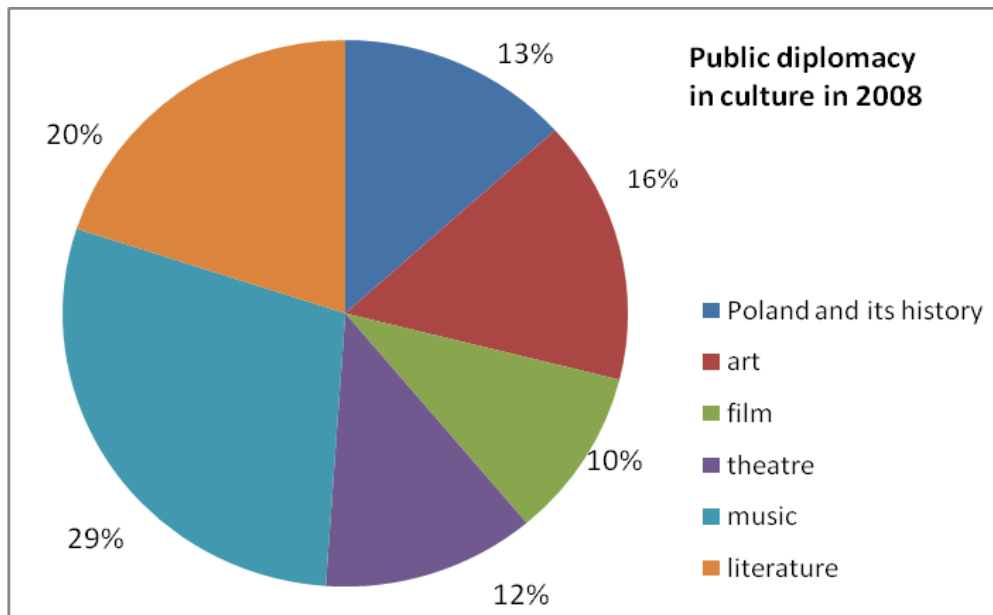
Wajda were made available to Austrians. Additionally, the bitter comedy *The Wedding* by Wojciech Smarzowski presenting the metaphor of Polish provincial mentality was presented in October 2008 in the Village Cinemas.

There were four less theatre performances in 2008 in comparison with the previous year. Austrians could see pieces like *Two Poor Romanians Speaking Polish* by Dorota Masłowska, *The Migrants* by Sławomir Mrożek, *Testosteron* by Andrzej Saramonowicz and *Janosch* (Eckert Horst). There was also a special event at the beginning of the year in February 2008 *Die Besten aus dem Osten* in Volkstheatre in Vienna, where the J. Szaniawski Theatre from Wałbrzych with two pieces, *Kopalnia*, *Piaskownica* and *A Man with a God in Wardrobe*, were presented to the Austrian audience and this event can certainly be regarded as a success.

The musical dimension of the public diplomacy strategy in 2008 was very significant, because there were twenty six concerts organised and again jazz was very popular, with eight concerts devoted to this sort of music. The novelty in the 2008 programme was a number of concerts devoted to the young Austrian audience. There were three such concerts of DJ Pompon MusicShowcare, DJ La Hore and Big Fat Mama in June 2008. Additionally, several famous Polish musicians came to Austria. These were Piotr Nalepa, Adam Makowicz and Krzysztof Jabłoński. The last two pianists gave the concert of Frideric Chopin music on the 90th anniversary of the Polish independence in the KonzertHaus in Vienna in November 2008.

The programme of Polish literature promotion seems to be the most successful in 2008. The organisers managed to arrange 13 meetings with the most famous Polish writers, whose books were mostly translated into German. Wojciech Kuczok, Adam Zagajewski, Andrzej Stasiuk, Stefan Chwin, Michał Witkowski, Mariusz Szczygieł, and Maria Nurowska were hosted in Austria in 2008 in order to meet with their Polish and Austrian readers. Next to these meetings with such outstanding Polish writers there were five book presentations and public literature readings. Amongst others, the heritage of Genowefa Jakubowska–Fijałkowska and Bruno Schulz were presented.

Chart 2.



Polish public diplomacy in 2009

The strategic plan of public diplomacy in 2009 was much more enlarged and restructured in comparison with both 2007 and 2008. This was because two of the important anniversaries, namely the 20th anniversary of the fall of communism in Central Europe and the celebration of the 70th World War II Anniversary. Generally, the undertaking of cultural public diplomacy in 2009 was divided into the following categories:

1. Poland and its history 2009 – 20th Anniversary of the fall of Communism in Central Europe;
2. The Celebration of 70th Anniversary of World War II;
3. Promotion of culture and art;
4. The promotion of film;
5. The promotion of theatre and drama knowledge;
6. The promotion of music, musical culture and dance;
7. The promotion of literature.

The 20th Anniversary of the fall of Communism in Central Europe was celebrated with fifteen events to commemorate democratic victory in Poland in 1989. There were exhibitions, round tables, a lecture and a film festival organised in Austria in order to remind the audience about this important breakthrough in the lives of the Polish people. I think the most significant of the projects was the exhibition of the Carta Centre *Decade of Solidarity 1979 – 1989* in May in Hofburg, in June at the University of Vienna and for the longer period of time from June to September 2009 in the Weiter Castle. Another undertaking, which is worth a mention was the film festival entitled *1989 – 2009. Alles bleibt anders* organised by the Schikaneder and Top Kino in December 2009.

The second anniversary, which was also celebrated that year, was the 70th anniversary of World War II. Poland was the first victim of the war and that is why the Poles actively contributed to this historical commemoration. There were also fifteen undertakings regarding this anniversary, like book presentations, movie screenings, discussions and seminars. On this occasion the following Polish movies were presented to the Austrian audience: *Katyń* by Andrzej Wajda, *Children of Offenders*, *Children of Victims* by Piotr Salsza and *Ossolineum: Memory and Identity* by Maciej Piwowarczyk. Additionally, in November and December 2009 there was a special seminar for the Austrian history and social and political science teachers about Poland and on the history in Europe organised by the Polish Institute.

The culture and art also remained the standard point in the public diplomacy strategy in the year 2009. There were nineteen exhibitions organised in order to present the heritage of Polish artists to Austrians. Many painters had the chance to present their works, for example: Julita Wójcik, Mieczysław Karłowicz, Agnieszka Kalinowska, Paweł Althamer, Paweł Książek, Krzysztof Izdebski–Cruz and Janina Kraupe. One of the most interesting ideas was the multimedia exhibition about Karol Szymanowski. *Beautiful like me. Szymanowski – Iwaszkiewicz – Roger* organised in Bregenz in the summer of 2009. Karol Szymanowski (1882-1937) was one of most outstanding Polish composers and pianists and presenting him to the Austrian audience was a good move.

When it comes to film promotion the year of 2009 was not fruitful in this field, because there were only five screenings of Polish films. These were: *How Is Made* by Marcel Łoziński, *Hope* by Stanisław Mucha, *It's Time to Die* by Dorota Kędzierszawska, *Tricks* by Andrzej Jakimowski and the show of films by Joanna Polak on the Film Festival VIS (short movies) in Vienna.

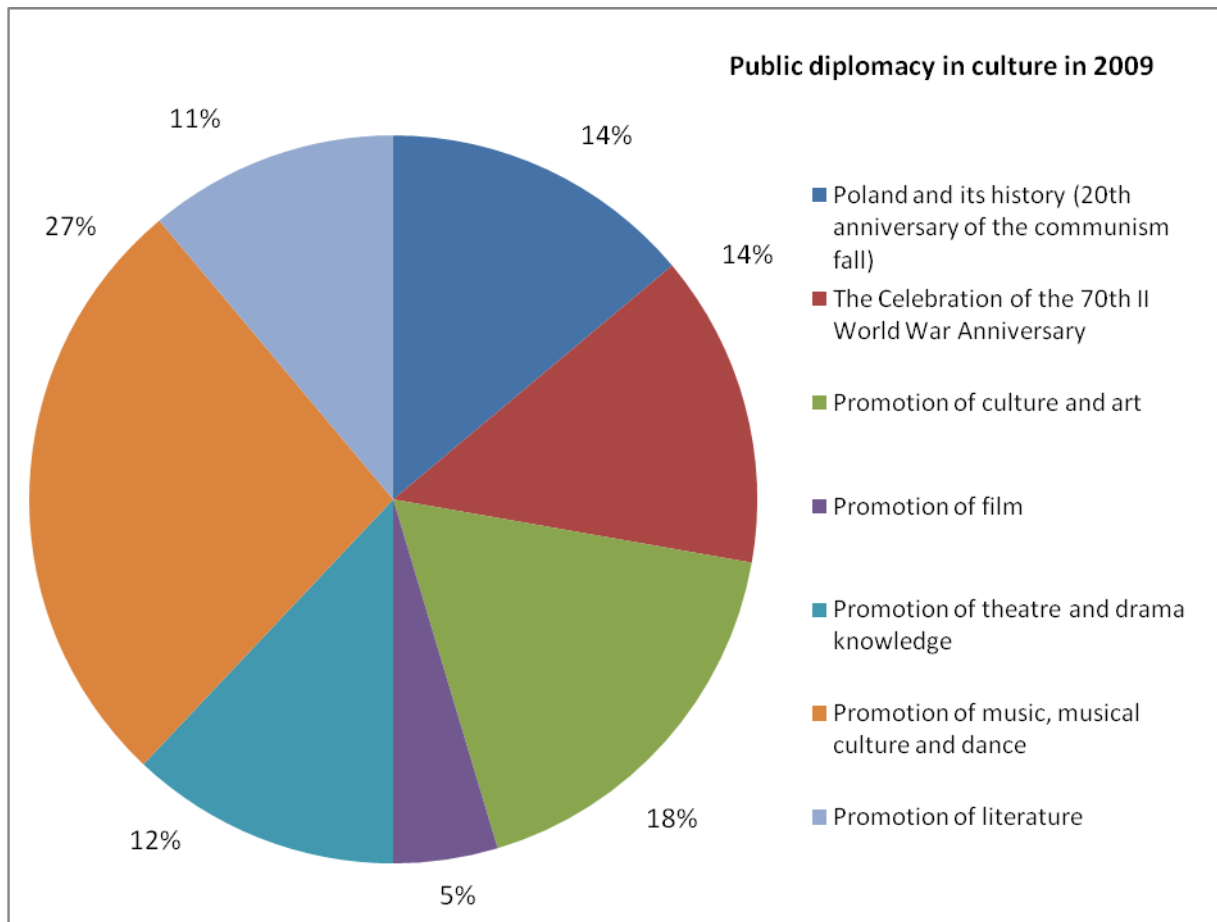
The promotion of theatre and drama knowledge was based on thirteen events, mostly on the presentation of piece presentations with the involvement of Polish directors and actors. The theatre programme of cultural public diplomacy in 2009 paid a great deal of attention to Jerzy Grotowski, because few undertakings were devoted to his memory. He was certainly one of the most influential theatre directors and reformers in the XX century. The Polish Institute organised the acting workshops *Grotowski Inspiration* in October 2009, an exhibition and the screening of documentary movies about Jerzy Grotowski. What should also be noticed is there was a performance (*A*)*pollonia* of Krzysztof Warlikowski in October 2009.

The programme of music, musical culture and dance was very intensive in 2009, because there were twenty-nine different events organised in cooperation with the Polish Institute. The majority of the concerts and gatherings were devoted to high culture and an audience with sophisticated taste. The most prestigious were definitely the jazz concert *Niger Kennedy Quintet (GB/PL)* in May, the concert of Andrzej Panufnik music and a meeting with his daughter in June and a concert of Opole Philharmonics in November. There was also one more interesting initiative at the beginning of the year. Cezary Tomaszewski decided to prepare the opera *The Joyful Widow* in the Brutt Theatre, but he employed the Polish cleaning ladies working in Vienna as actresses and singers.

The promotion of literature in 2007 was traditionally based mostly on the meetings with Polish writers and presentations of their book. This year, in addition, Steffan Möller was presented twice in Austria. He is an interesting Polish “social diplomat”, because he is a native German living in Poland for more than twenty years working as an actor and satiric. He is highly popular in Poland and Germany. He authored the book *Viva Polonia. German Gastarbeiter in Poland* presenting in a funny

way the cultural differences between Poles and Germans. Steffan Möller speaks fluent Polish, but very often shares stories about the difficulties related to the learning of this language. Additionally, authors like: Radek Knapp, Olga Tokarczuk, Artur Becker met the Austrian audience and presented their heritage.

Chart 3.



5.8. Polish cultural offer in 2007 – 2009 covered in Austrian press.

Austrian newspapers have regularly covered cultural events initiated by Polish institutions and the Polish Institute monitors news and collects it in the archives. This is naturally a very useful tool in the further analysis of the media to echo the Polish initiatives. The fact that only more or less positive news about the Polish culture is collected by the Polish Institute and gathered is slightly disappointing, because these

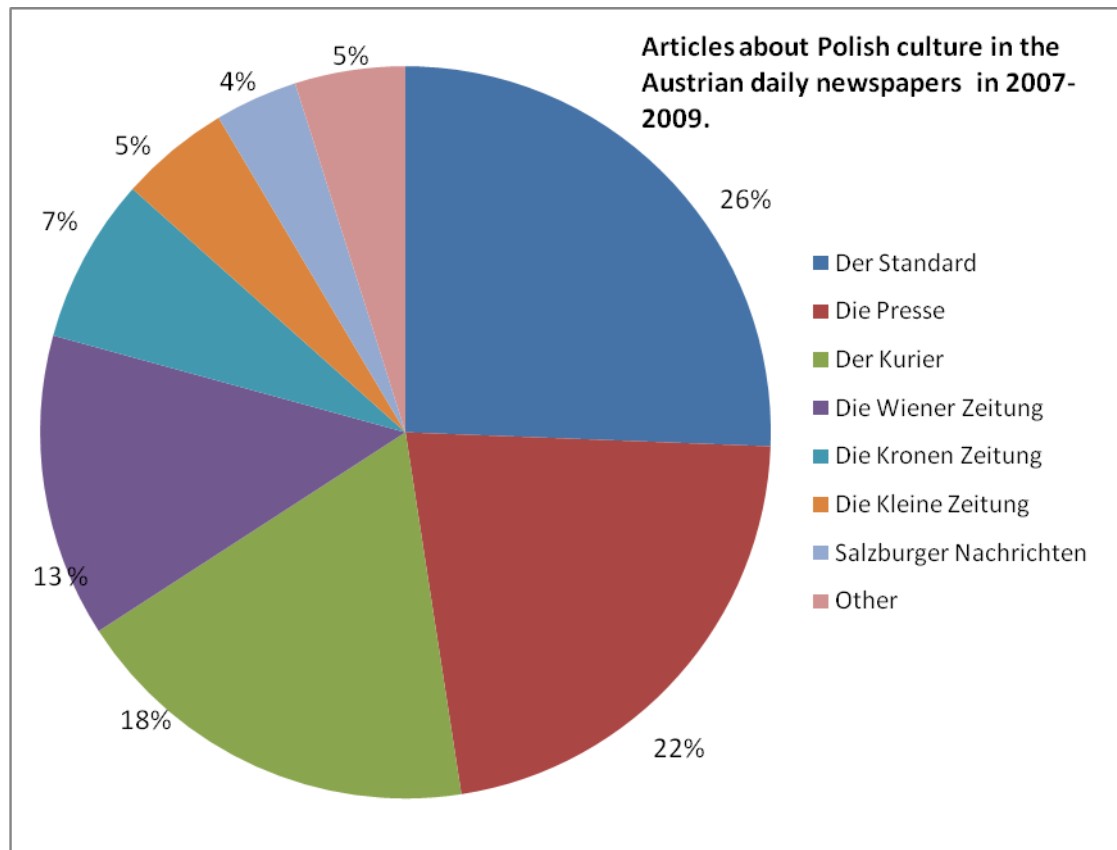
articles do not give the full picture of the Polish image and contemporary discourse about Poland in the Austrian press. There is a significant need to collect all the articles about Poland which appear in Austrian press.

There were 41 articles published in the Austrian press about Polish culture in 2007. This was the year of Ryszard Kapuściński's death and 10 articles were published about him and his literary heritage. They appeared in *Der Kurier*, *Der Standard*, internet page of *Ö1*, *die Presse*, *Profil* and *connectingculture.at*. Additionally, this was also the year of the *Achtung! Umpolen* project which was also a subject of interest of Austrian media. Four articles from *BezirksRevue*, *Der Standard*, *Die Presse* and *wieninternational.at* were devoted to this subject.

One year later (2008) 69 articles were published about Polish cultural offerings in Austria. The topics covered by the Austrian press were very diverse. This was the year of 65th anniversary of the Warsaw uprising and six articles from *Bezirksjournal*, *Wiener Zeitung*, *Falter*, *Die Presse*, *Profil*, internet page of *Ö1* were devoted to this important historical event. Polish Theatre was quite popular that year, because 15 articles were published about Polish pieces and artists. The most covered was the Polish weekend in the Hundsturm Theatre in February 2008. Additionally, Polish writer Andrzej Stasiuk was presented twice in the Austrian press in March 2008. The first publication came from *Falter Steiermark* (10.03) and the second from *Wiener Zeitung* (13.03).

There were 88 articles published about Polish culture in 2009 in the Austrian media and it was definitely an intensive year when it came to the promotion of Polish culture in Austria. Events, which were the most frequently covered, included the festival in Bregenz with the contribution of Polish artists, the presentation of the Steffan Möller's book "Viva Polonia" and Polska Weekend in the Ost Club. The famous Polish artists who appeared in the Austrian press were Olga Tokarczuk (writer), Paweł Althamer (sculpture artist), Krzysztof Warlikowski (theatre director), Elżbieta Jabłońska (painter), Katarzyna Kozyra (sculpture artist) and Magdalena Abakonowicz (sculpture artist).

Chart 4.



The calculation has been prepared on the basis of the Polish Institute archives.

5.9. The role of political leaders in public diplomacy.

The image of the country is often associated with the image of its leader. The power symbolised by a leader has meaning for its perception both in the country and abroad³⁰¹. The heads of state are associated with a given country and it is described as the “stereotypical personification of politics” which impacts the international identity of countries. According to Beata Ociepka it is not only political leaders of government play a role in this aspect but also recognised and respected individuals pursuing careers in culture, art or sports who deserve attention, because they can contribute to the improvement of the image of a country worldwide. This

³⁰¹ B. Ociepka (edited), *Dyplomacja Publiczna*, article: *Dyplomacja publiczna jako forma komunikowania*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, Wrocław 2008, p. 29.

point of view is an important axis of analysis in the context of the public diplomacy of Poland, because the tradition of Polish modern democracy is one of the youngest in Europe and can be counted as starting in 1989 when the government of Tadeusz Mazowiecki was established. Actually, the period between 1989 and 2007 was characterised by instability in the political scene with frequent changes of chiefs of government. Only the fact that Poland had fourteen different prime ministers in 18 years from 1989 to 2007 shows how fragile the situation was and indeed there were examples where the governments were dissolved overnight. This gives an average term of one year and two months for each prime minister. This fact was certainly one of the obstacles facing the work on public diplomacy with the use of Polish political leaders, because a year or so is not sufficient time to establish one's own reputation in the international arena. Additionally, the power in this period was shifting to different parties starting with post-Solidarity parties through post-communist left wing parties and ending with the coalition of the Kaczyński` brothers' party Peace and Justice, which went into coalition with extreme right party League of Polish Families and the populist Self-defence (Samoobrona) party in 2005. We can assume that following the international coverage of Poland in the press and media during that period was highly difficult, because the political options and politicians were changing very quickly. Nevertheless, we should not forget a certain consistency in political goals, like for example the negotiation process with the European Union, which started in 1994. All governments, regardless of the political option, were highly devoted to pursuing this goal.

My dissertation focuses a great deal on the years 2007 – 2009 and that is why I want to focus on Polish government leaders in these years.

Jarosław Kaczyński was designated Prime Minister by his twin brother the President, Lech Kaczyński, on July 14th 2006 and he kept power until November 5th 2007, when he was forced to dismiss because of an alleged scandal with the involvement of the Vice – Prime Minister and the Minister of Agriculture Andrzej Lepper who was suspected of a corruption scandal and lost his position in the government in July 2007. The party of Jarosław Kaczyński lost its majority in the

Polish parliament and thus new elections were to be held in the autumn of 2007. What should be noted in this context is that the coverage of Polish politics in the international press was probably some of the most negative in the recent years. This was in a way deserved by the Kaczyński brothers, because of several obstreperous statements towards Germany and Russia relating to the historical past and emphasising the role of Poland as a victim.

Paweł Lisiecki, the journalist of the Polish weekly *Wprost* presented the general image of Poland under the rule of the Kaczyński brothers quoting the most influential European dailies. He recalled for example:

- *The advancement of Kaczyński brothers is not a good message for Europe* /Frankfurter Rundschau/;
- *Taking over the power by Jarosław Kaczyński when the president is Lech Kaczyński makes Poland even more unpredictable and more isolated on the European scene* /Libération/³⁰².

Poland was a country ruled by sentiments, animosities, fear, immaturity and radical rhetoric in the point of view of Western correspondents³⁰³. The height of negative international press coverage was reached in June 2007, when German daily the TAZ (die tageszeitung) published a satirical article by Peter Koehler about the Kaczyński brothers entitled *New Polish Potatoes. The Bastards Want to Get Control over the World*. This article infuriated the Kaczyński brothers who informed the prosecutor. The case was indeed controversial, especially since the German journalist was heavily insulting the Polish Head of State.

Another important issue, which must not be overlooked in the subject of the role of politicians in public diplomacy is the personality of the Minister of Foreign Affairs who is a critical person in this matter, because in a sense she/he is a face of foreign policy. Anna Fotyga was designated as the Minister of Foreign Affairs from May 2006 until November 2007. She was probably the most criticised Minister of

³⁰² P. Lisiecki, *Sezon na kaczkę*, *Wprost* nr 30/2006 (1233). (on – line: <http://www.wprost.pl/ar/94153/Sezon-na-kaczki/?O=94153&pg=2>)

³⁰³ Op. cit.

Foreign Affairs since 1989. Anna Fotyga had no professional experience in diplomacy and she was highly dependent in her decisions on the opinion of the Kaczyński brothers. What was also negative was that she was quite often in conflict with the civil servants in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and that was another factor in the general negative picture of Polish international politics in the second half of the year 2007.

The Peace and Justice Party was interested in conducting historical diplomacy, because the sentiments of the past played a crucial role for the Kaczyński brothers. There were visible anti-German and anti-Russian attitudes in the ruling party. Poland agreed in favour the idea of the USA installing the anti-missile shield which deteriorated further the relations with Russian Federation led by Vladimir Putin. The countries, often mentioned as allies of Poland, were Lithuania, Georgia and the United States, which was quite surprising for a new EU member country.

I do agree with the statement of Professor Beata Ociepka that the political leader plays an important role in public diplomacy, because they are often regarded as the personification of power. The years under the rule of the Peace and Justice party were unfortunate for public diplomacy with the involvement of political leaders.

The political situation changed radically on October 21st 2007 when early parliamentary elections were held. The prevailing support was given to Donald Tusk and his party the Civic Platform (Pol. Platforma Obywatelska), which received 41.5 % of votes³⁰⁴, whereas the Peace and Justice party (Pol. Prawo i Sprawiedliwość) was supported by 32 %³⁰⁵. The results of the elections were nearly immediately commented on in the international press and the victory of Donald Tusk was welcomed enthusiastically by the international media, especially in Germany. The newspapers, like The Berliner Zeitung and the Mitteldeutsche Zeitung expressed the point of view that this choice proved that a majority of ordinary Poles did not hold anti – German attitudes and a journalist from the Berliner Zeitung encouraged the German

³⁰⁴ Source: National Election Commission <http://wybory2007.pkw.gov.pl/SJM/PL/WYN/M/index.htm>.

³⁰⁵ Source: Op. cit.

government to use it as a chance towards overcoming the barriers³⁰⁶.

Donald Tusk offered the post of the Minister of Foreign Affairs to Radosław Sikorski on November 16th 2007 and this was a radical change. He was educated in Oxford and spent several years of his professional career in the United Kingdom, Afghanistan and the United States. The direction also changed towards a more *real politik*. Radosław Sikorski presented the following priorities for Polish foreign affairs in his speech to the Lower House of the Parliament in 2008. These were: The European Union, the coordination of the East Partnership with Ukraine, Germany and the United States³⁰⁷. Additional highlights added in 2009 were: fostering the Polish Russian dialogue, further cooperation with France and the United Kingdom and finally supporting the democracy movements in Belarus³⁰⁸.

5.10. Public diplomacy in the assessment of the experts and the contributors to the process public diplomacy execution between Poland and Austria.

Emil Brix

Emil Brix represents a relatively historical approach to public diplomacy between Austria and Poland. He stresses the fact that in the XVIII, XIX and at the beginning of XX centuries Poland and Austria were actually the same country and this fact must impact our contemporary attitude. The myth of Galicia seems to be still alive, especially in the artistic dimension. This can be seen in the plan of exhibition under the auspices of Austria with the intention to present in cities like, Warsaw, Vienna, New York, London, Jerusalem and Lviv.

Another issue that is characteristic for Emil Brix's observation of the general context of public diplomacy between Poland and Austria is the point of view that cultural exchange is the dominating factor in Polish–Austrian relations. This can be presented in concrete numbers, because according to Ambassador Brix Austria spends 12% to

³⁰⁶ Source: Rzeczpospolita (on – line edition: <http://www.rp.pl/artukul/64446.html?p=2>)

³⁰⁷ Source:

<http://www.msz.gov.pl/Informacja,Ministra,Spraw,Zagranicznych,na,temat,polityki,zagranicznej,RP,w,2008,roku,17317.html>

³⁰⁸ Source: <http://www.msz.gov.pl/Informacja,Ministra,Spraw,Zagranicznych,25358.html>.

30% of the entire foreign policy budget on cultural relations with Poland, especially in order to maintain two cultural institutions in Warsaw and in Cracow.

Bogusław Dybaś

Bogusław Dybaś as a Director of the Vienna based unit of the Polish Academy of Sciences has a very special task, because his job is to promote Polish science to Austrians. Again, similarly as in the case of the cultural events organised by the Polish Institute the circle of the people who receive the offer of the PAS–Vienna Unit is elite, because the events gather on average 100 to 150 persons, who attend the conferences and workshops organised by the PAS in Vienna. Bogusław Dybaś tries to increase the attraction of these events by the presence of top Polish scientists recognised worldwide, such as Prof. Karol Myśliwiec and Prof. Aleksander Wolszczan.

What is quite surprising is that the majority of undertakings organised by the PAS in Vienna is devoted to history and history of arts. Bogusław Dybaś's explanation is that the exact sciences do not have any intercultural context and they do not require that much promotion. The people who work in medicine, physics or biology do not have to bother about state boundaries and intercultural context. They just have their own contacts and environment, where the nationality has minor meaning. In the case of social sciences and humanities the matter is different. There is a significant challenge in presenting Polish history and culture to Austrians.

Małgorzata Grudzińska

The core institution in the creation of Polish public diplomacy is the Polish Institute, whose role it is to initiate and coordinate all undertakings related to the promotion of Polish cultural heritage in Austria. Although the officers and employees of the Institute including Małgorzata Grudzińska – the Director of the Polish Institute at the time of research- have diplomatic ranks and titles, the area of the institution is accessible for all interested persons. Anyone can enter it without special prior appointment and ask for information. The offerings of the Polish Institute are directed towards a broad audience and the variety of diverse cultural events aims at gathering

the people wanting to expand their contact with Polish culture. Sometimes people do not choose to come only because of the Polish component or sentiment, but because the high value of the cultural event in its own right. The concert of the violinist Nigel Kennedy³⁰⁹ is a great example of this, when hundreds of people turned up. There are naturally many obstacles in the way of the endeavors and the Polish Institute's initiatives, and these are mostly related to the promotion of Polish literature, because only a small number of Polish writers have been ever translated into German, and sometimes this task seems to be impossible, because of special style and character.

Martin Pollack

Martin Pollack is an Austrian intellectual with significant professional ties to Poland. He speaks a lot about the irrational fear and scepticism of Austrians towards people from East and Central Europe. According to Pollack an average Austrian does not have a special interest in Poland. This is still an unknown sphere for many Austrian citizens. They mostly choose Croatia and Italy as holiday destinations. This lack of interest in Poland is surprising, because there are many Poles in Austria and many of them advanced in the social hierarchy, and they work in free professions.

Martin Pollack is a journalist, writer, translator and literature critic, who introduced Ryszard Kapuściński to German-speaking readers. My great concern was whether literature can be a significant bridge between two nations and a way to improve mutual understanding. According to Pollack, in the case of Polish-Austrian relations this is unlikely. This is really difficult to do when it comes to the writers from the East being presented as an example in the German press. He suggested in the periodical "Literature in the World" in 1994 that even mispronouncing the Polish or Hungarian names seems to be "en bon ton" as the speaker on the radio is afraid that the correct pronunciation would make him a suspicious person.

According to Martin Pollack, media has the real power of public diplomacy and literature will hardly ever be able to compete with it. The disproportion between the number of end users/receivers is tremendous. What indeed enfeebles the wellbeing

³⁰⁹This outstanding British violin player resides in Poland now and plays with the Polish band.

of a better image of Eastern countries in Austria is the relatively easy access to the populist political leaders, like Hans–Christian Strache.

Crocker Snow Jr.

Crocker Snow Jr. is a director of the historic place for public diplomacy, namely the Murrow Centre at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, where the term “public diplomacy” was officially published for the first time. Crocker Snow Jr. who has been a career journalist has a similar point of view to Martin Pollack, because he also finds the media critically important for public diplomacy. He says that the ability to communicate creatively through a variety of personal and multi-media outlets is the key. Formal programmes of public diplomacy communications are in his view less effective than informal.

Włodzimierz Szelaḡ

The role of travelling opportunities and the accessibility of countries via different transport means is clearly an important factor in the well–being of relations between the countries and the willingness to visit a country is certainly important information for conducting work on public diplomacy. According to Włodzimierz Szelaḡ, the Director of the Polish Touristic Organisation (the Unit of Vienna) the movement between Poland and Austria is quite significant, especially for business purposes. He also stresses several obstacles which still divide the contacts between Poland and Austria. There is for example a problem with transport. Although there are five flights a day between Warsaw and Vienna these are mostly for business people and the prices for the tickets are high. The cheapest tickets to Warsaw are 150 to 200 EUR and the average price is between 400 and 450 EUR. There is also a railway connection to Poland and the length of the journey has not changed since 1901. In the case of bus transport the quality of Polish roads combined with the traffic makes the journey much longer. There are many weaknesses in Polish–Austrian transport. For example, there is no direct connection to Gdańsk.

Włodzimierz Szelaḡ also has critical remarks relating to national branding. The Polish

problem is that too many products are considered as flagship brands and the result is that there is none very significant one. The ideas change quite often, whereas a brand needs persistence in promotion. Anyway, the potential for such a national brand could mean: the Polish vodka, Frederick Chopin and Polish folklore.

Additionally, the Polish government does not invest in promotion and sees it as a waste

Sławomir Wolny

Sławomir Wolny, who is a career diplomat in the Polish Foreign Service sent on a long-term posting in Vienna, understands public diplomacy as influencing international public opinion through the creation of the positive image of Poland. He does not see a clear connection between public diplomacy and public relations, although there are certain common points and tools that these two disciplines use. Public diplomacy is administered by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and it aims at the gradual influence of the opinion of the inhabitants of the foreign country.

According to Sławomir Wolny there are three tools used by the Polish diplomatic service in this field. These are:

- a) Media actions (events) – reaching local media, attaching inserts in magazines;
- b) “Press breakfasts” – meetings with journalists. It takes place once every three months and the topic is naturally the contemporary situation in Poland. It adds a certain value when the official representative talks about Polish affairs first hand. The circuit of the journalists is different and varies from 4 to 10 and it is dependent on the subject.
- c) Study trips for the reporters to Poland.

According to Sławomir Wolny the greatest challenge in Polish public diplomacy in Austria is fighting against the negative image and numerous stereotypes of Poles in Austria. He mentioned that the Austrians are highly hermetic as a nation and the Iron Curtain still exists in the minds of many Austrians.

Irena Lipowicz

Irena Lipowicz, the former Polish Ambassador to Austria, also says that negative stereotypes of Poles and a lack of knowledge about Poland are the greatest challenges for public diplomacy. She presented a very unconventional and active type of ambassadorial work in order to use all possible efforts in the fight for Austrian support during the EU accession negotiations.

For example:

- Meetings of professionals from Austria and Poland, for example The Border Service Guards and policemen;
- The Professors' Club;
- Polish Year in Austria (focus on culture)

She paid attention to the federal character of Austria and acted most intensively in Stiria, Tirol, and Upper Austria. She used the potential of the Consul General Office and received strong support from Gerold Ortner, the General Consul of Styria.

Professor Lipowicz tried to enhance more collaboration between Polish professionals working in Austria. She tried to encourage Polish doctors to form an association, but the doctors were not interested in official structures and engaging themselves more closely. According to Ambassador Lipowicz, the “new Polish emigration” with Polish emigrants working in high profile positions should be more visible in public and civil diplomacy undertakings.

Finally, there is a significant need for continuation of harmony of the public diplomacy strategy. Upon the end of Irena Lipowicz's term there ended up being a longterm vacancy in the role with no Polish Ambassador in Austria to continue the hard work.

Beata Ociepka

Beata Ociepka treats public diplomacy as a form of international political communication which can be measured with results and goals achieved. She stresses that public diplomacy is not only about the change of the media content, because

paradoxically this is quite easy to achieve. It is also crucial to see changes in the school textbooks and this has a longterm effect, because it takes long time. According to her, in changing stereotypes and attitude towards certain nationalities and countries, a big role is played by the parents, who socialise the children and give them a certain attitude. When it comes to the most efficient tools which can help, Professor Ociepka mentions NGOs and social media. She also stresses that the role of civil diplomacy and international relations of municipalities must not be overlooked and it should play a supportive role to public diplomacy. In her key undertaking, which Poland should be involved in to become more visible in the international arena, she stresses the involvement in sharing the know-how to enter the road to democracy with countries, which transform into the new system.

5.10.1. What helped in the general assessment of the public diplomacy strategy?

According to Professor Beata Ociepka the assessment of the effectiveness of the public diplomacy strategy is still to be developed and improved. There are no precise tools, which will tell us with the 100% certainty that certain actions or initiatives resulted in these changes, especially when it comes to the long-term strategies which aim to change the stereotypes and prejudices. This process usually takes around 20 years and any factor may influence the attitude of an individual person. This can be a documental movie, an article, a personal meeting with a person who represents the nation, a trip to the country, having a business connection, taking part in a seminar etc... The number of options is actually endless and naturally public diplomacy is only a part of the process, because I do not believe that public diplomacy alone can bring the desirable effect in the long term strategy. All the components which establish the “pantheon” of reputation management namely: place branding creation (tourism), nation branding creation (economic policy), cultural policy (culture and national heritage), public diplomacy (foreign policy) and warning management, play crucial individual roles connected in a mutual effort.

My dissertation deals primarily with public diplomacy trying to answer the

question what factors have really helped in the context of Polish–Austrian relations in recent years and I would propose the following assessment. The short-term strategies which focus on achieving concrete goals can be much more easily judged. Poland has had such a goal in recent years and it won over the support of the Austrian parliament in the EU accession process. In this case the result was successful, because the parliamentary representatives voted in majority in favour of Poland. Why was it achieved? I think it was possible first of all, because of an active and highly-determined ambassador, who used all possible means to reach the destination group. The personality of the ambassador who earned the respect of top Austrian officials was in my opinion prevailing.

Second, the good quality and relatively large number of institutions located in Austria, which serve the purposes of public diplomacy. Besides the Embassy, efforts were also supported by the Polish Institute, the Honorary Consulates devoted to their work, The Polish Academy of Science (the Unit in Vienna) and finally the Polish Centre for the Touristic Information. Taking into account that Austria belongs to the rather small sized European countries the presence of Polish institutions is indeed satisfactory.

I think that the potential is quite significant for the future, but only if other aspects will be improved. First of all, the Embassy and the Polish government need better public relations and communications channels in Austria and much more intensive cooperation with Austrian journalists. There were years where there was not a single Austrian correspondent in Warsaw. The relationship with Austrian media is certainly one of the most important challenges in the coming years.

5.11. Possible scenarios for the future.

According to Beata Ociepka, Austria was important for Poland before 2004, because of the negative attitude concerning our EU aspirations and the fear that successive Austrian governments would not support the candidacy of Poland. Nevertheless, this country was neglected after 2004 as a campaigning country, because there were hardly special efforts and contacts made.

Austria does not ignore touristic advertisement in Poland. Austria is one of the favourite destinations amongst the Polish people when it comes to the skiing and in this case I can see significant progress, however it is hard to notice that Austria is a similarly significant destination country for Polish public diplomacy.

Speaking about the successes and failures of the public diplomacy campaign upon the admission to the European Union, we can view it from two perspectives. Firstly, this was a success, because Poland was admitted to the EU, but Beata Ociepka sees also a slightly less optimistic side of the final outcome:

If we wanted to measure it with the willingness to open the job market in Austria the effectiveness of this campaign was very weak, especially taking into account the fact that the efforts in public diplomacy were hardly continued after 2004. The reasons for it were limited financial resources and additionally in 2005 the government changed and the new leaders had completely new ideas in this field. They introduced the element of historical diplomacy, what was maybe not so important in case of Austria, but the "historical public diplomacy" was particularly visible with our relations with Germany and Russia. I think this was another reason why Austria stopped to be the point of the central interest³¹⁰.

The plans of Polish public diplomacy up to 2015 show that Austria will not be a core interest in the strategy. This is not encouraging, especially taking into account that there is still a lot to do in the field of public diplomacy in Austria and this is the best time to start because many young Austrians are free of negative and stereotypical attitudes toward Poland and it would be very wise to conduct new informative action about Poland. Another significant fact, which provides a new perspective in Polish–Austrian relations, is the opening of the job market in Austria on May 1st 2011. The very crucial issue in the Polish–Austrian context should be the mobilisation of civil society. Poles living and working in Austria should pay more attention to NGOs and their own contribution to the positive development of ties with Austrian society. This should be the major focus in the future.

³¹⁰ Interview with Professor Beata Ociepka – appendix 5.

Summary

Chapter V is the core part of dissertation, which presents an in-depth analysis of all institutions which take part in the strategic planning and execution of public diplomacy. I have presented also all legal acts and documents which are the source of knowledge on public diplomacy between Poland and Austria. Finally, I have presented the results of public diplomacy events presented between 2007 and 2009. There are several remarks which should be recalled regarding this issue:

- There is a clear lack of a future plan;
- The undertakings and offers are suitable for sophisticated intellectuals and scientists. More emphasis should be placed on the working class and young professionals. More opportunities for contacts with businessmen should be created;
- More people of Polish origin should appear more often in the media;
- More involvement of social diplomacy and NGOs.

Besides the analysis of high-culture events organised by the Polish Institute, I have tried to deepen my considerations by confronting the issue of the role of politics and political leaders in public diplomacy. The years 2007-2009 were marked by the presence of two governments: one of the Peace and Justice Party with a very negative reputation in the media and the second of the Civic Platform, which was welcomed with hope for a positive change and a credit of trust. A very negative reputation in the media and that of Jaroslaw Kaczynski could also have affected work on the improvement of the image of Poland, because the consequences of negative stereotypes are particularly visible and recalled during special and crucial events in political life.

Public diplomacy is not just the work of the Embassy and the Polish Institute. These are positive records of government efforts. It is not enough to make a good impression, but making a good impression is crucial to having the potential to succeed.

Chapter VI

Poland and its citizens in the eyes of young Austrians and challenges for future public diplomacy strategies. The report of the survey (2009).

6.1. The profile of the questionnaire.

There can be no efficient or reasonable public diplomacy strategy without initial knowledge of the negative experiences while visiting Poland, unpleasant observations of Polish citizens in Austria, stereotypes etc. Sometimes a lack of nearly any knowledge about Poland and similarly a nearly non-existent interest in Poland has been also an important message in my research. Naturally, it is not only negative aspects that act as a working field for public diplomacy initiatives. The awareness of the strong points and positive associations and experiences relating to Poland are crucial as well.

The idea and purpose of the questionnaire³¹¹ was to research the mutual knowledge and attitudes amongst Austrian students to provide a better understanding of public diplomacy in Polish–Austrian relations and point out the eventual needs for improvement. The questionnaire was anonymous and served only for the purpose of this doctoral thesis. It consisted of multiple and open questions. The survey was carried out in the universities on the following universities in Vienna:

- University of Vienna;
- University of Technology;
- University of Veterinary;
- University of Natural Sciences (BOKU).

This undertaking was possible mostly thanks to the help of professors and lecturers at these universities, who delivered the questionnaires to students during the class. The persons who helped and contributed are: Prof. inż Alexia Fürnkranz-Prskawetz, Dr. Karin Liebhart, Dr. Marcel Fink and Dr. Karolina Taczanowaka. The amount of circulated surveys was close to 150, however the return was 112 and this

³¹¹ The questionnaire can be found in the appendix of the thesis.

results was taken as the 100% probe in my statistical calculations. The time framework of circulating, collecting, proceeding, and transferring the data from the paper questionnaires into the EXCEL data sheets lasted from the early Spring 2009 until the end of May 2010.

It should be also taken into account that the subjects covered in the survey do not necessarily have any specific historical or diplomatic knowledge, because such a questionnaire would be only suitable for a very narrow expert circle. My intention was to grasp the general knowledge of the young Austrians living in the capital city about Poland and its citizens five years after the accession of Poland to the EU. The idea of the author of the survey was also to make it short and precise, because the longer and more complex the survey is the more difficult it is to find a broad response across the student body. The questionnaire consists of four parts:

1. Metrical questions
2. Introductory questions
3. Associations, attitude
4. General basic knowledge about Poland

There are 25 questions, where 13 are multiple choice and 12 have an open-ended character in order to avoid the suggestions of the author and give the respondents free space to pass on their point of view. The major problem I faced in my work was being confronted very often with an “empty field” with no response, suggesting no significant knowledge about Poland. I have also allowed for personal comments in part four and here the frequent message has been “sorry, I do not know much about Poland” or similar.

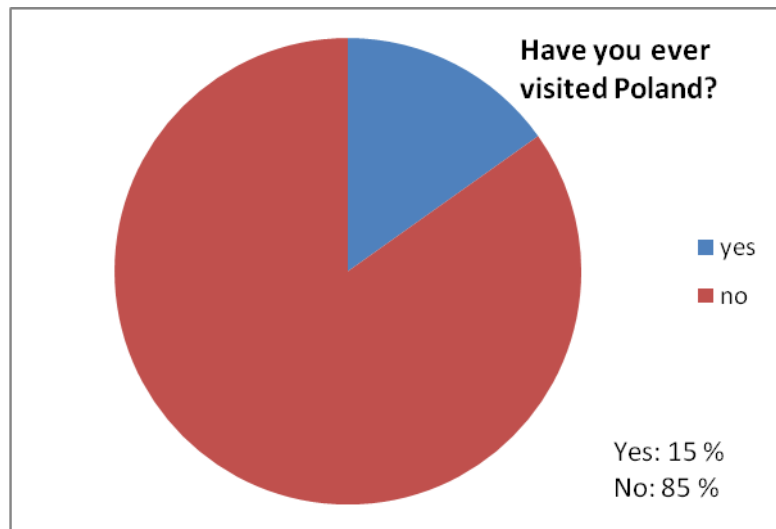
6.2. Analysis of the results.

6.2.1. Basic information about relations with Poland.

The first and second parts of the questionnaire both have an informative and introductory character. The purpose of the questions was to learn if the surveyed students have any ties or relations to Poland and Polish people and also a willingness to have such. This could be their earlier travels to Poland, having Polish friends,

learning Polish, having a wish to study or working in Poland.

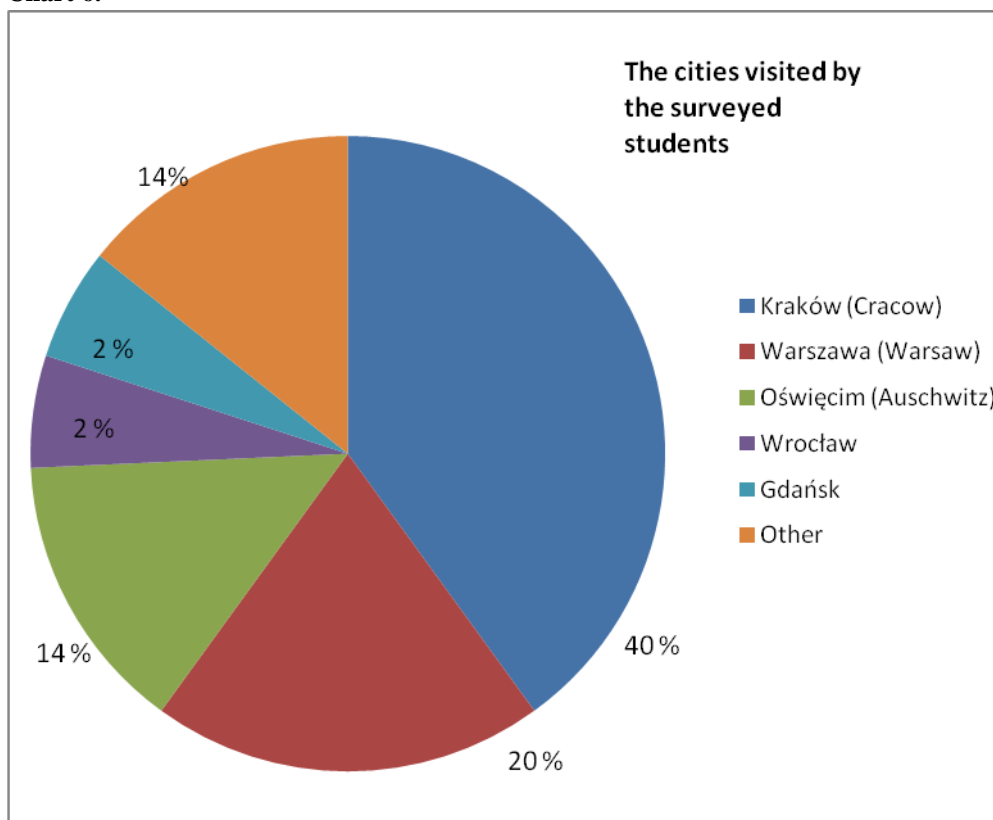
Chart 5.



The above chart presents that Poland is still a rare destination for the surveyed Austrian youth. Only 15 % of them have already travelled to Poland. That is probably why their knowledge about Poland is still very limited and when it comes to the general basic questions relating to Polish culture, national products or Polish companies, the majority of them were not able to give even one example.

Nevertheless, 15 % of the surveyed students have already been to Poland at least once. It is interesting to see the most common directions. These are presented in a separate chart below.

Chart 6.



The prevailing destination is the city of Cracow (40%) and this is probably as a result of a relatively good direct connection between Vienna and Cracow. Other cities visited by the students were: Warsaw (20%), the concentration camp in Auschwitz – Birkenau (14%), Wrocław (2%) and Gdańsk (2%). The rest, “others”, consists of rarely-visited cities, but here smaller towns mostly from the Silesia region, like Opole and Kłodzko, were mentioned. Although not many students have visited Poland so far, the good news is that many of them wish to visit Poland in the future.

Chart 7.

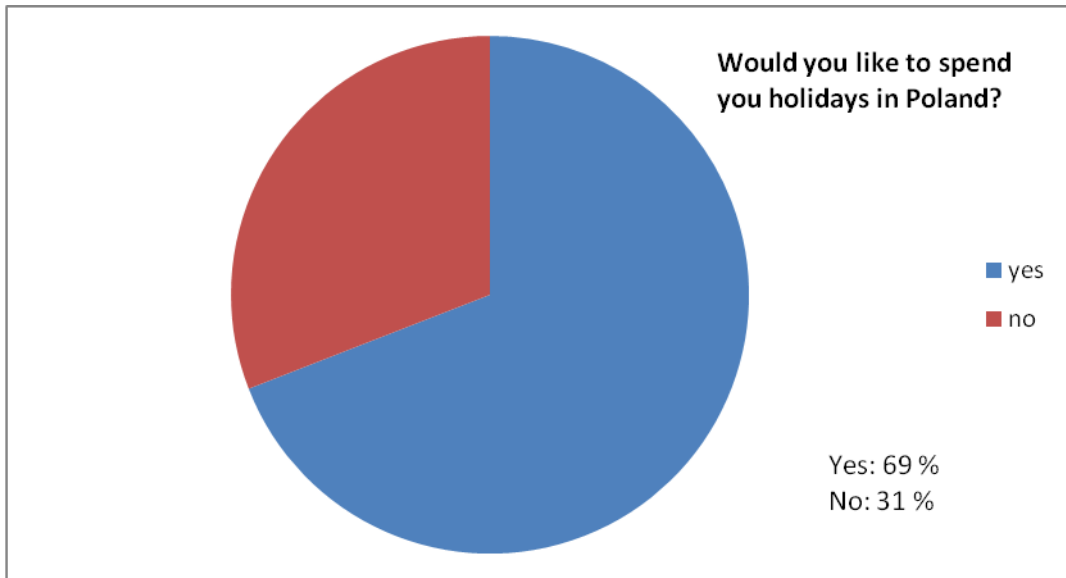
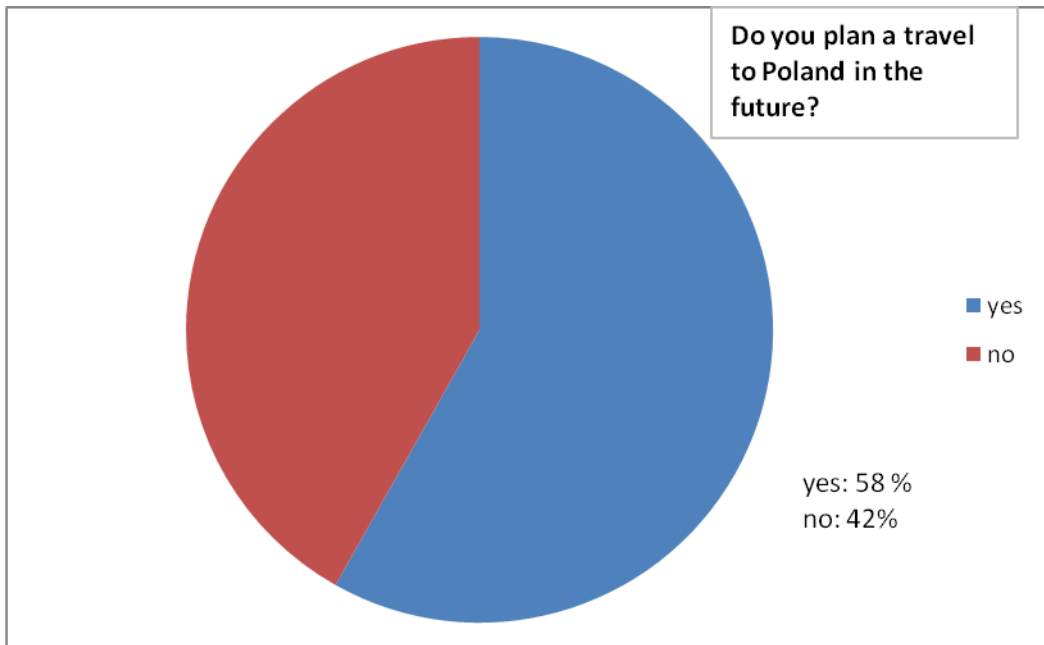


Chart 8.



Charts 7 and 8 present the results of the answers of the students about their willingness to discover Poland. The majority of them wish to do so. 69% of the

surveyed students would like to spend their holidays in Poland and 58% have made travel to Poland a part of their future plans. Respectively speaking, 31% of them would not like to spend their holidays in Poland and 42% do not plan to travel to Poland in the near future.

However, even though the students want to visit Poland on holiday, business or occasion, they do not consider this country as a desirable destination in which to study and work. Not many want to connect their professional or educational careers with Poland. Why? It seems that a great deal of work must be done within the Ministry of High Education and Research in Warsaw to recommend and facilitate access to Polish universities and also the numerous fellowships, scholarships and grants available in the Polish ministries.

Chart 9.

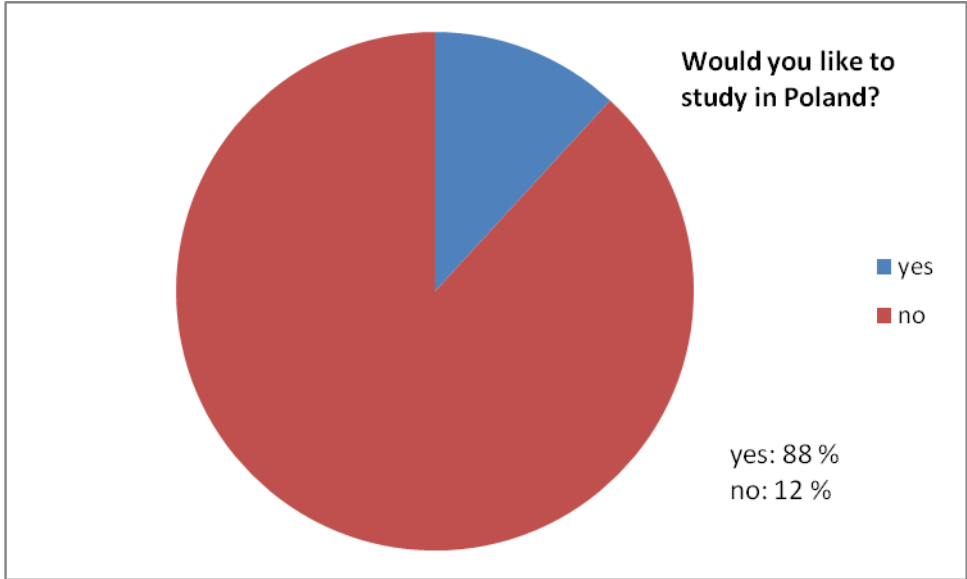
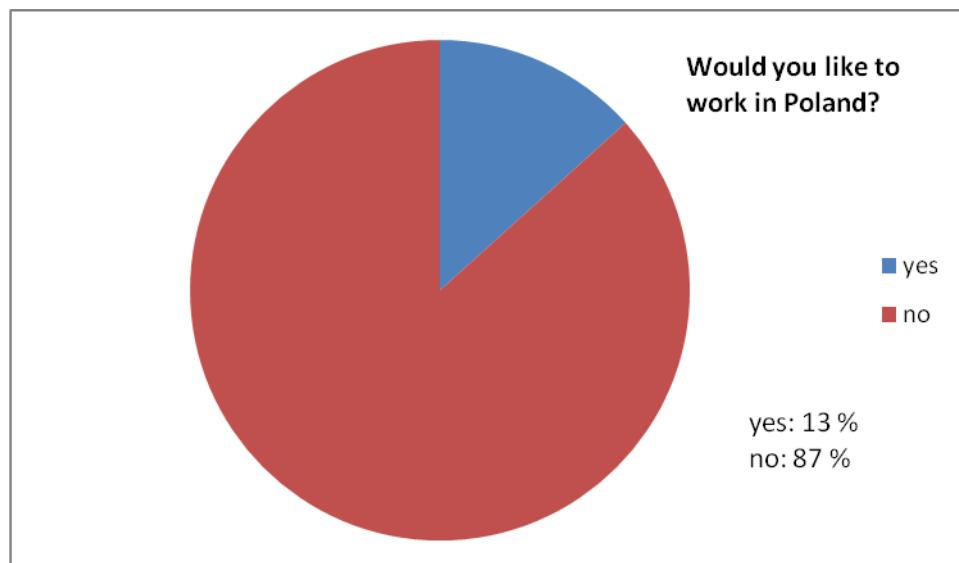


Chart 10.



The percentage of students who would like to neither study nor work in Poland is nearly identical and similarly low. 88% of them do not want to develop their careers in Poland and 87% do not see any advantages in studying in Poland. One of the possible explanations is be foreign language difficulty.

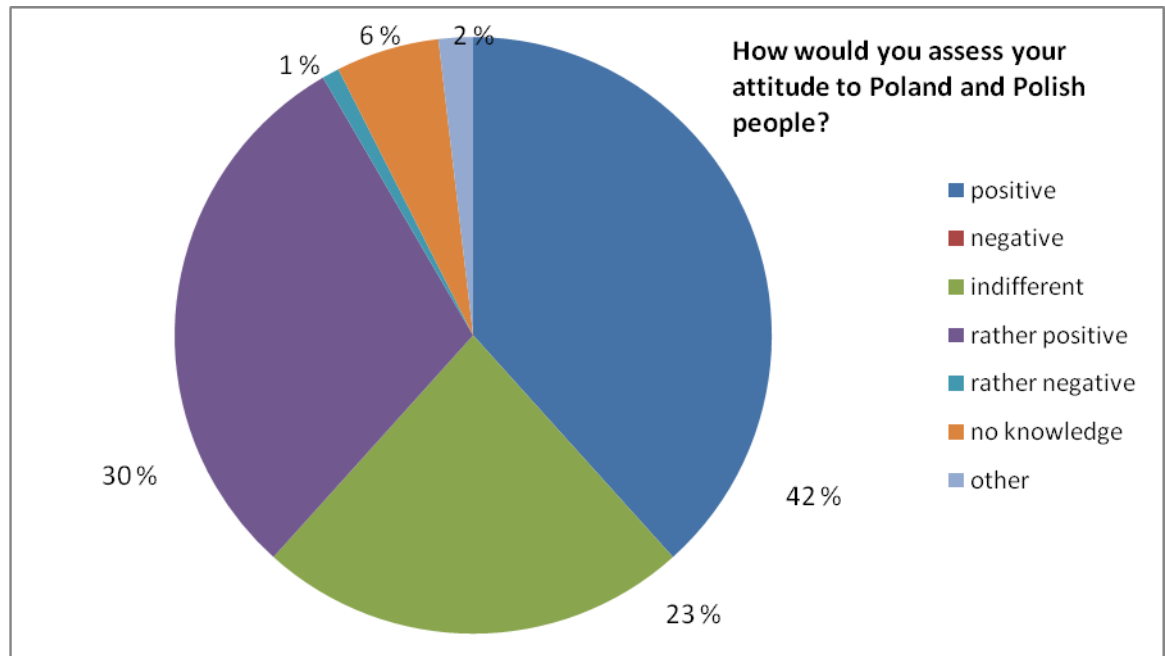
The questionnaire was also aimed at getting information about the command of the Polish language and interest in learning the language. The result is that 97% of the students have never studied Polish and respectively only 1% speaks basic Polish. Intermediate and advanced level of Polish are spoken by 1% of the respondents. Fluency in Polish is rarely a prerequisite to study in Poland, due to widespread English tracks of studies at the leading universities, which are applied specially for Erasmus students, but still, it is a not sufficient factor to attract more Austrian students to come.

6.2.2. General attitude of the Austrian students to Poland and Poles.

Part III of the questionnaire is fully devoted to the research on the attitudes, associations and stereotypes regarding the Polish people and Poland as a country. Here we can speak about a peculiar phenomenon. The surveyed students from Austria have a rather positive attitude to Poland and Polish people but at the same time Polish citizens are in the prevailing majority associated with alcoholic inclination and strong

religious faith. The first factor can be indeed worrisome, especially given that recent surveys prove the decrease in alcoholism by 1/3.

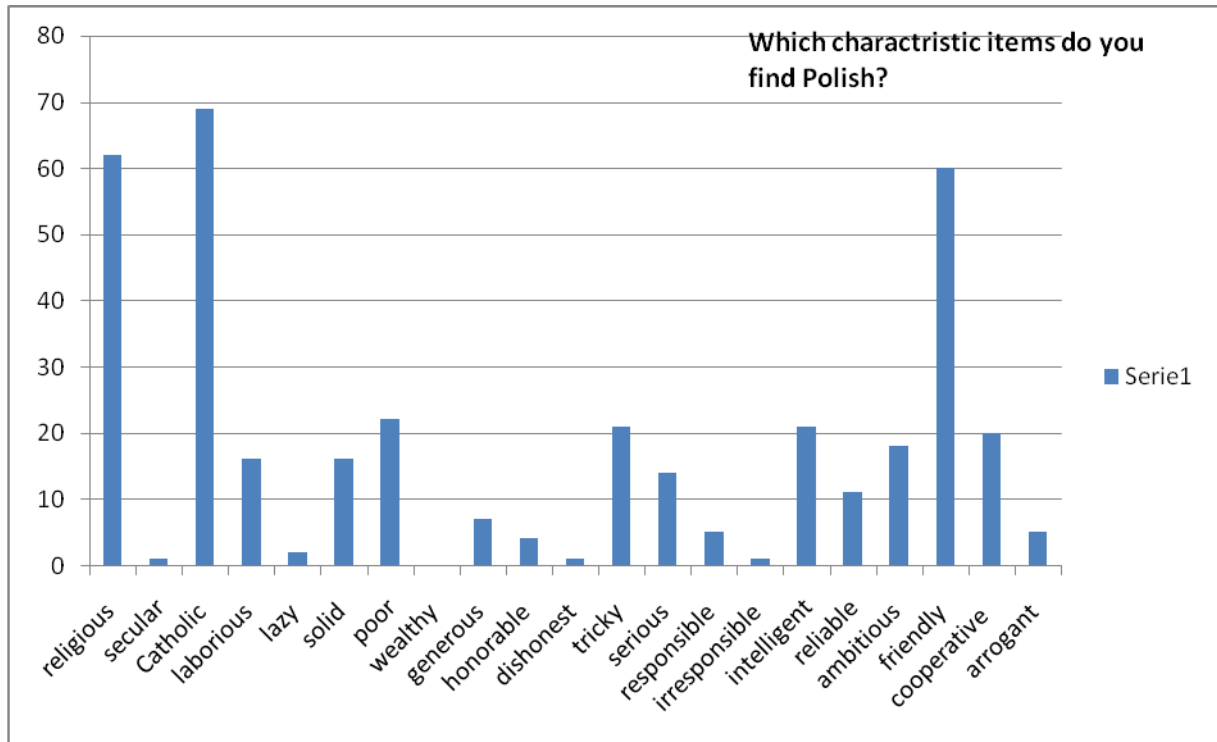
Chart 11.



This can be regarded as a motivating message, because 42% and 30% respectively have either a positive or rather positive attitude to Poland and Polish people. Those describing themselves as indifferent or having no knowledge represent 23% and 6% respectively. Only 1% of the respondents have a rather negative attitude and none have a strictly negative attitude.

The students were also asked to match different national features and items of neutral character and say which of them they find Polish. The question was in a multiple choice format.

Chart 12.³¹²



According to the surveyed students, a typical Pole is above all Catholic – religious (34 %) and friendly (16%). Other typical Polish features according to the survey are: poor (5%), tricky (6%), but also intelligent (6%) and cooperative (5%). A “typical Polish citizen” is nearly never found to be wealthy, secular (0.3%) or irresponsible (0.3%).

The same question was asked in the form of an open question in order to avoid any suggestion and thus limit the scope of possible answers. Students could point out their association according to personal experiences, knowledge, travels and other ties. The results are presented in two charts below.

³¹² The results are presented in the numerical form of the given values. The percentage was calculated separately. The purpose was to facilitate legibility.

Chart 13.

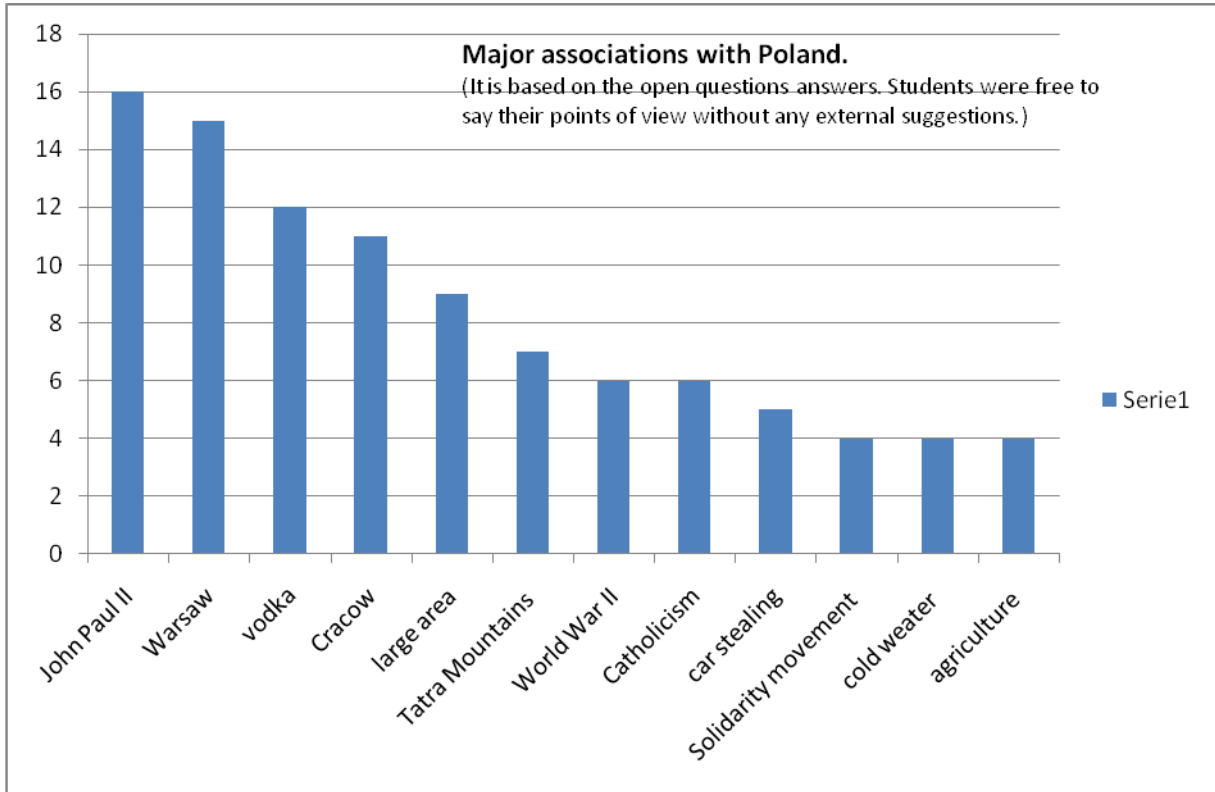
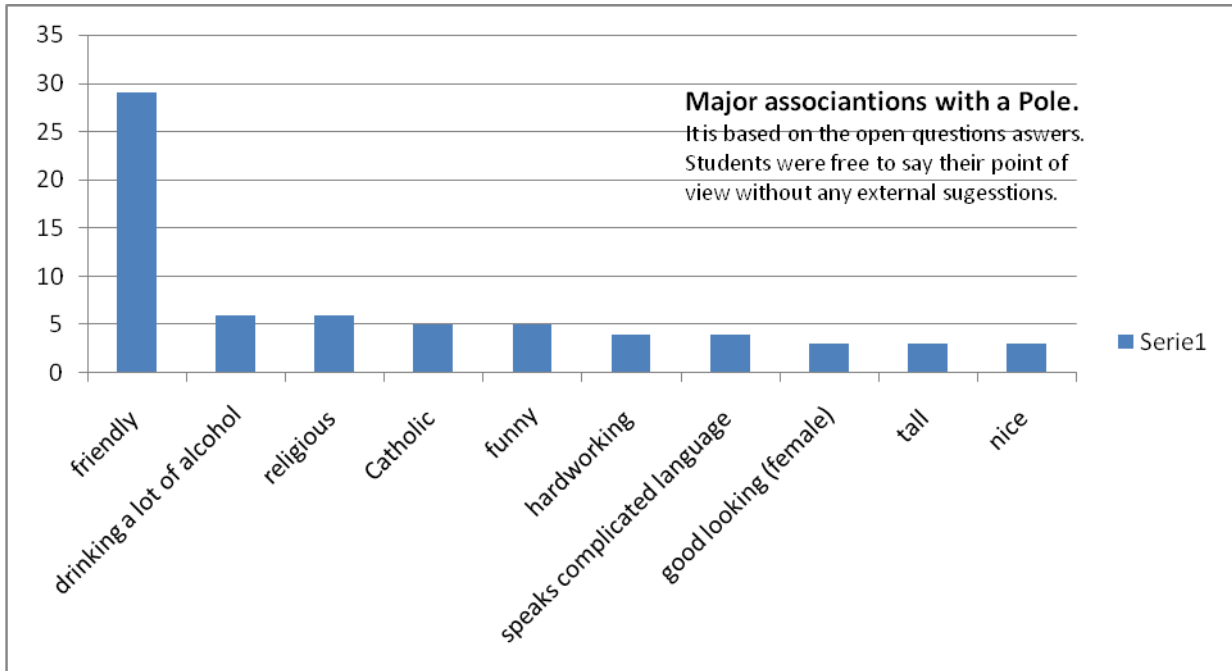


Chart 14.



When it comes to major associations about Poland the first impression is that it is rather illogically connected chain of geographical and personal elements. The most popular were Polish icon John Paul II (16%), the capital in Warsaw (15%) and unfortunately also alcoholic beverage vodka (12%). This is proof of very general and basic knowledge of Poland. However, according to Włodzimierz Szelağ, the Director of Das Polnische Fremdenverkehrsamt – Touristic Information Point on Poland, frequently associating Poland with vodka is not necessarily *a blamage* and a shame for the Polish national image; according to him, this can be turned into a positive advertisement of the Polish alcoholic beverages like Chopin or Wyborowa vodka. A successful campaign has been carried out by Finland and the famous Finlandia vodka. Other examples come from Ireland (Guinness) and the United Kingdom (Johnny Walker whisky). When it comes to the description of a typical Polish person: he (she) is above all friendly (43%), Catholic – religious (16%), with a significant propensity to drink alcohol (9%), funny (7%) and hardworking (6%).

G.W. Allport presents a hierarchy of actions which demonstrate prejudice in the discourse on nationalities. One of its components and possible signs can be spreading jokes about a concrete national minority, which has a ridiculing and humiliating purpose. When it comes to the Austrian students the so-called *Polish jokes* seem to be not so popular like they are in the United States for example. 74% of those surveyed admitted that they never told or heard jokes about Polish people.

6.2.3. General basic knowledge about Poland.

The purpose of Part IV of the questionnaire was to learn more about the basic knowledge about Poland. The students were asked to answer simple questions about the Polish government, national symbols etc... The first one was related to the size of the Polish population. 56% of the respondents knew the correct answer³¹³. Other answers were incorrect or just marked as “I do not know” when it came to the name of

³¹³ 38 000 000.

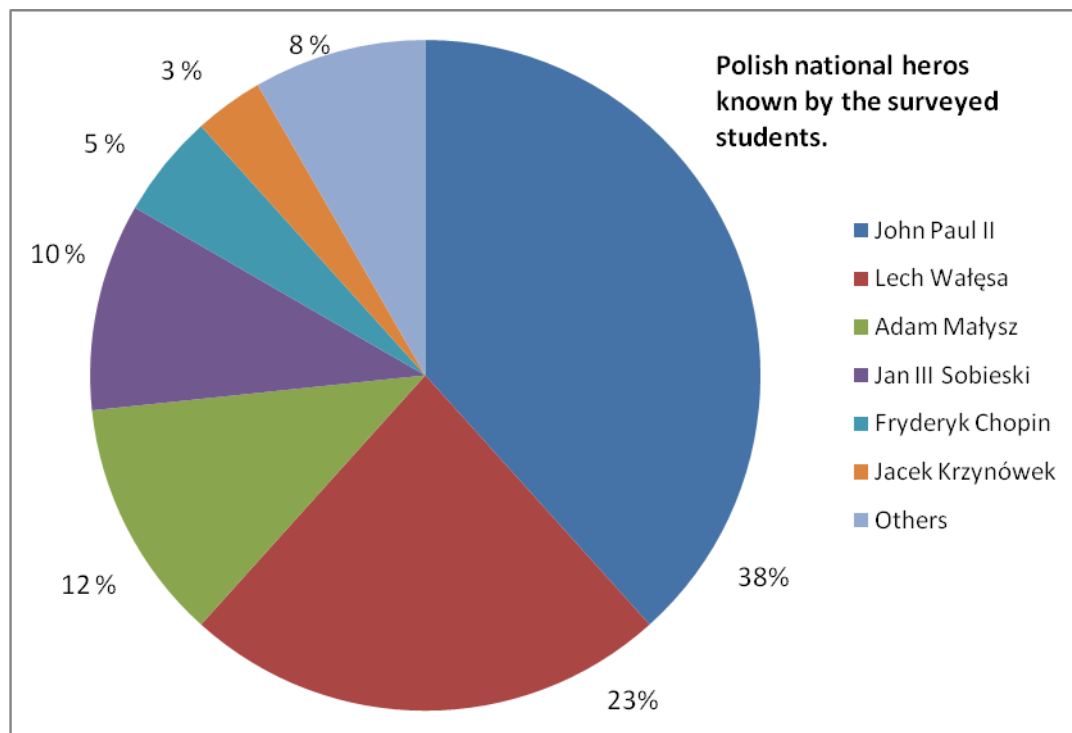
the Polish president³¹⁴. This question was answered correctly by only 39% of the respondents and 49% of the students did not know who the President of Poland was. This is indeed an indication that knowledge about Polish government representatives is minimal in Austria. 9% of the students still think that the Polish president is Aleksander Kwaśniewski³¹⁵. 65% of the students are aware that the Polish currency is the Złoty, whereas 18% think that the Polish currency is the Euro, which in fact will not be possible until around 2014 or even longer. 16% of the respondents were not able to say what the currency of Poland is. The colours of the national flag (white and red) were known to the majority of the students (68%), although a significant number of them (19%) were convinced that these colors were white, blue and red. 12% were not able to answer this question.

The major problem which occurred with the open questions in the 4th part was the fact that a great deal of the students were not able to give any answer relating to Polish national heroes, musicians, writers, companies or products. It seems that many of them know nearly nothing about the Polish culture of history. The result of this situation was a very scarce amount of information. Nevertheless, the outcome was presented in charts and all given answers were collected and calculated into percentages.

³¹⁴ The survey was carried out before the tragic aeroplane catastrophe of the Polish President Lech Kaczyński, his wife Maria Kaczyńska and 94 persons on board the TU – 154 M in Smoleńsk on April 10th 2010.

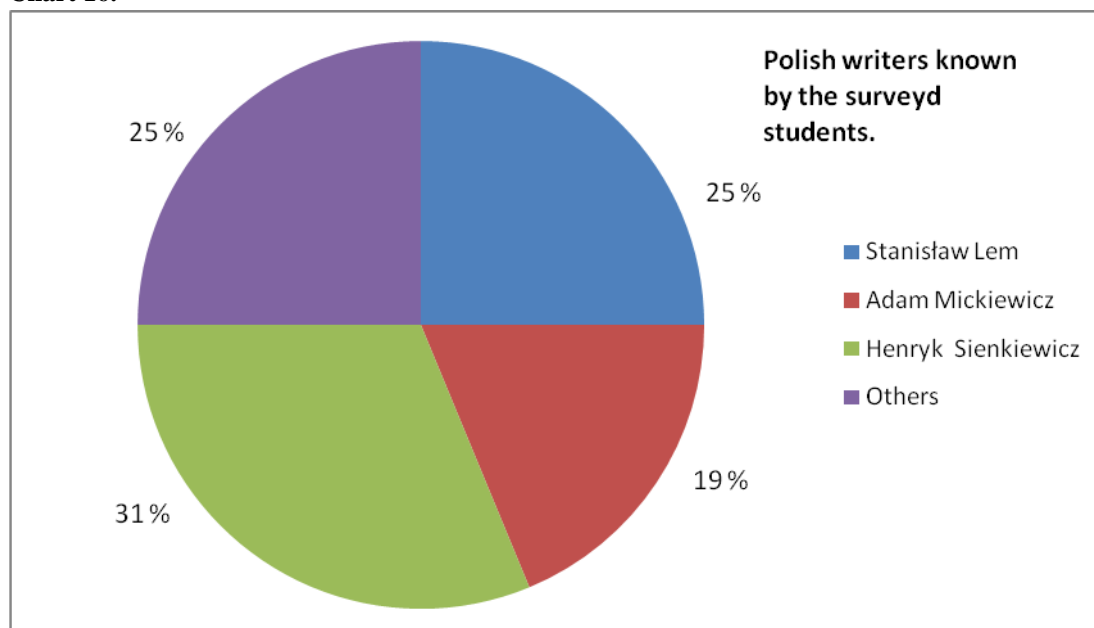
³¹⁵ Aleksander Kwaśniewski was the President of Poland in years 1995 – 2005.

Chart 15.



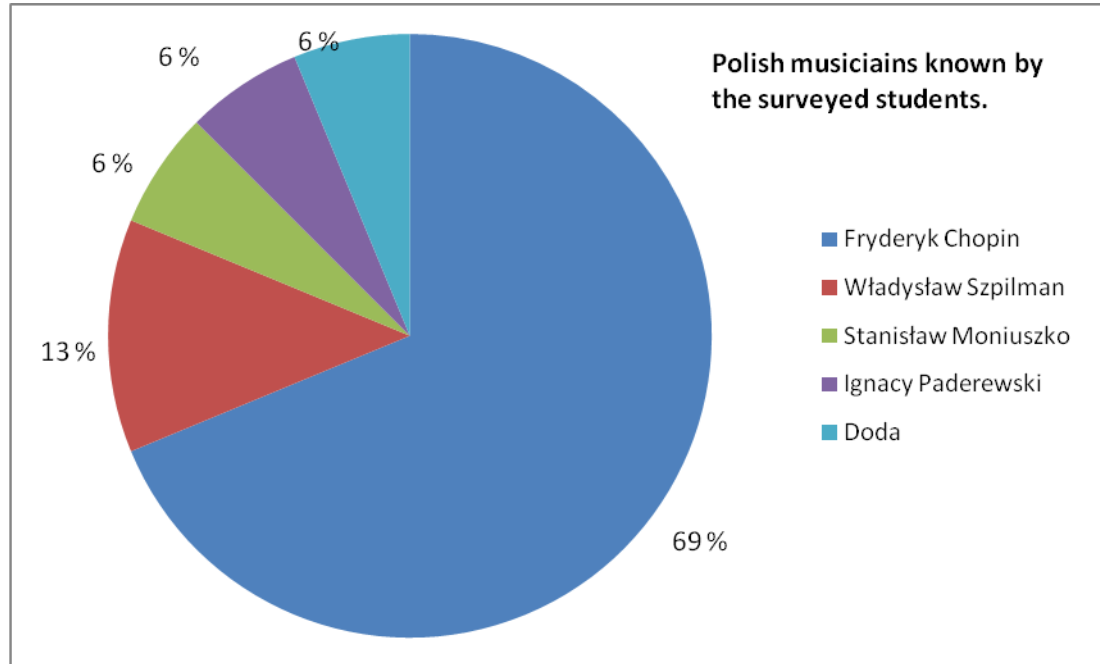
The person, who counts as the most recognised Pole is the former Pope John Paul II (38%) and it continues that tradition of strong association with religion. The second is Lech Wałęsa (23%) a historical leader of the Solidarity movement and the Nobel Peace Prize Laureate for his fight against the communist regime. Both John Paul II and Lech Wałęsa contributed significantly to the democratic change process and this fact was remembered by the young Austrians. Besides these noble figures, Polish sportsmen are also highly appreciated by the respondents. These are Adam Małysz (12%) and Jacek Krzynówek. The first one is a ski jumper and the second a football player. Jan III Sobieski, the Polish King who organised a relief expedition during the Battle of Vienna in 1683, is also still remembered and appreciated by the young Austrians.

Chart 16.



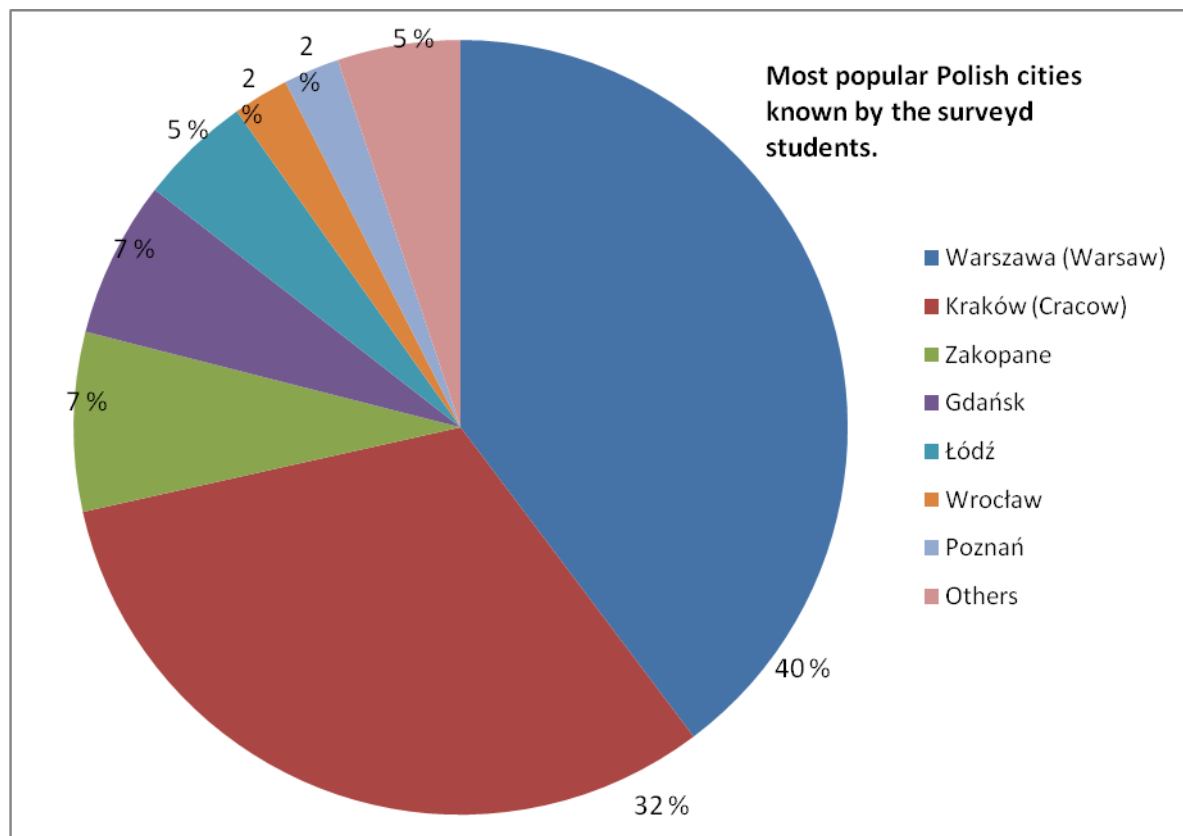
Polish writers are nearly unknown to the Austrian students. Not many were able to fill out this part of the questionnaire. Only one contemporary writer was mentioned in the survey and it is Stanisław Lem (25%). It is slightly surprising, because there are two other Nobel Prize Laureates in Literature: Czesław Miłosz and Wisława Szymborska and they were not known at all. Other Polish writers recalled by the students in the survey were Adam Mickiewicz (19%) and Henryk Sienkiewicz (31%). They published their books and poems mostly in the XIXth century.

Charter 17.



Mostly classical musicians are known among the surveyed students and 69% of the students who answered the question associated Poland with Frederick Chopin. Other answers also stay in the area of classics. These are: Władysław Szpilman (13%), Stanisław Moniuszko (6%) and Ignacy Paderewski (6%). Only one rock music starlet, Doda, is known to the respondents. Other examples of contemporary worldwide known musicians such as Krzysztof Penderecki, Rafał Blechacz, Krzysztof Preisner, Leszek Możdżer or Tomasz Stańko were not known to the Austrian students and this fact should be also taken into account by the public diplomacy culture event planners.

Chart 18.



This question partly overlaps with the previous questions and answers, because Poland indeed is often associated with its biggest cities. The cities mentioned by the students separately as the most popular are: Warsaw (40%), Cracow (32%), Zakopane (7%) and Gdańsk (7%). This question was relatively frequently covered and the majority of the students were able to give examples.

The real problem to worry about on the Polish side especially for the trade and business chambers representing Polish economic relations in Austria, is the fact that Polish companies and products are nearly unknown among the Austrian youth. The last question of the survey, “Please give the name of Polish companies which you know” was barely answered. Only several students were able to give answers.

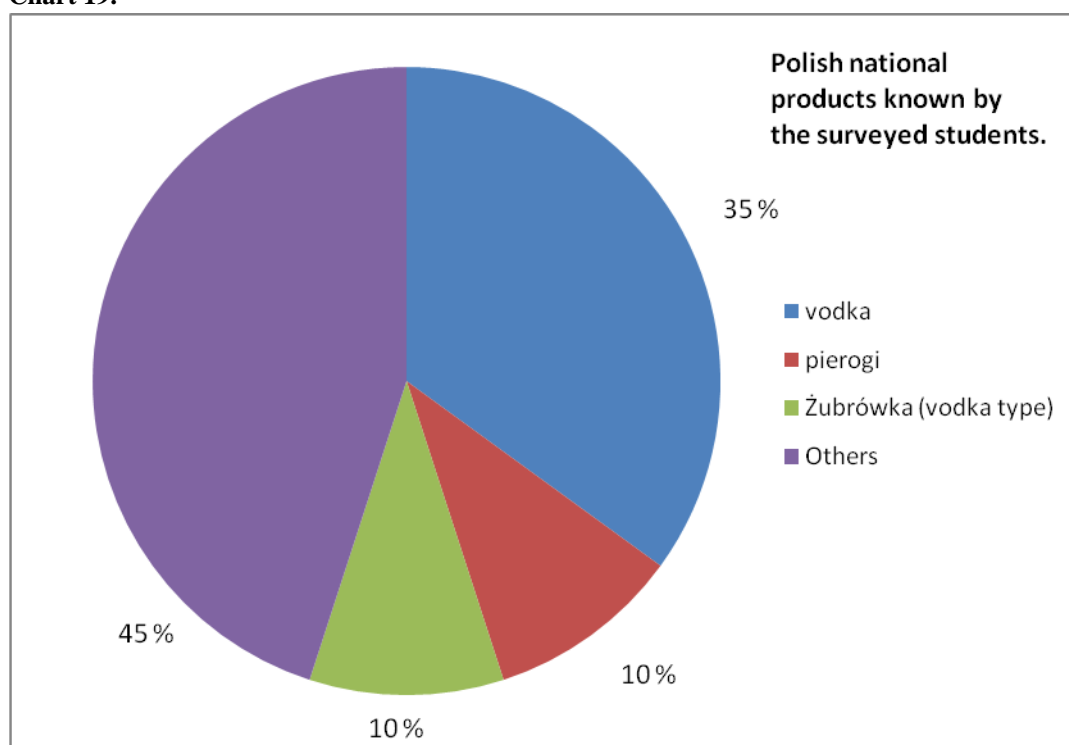
Among these are Wedel³¹⁶, Wyborowa³¹⁷, Hortex³¹⁸ and Tymbark³¹⁹. All of

³¹⁶ E. Wedel is one of the oldest Polish firms specialising in producing chocolate products. It was established in 1851 in Warsaw. It has operated in a joint entity with the Cadbury corporation since 1999 as the new firm Cadbury- Wedel Polska.

these are producers specialising in the production of sweets, vodka and fruit juices. The existence of companies from other fields of business, for example fashion, cosmetics, IT, services etc. were not known to the surveyed students.

The question relating to the names of Polish products was more precise when it comes to the answers of the respondents. The results were numerous enough to present them in a separate chart.

Chart 19.



The product that found the highest recognition as being Polish was vodka

³¹⁷ **Vodka Wyborowa** is one of the mostly recognized Polish products currently exported to 78 countries. The history of Wyborowa Vodka begins in 1823 when Hartwig Kantorowicz opened a modern distillery in Poznań. Currently the company Wyborowa SA is noted on the Stock Exchange.

³¹⁸ **Hortex** is one of the biggest producers of juices, nectars and fruit drinks, as well as frozen fruits and vegetables in Poland. It was established in the 1940s.

³¹⁹ **Tymbark** was established in 1936 is one of the biggest firms producing fruit juices in Poland.

(35%), with the students marking this international alcoholic beverage as a typically Polish product. Additionally, 10% of them were able to point out the name of an indeed traditionally Polish type of vodka Żubrówka. In this line also one has traditional Polish dishes which were recognised as a national product, namely *pierogi*. Other products, which were known to the surveyed students, were: barszcz (a type of the soup), Cracow sausage, sernik (a cheesecake), krówka (a type of a candy) and bambino ice creams. What was surprising was that only the food-related products were mentioned.

Summary

There is no significant hostility toward the Poles amongst the young Viennese students. Many of them declare sympathy but also admit to having nearly no knowledge about Poland. What must be stressed is a “typical Pole” is considered as a jovial, friendly, religious and willingly alcohol-drinking settler. There have been no associations made about being an equal business partner, an intellectual or an independent professional. Poland, however accessible it is within few hours, seems to be a dark and distant country where not many would risk studying or working. Certain historical heritage, like the city of Cracow for example, is naturally known and appreciated but not a desirable destination to establish closer ties.

What should be highly recommended to the Polish diplomats, officers in the Ministry of the High Education and probably also for Polish companies is the fact that there is a clear need to approach Poland in a more efficient way as a credible, serious and modern European Union state. Certain stereotypes, like the common conviction that nearly each Pole has an alcohol problem or suspicion about stealing fancy Austrian cars, seem to be deeply rooted in the imagination of the young Austrians. Nevertheless, there is promising potential, because the young Austrians want to travel to Poland and learn more about this country. For the time being they are not on the stage to plan their academic or professional careers in Poland or learning Polish, but there are grounds for the Polish side to change this.

In my opinion public diplomacy should be performed more on educational

grounds. The Polish Ministry should offer more opportunities for young Austrian scholars and students and be present with this agenda at the Austrian universities. There are already such initiatives, for example Jagiellonian Summer School with a strong intellectual contribution of the Ambassador Emil Brix, but this is still a very elite circle, with a limited number of people who are aware of the existence of such an entity.

Chapter VII

Public and social diplomacy made by Austrians for Poland. Case studies of Martin Pollack and Emil Brix.

7.1. Ryszard Kapuściński's literature heritage in Austria.

There are only several Polish writers who managed to gain international recognition worldwide. These are for example Stanisław Lem, Czesław Miłosz, Wisława Szymborska and Ryszard Kapuściński, a legendary international reporter. Ryszard Kapuściński³²⁰, a member of the PEN club, was considered for a Nobel Prize in literature. His international fame and translations of his repertoire into 31 languages, including Persian and Chinese, may lead to the conclusion that literature may be an efficient means of social diplomacy. The presence of the Ryszard Kapuściński books on the German-speaking publishing market was possible through the translation work of Martin Pollack, a Slavist who translated the entire repertoire of Ryszard Kapuściński into German.

Martin Pollack³²¹ is an Austrian writer, translator and intellectual who is widely recognised in the Polish elite circuits. He is often quoted and interviewed by the Polish

³²⁰ **Ryszard Kapuściński** – was born in 1932 in Pińsk. He studied history (1952 – 1956) at the University of Warsaw and began his career in journalism in *Sztandar Młodych*. The next step in his career was a post of the correspondent of the Polish Press Agency in Africa and Latin America in 60ties and 70ties of XX century. After the Fall of Communism in 1989 he directed his interest to the former Soviet Union and his extensive travels resulted in the reportage *Imperium*, which was banned to translate into Russian. He was awarded a number of internationally recognized awards, including: The Award of The German Publishers and Bookers (1994), PEN Club Award (1996), Goethe Award (1997), Creol Award of the Bologna University (2000) Prox Tropiques (2002). He is an author of books (in English) : *Another Day of Life* (1976), *The Soccer War* (1978), *The Emperor: Downfall of an Autocrat* (1978), *Shah of Shahs* (1982), *Imperium* (1993), *The Shadow of Sun* (2001), *Travels with Herodotus* (2007), *Encountering the Other: The Challenge for the Twenty First Century* (2007), *I wrote Stone: The Selected Poetry of Ryszard Kapuściński* (2007); (Other languages): *The Polish Bush* (1962), *Black Stars* (1963), *The Kirghiz Dismounts* (1968), *If All Africa...* (1968), *Why Karl Von Spreti Died* (1970), *Christ with a Rifle on His Shoulder* (1975), *An Invitation to Georgia* (1983), *The Notebook* (1986), *Lapidarium* (1990), *Lapidarium II* (1995), *Lapidarium III* (1997), *Lapidarium IV* (2000), *Out of Africa* (2000), *Lapidarium V* (2002), *A Reporter's Self Portrait* (2003), *The Other* (2004), *Lapidarium VI* (2006). Ryszard Kapuściński died in 2007 in Warsaw.

³²¹ Martin Pollack was born 1944 in Bad Hall. He earned a degree in Slavic studies and East European history in Vienna and Warsaw. His doctoral thesis was devoted to the heritage of the Polish writer Eliza Orzeszkowa. He has pursued a career as a correspondent on Central Europe in *Der Spiegel* (1987 – 1998). Starting in 1998 he is a freelancer author and translator. He published the books: *Nach Galizien. Von Chassiden, Huzulen, Polen und Ruthenen. Eine imaginäre Reise durch die verschwundene Welt Ostgaliziens und der Bukowina* (1984), *Des Lebens Lauf. Jüdische Familien-Bilder aus Zwischeneuropa* (1987), *Galizien. Eine Reise durch die verschwundene Welt Ostgaliziens und der Bukowina. Frankfurt am Main* (2001), *Anklage Vaternord. Der Fall Philipp Halsmann* (2002), *Der Tote im Bunker. Bericht über meinen Vater* (2004), *Sarmatische Landschaften. Nachrichten aus Litauen, Belarus, der Ukraine, Polen und Deutschland* (2006), *Von Minsk nach Manhattan. Polnische Reportagen* (2006), *Warum wurden die Stanislaws erschossen?* (2008).

media when it comes to the topics related to the interactions of Austrian citizens with migrants from the East. Martin Pollack considers himself as a Middle Eastern European writer. Martin Pollack can be considered as a symbol of social diplomacy, because his contribution to the translation of Polish writers created an opportunity for acquaintance with Polish literature in Austria.



Martin Pollack

Photo © Lukas Beck, Paul Zsolnay Verlag

In December 2006 he was awarded a Prize for fostering Austrian–Polish relations. The Prize³²² is sponsored by the two banks: The Bank Austria Creditanstalt and BPH, although the jury³²³ consisted of diplomats, journalists and advisers with a background in culture or in the respective countries. The main criterion is contributing to the intensification of the Polish–Austrian relationship and developing mutual knowledge and understanding.

³²² The amount of the prize is 5000 EUR.

³²³ Alfred Längle (Austrian Ambassador in Poland), Burkhard Bischof (Editor of „Die Presse“), Josef Kirchengast (Editor of „Der Standard“), Michael Löwy (consultant on international relations), Franz Pichorner (General Director of the Kunsthistorischen Museums in Vienna), Malgorzata Barwicka-Schwarzgruber (journalist of „Trybuna“), Adam Krzeminski (editor of „Polityka“), Barbara Radzikowska-Kryszczak (Rundfunk) and Marek Jedrys (Polish Ambassador in Austria and chief of the jury).

Additionally Martin Pollack was also a recipient of the Angelus Prize³²⁴ for his book “Death in Bunker” which is the mostly biographical story of his father Dr. Gerhard Bast, a high-ranking Nazi officer from Linz responsible for war crimes. A highly influential personality in Martin Pollack's family was his grandmother, a person with sworn Nazi, anti-Polish and anti-Jewish convictions. Nevertheless, in spite of the family protest Martin Pollack decided to study Slavic philology in Warsaw. The result of this education is a perfect command of Polish.

Martin Pollack, despite this specialisation in literature and translation, is usually the first contact person for the Polish media when it comes to intellectual comment about the reluctance of Austrians towards the Poles and on the problems and obstacles in the Polish–Austrian integration process. He was an author of the quote in *Gazeta Wyborcza: Austria is afraid. We have a complex, because many Austrians come from the East. We want to forget and cut off the roots. We think that if we do that, the poor family from the East will not move in to our prosperous houses with a garden*³²⁵. Having a chance to confront Martin Pollack`s point of view in an interview for the purpose of this doctoral dissertation, the author explained it in the following way:

I think that the Austrian people are not really aware that they are afraid. This fear is just a spontaneous reaction. This fear is also a product of the political activity of men like Heider and Strache who gained a certain political capital thanks to it.

I think there is also a mental side in this dissonance we talk about. The Austrians who come back from the East want to forget this fact, because it reminds them the worse times. And this is not a new phenomenon. During the monarchy times, The Galicia region was one of the poorest territories. I am sure that the contemporary Austrian is not familiar with the Galicia times, but this factor of the unaware fear survived and this psychological state of mind cannot be rationally discussed and dealt with the right arguments.

I think that the very important thing, which we still can do is the open discussion about history, including talking also about the awkward topics, like the role

³²⁴ Angelus Prize is called a Central European Nobel Prize and its financial value is 41 000 EURO.

³²⁵ *Gazeta Wyborcza, Europa Wschodnia już nie jest sexy*, 12 V 2009.

*of Austria in the World War II*³²⁶.

According to Martin Pollack the reason is the lack of understanding and interests in Poland. He suggested that: *an average Austrian does not have a special interest in Poland. This is still unknown sphere for the many Austrian citizens. They mostly choose Croatia and Italy as the holiday's destinations. This lack of interest in Poland is surprising, because there are many Poles in Austria and many of them advanced in the social hierarchy, they work in free professions*³²⁷.

In conclusion we can ask if there is a remedy for the negative attitude of Austrians toward the Poles. Martin Pollack sees a primary role for media and politicians to play in changing the negative attitude between the nations.

*The media have the great power, also in political dimension and in changing the stereotypes. I could observe that in the 80ties in case of the Polish people who arrived to Austria with the migration wave. They were unknown nationality before to the Austrians. A great deal destructive migrants also arrived. There were different undertakings of the migrants which faced the protest of Austrians, like the illegal bazaars etc... This negative behavior significantly contributed to the negative stereotype about the Poles and the work to change it into positive is dramatically hard to do.*³²⁸

The role of the media is by all means crucial in the performance of public diplomacy and without the efforts of the Polish diplomatic corps and an efficient informative policy, the problem of negative attitudes and unfortunate stereotypes may last for years and affect a new generation of young Poles.

³²⁶ Interview with Martin Pollack – appendix 6.

³²⁷ Op. cit.

³²⁸ Op. cit.

7.2. Emil Brix and his Polish mission.



Emil Brix

Photo © O.pl Polski Portal Kultury

Dr Emil Brix³²⁹ is sometimes called the Ambassador of Eastern Europe and there is no doubt that his contribution to its cultural knowledge development is undeniable. His interest in the region increased through his nomination to the office of the first Consul in the newly created outpost of the Austrian Consulate General in Cracow in 1995. Together with his diplomatic assignment he has also cultivated his education as a professional historian. He has published a number of articles and books related to Central Europe, Austrian policy in XIXth and XXth centuries and the former late Habsburg monarchy, with an emphasis on national identity and ethnic conflicts.

He was awarded the Gloria Artis³³⁰ Medal on January 26th 2001 for his

³²⁹ **Emil Brix** – born in 1956 is a graduate in history and English at the University of Vienna. He has joined the Austrian Foreign Ministry in 1982 and held several offices including: Consul General in Cracow (1995 – 1999) and Director of the Austrian Cultural Institute in London. Since 2002 he is a Director of the V Department of the Austrian Foreign Ministry Responsible for the Cultural Policy. Simultaneously he is also a Secretary General of the Austrian Research Association.

³³⁰ Medal Gloria Artis is bestowed to people with particular achievements in the field of artistic, cultural or national heritage activity by the Polish Minister of Culture and National Heritage and is the form of high recognition. The Medal is regulated with a internal legal act from 2005.

contribution to the development of Polish–Austrian cultural relations. Emil Brix, during his consular assignment, made possible the organisation of a number of art exhibitions, including the presentation of works of Gustav Klimt, Oskar Kokoschka, Max Weiler and Alfred Kubin in Poland. The ties of Emil Brix to Poland are still ongoing, because he is still a lecturer at the Summer School of Cultural Policy and Integration at Jagiellonian University in Cracow.

According to Emil Brix, the Polish-Austrian relationship is characterised by at elite culture as the central core point and therefore the mass audience is not necessarily a part of it. He sees a challenge that new ideas must be presented to find new dimensions for Polish–Austrian cooperation. He presented his point of view in the interview conducted for the purpose of this doctoral dissertation:

It is obvious that culture plays a special role in Polish – Austrian relations. Normally, in public diplomacy culture is a one factor, but not a dominating factor. In this relation it is a dominating factor and I give you one example that proves this. There is no other country worldwide that we spend as much money in the field of culture relations as we do in Poland. That is the reason that we have two cultural institutions, one in Warsaw and a one in Cracow. We are spending about 12 to 30 % of worldwide money we spend on our cultural relation in Poland. There are only two more countries where we have two cultural institutions: Italy and the United States.

This is an exceptional case, which is mainly the consequence of the time before 1989. It was possible already in the Communism period to open an official cultural institution in Warsaw. At that time, I was told and I have also experienced that Austrian Cultural Institute played an important role as the window toward the West for people like Mazowiecki and other opposition people, who could use this cultural institute in Warsaw. We have not changed it much that the culture is the major field in our relations. I also leave it to the work that you are doing to look in the question how to change it possible now and not to concentrate so strongly on culture and public diplomacy, but develop also other interests³³¹.

I think that Dr. Emil Brix presents a very important approach: that Polish–

³³¹ Interview with Ambassador Emil Brix – appendix 1.

Austrian relations focus too much on high culture and there is a significant need to extend this spectrum.

Summary

I have already suggested in the first chapter that public diplomacy is just a part of a larger project on the way to changing a stereotype. Cultural diplomacy and social diplomacy are also key. I decided to answer the question in chapter 7 on what people from other countries can do to improve matters from their side. The problem is there are just a few Austrians who are devoted to the wellbeing of mutual relations between Austria and Poland. Nevertheless, Martin Pollack and Emil Brix are two such persons, who have made significant efforts in this field. They are both respected figures, who spent several years of their career or education in Poland and used this knowledge in their later work. They are in my opinion proof that having “friends of Poland” among influential Austrians is a great remedy for fighting stereotypes and prejudices. The problem is that we can still observe a significant shortage of people who have such an attitude. Another fact is that both intellectuals belong to a narrow elite circle. It would be good to have more well-known professionals tackling this issue.

Hypotheses versus the results of qualitative and quantitative results of research:

At the beginning of my research on Polish public diplomacy in Austria I presented a number of assumptions, which were further verified. The thesis was in a way inspired by a number of articles and real life situations, which allowed me to presume that there is a certain distance in Polish–Austrian relations on many levels.

First, I noticed that there is a large scope of ignorance, misunderstanding and “in minus” attitudes on the Austrian side. The discourse is quite often about illegal workers, the dangers related to the wellbeing of the Austrian market and its opening up to the East. The quantitative research conducted among young Austrians indeed confirmed that assumption that knowledge about Poland and the Poles is still very basic and sometimes nonexistent. Nevertheless, my prediction that Austrians have a negative attitude towards Poland and its citizens was not as prevailing as I thought. My surveys showed that 42% of the students who took part in my project have positive thoughts about Poland and a further 30% of them have a rather positive attitude. There is clearly good potential for Poland to act further in the field of public diplomacy and what should be by all means developed is informative action about Poland, Polish products, culture, tourism and business.

Secondly, I have noticed significant gaps in public diplomacy campaigning from the very beginning. However I have also had much trust in the role which public diplomacy can play in the relations between the two countries and I perceived it as the remedy for the majority of problems. Well, what I can confirm after extensive research is indeed the fact that the existing public diplomacy semi-strategy is not created according to a harmonious plan where all the actors and subjects are coordinated by the superior body. On the other hand, one point of view of mine has significantly changed. I do not consider public diplomacy as a cure for all the problems, misunderstandings and stereotypes that exist. I believe that the crucial role belongs to civil (social) diplomacy. Each Pole should feel responsible for the good opinion and reputation of his/her country. The process should begin at the personal level, because

even the most genial strategy of public diplomacy, usually with limited financial resources, will not be able to solve all the challenges.

Thirdly, another assumption which I have held in conducting my research on public diplomacy is that there is no precise clarity and harmony in the plan of public diplomacy. There are many actors who sometimes communicate ad hoc, but the vision is still to be developed. This was mostly confirmed in the qualitative research based on interviews with recognised experts. It does not change the fact that there are a number of people from Poland and Austria who work very intensively on the development of Polish and Austrians relations. In my opinion there is a need for more advanced coordination of this process.

Finally, my fourth hypothesis which stated that Poland and Austria have correct diplomatic relations, although they mostly remain the most intensive in the sphere of high culture, was confirmed to a significant extent. The undertakings of a core public diplomacy institution, namely the Polish Institute, are based nearly entirely on high profile cultural events. This fact naturally has its advantages because it shows the most ambitious Polish cultural offerings, but on the other hand it limits the group of Austrians who take part in these events. What should also be noticed is that there is a great need to expand the involvement of civil diplomacy, in particular NGOs, which act in favour of contacts between Polish and Austrian citizens. The contribution of such organisations is still insufficient, despite the tremendous potential which they have.

Comments on public diplomacy research status:

As I have already mentioned in my remarks in the subchapter devoted to the methodology in public diplomacy, there is still a significant need for contribution from the researchers' side in various aspects of this study. During my extensive research on the available literature and publications on public diplomacy I came to the conclusion that the following findings should be mentioned as a challenge for the further theoretical and historical development of public diplomacy as a part of the study of international relations.

Firstly, the variety of definitions and understandings of the term "public diplomacy" should be more coherent. Among different researchers public diplomacy is understood as strategic planning and programming of the advocate country, the process of communicating, and direct relations with people in target country. Some more spontaneous definitions say that this notion means, "getting other people on your side", "propaganda", "influencing opinion in target countries to achieve own goals". I have made an attempt to systematise all possible approaches towards public diplomacy, but it is time to agree on a more concrete meaning at this stage.

Secondly, significant progress must be made towards the development of methodology tools to verify credibly the outcomes of public diplomacy strategies. There are several important voices on this topic, including the leading role of Pierre C. Pahlavi, but these still present a very general overview. It is agreed that the measure of public diplomacy is the fulfilment of the desired goals in international affairs, but measuring what has really worked and asking how we know that this worked is still dubious and unclear. Naturally, we have a variety of tools which have been elaborated and developed by other social sciences, such as sociology, psychology, media studies etc. and some of them are really useful, but there is still a need to discover some tools which could be tailored made for public diplomacy. Another point is the length of time devoted to analysing results of campaigns and strategies of advocate countries. The intellectuals, which I have quoted and interviewed, say that we need the hindsight of between ten and twenty years to say if a given public diplomacy campaign has worked

out, especially one which has been implemented to change stereotypes and prejudices. There is also a challenge to find more productive ways to estimate the results of short term campaigns and programmes.

Thirdly, it is still difficult to find publications on concrete examples of case studies which concern bilateral relations of countries. I think that studying concrete examples of two states would give new insights and possible means to learn about new solutions. In the majority of cases we can find in-depth analysis of the United States' strategies, but it would be highly desirable to read more articles and books about other countries, especially those who succeeded, like Ireland or Croatia. There is of course a very useful publication by Mark Leonard, which presents interesting studies of British public diplomacy in the USA, France, Poland, India, South Africa and UAE, but it would be great also to develop other examples.

Fourthly, it would be very desirable to present some practical guidelines on what really works to bring desirable results at this stage. I think that in this area of research on public diplomacy more significant efforts must be made.

Finally, a closer merger between the public diplomacy researcher and the historian is highly desirable. The case of Polish–Austrian relations proved that the problem of negative stereotypes is closely related to historical events from several centuries back and understanding history was the key to understanding certain problems and contemporary issues. Lack of understanding makes it almost impossible to create meaningful public diplomacy strategies.

Recommendations for the improvement of the Polish – Austrian public diplomacy strategy:

- There is no doubt that the image of Poland is far from attractive in Austria. There are many reasons for the distance between these two nations. First of all, there is no clear **long term programme of cooperation and aims**, which Poland wants to achieve in Austria. This idea should derive from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and be pursued in Vienna through all organs which serve to Polish interests in Austria such as The Polish Embassy, The Polish Institute, The Polish Centre for Touristic Information in Vienna etc... The positive aspect is that there are many high profile experts, who have an excellent knowledge of Austria and outstanding contacts with the top politicians and public figures in Austria and those people should be invited to work together on the future planning of the strategy. I would see amongst those people Prof. Irena Lipowicz, Prof. Władysław Bartoszewski, Włodzimierz Szelaąg, Prof. Beata Ociepka and Prof. Jan Barcz. I think Poland needs a sort of “brain storm” of people, who know Austria very well and no matter their current functions, their expertise should be taken into account.
- Another observation which derives from the work on this dissertation is the fact that they are mostly operating in elite circles, which have an interest in high culture. Another factor, which makes the transmission more difficult, is the fact that many events or cultural products are offered in Polish, because not many Polish authors are translated into German and accessible in Austrian bookstores. Naturally, this is the law of supply and demand, but there are positive examples, like Roma Ligocka and Ryszard Kapuściński, whose books are already available in German in Austria. I think this is a good start and more can be done during trade fairs, but these events should not be overlooked and there must be strong cooperation and a circuit of information between Polish diplomats and publishers in Poland.
- There is an enormous role to be played among the **Polish migrants and Polish diaspora** in Austria to work on **public and social diplomacy**. I am sure that

some Poles who migrated to Austria because of problems with employment in Poland and additionally having a poor command of German with no specific education, had to deal with many difficulties and humiliations in Austria. Sometimes these experiences result in alcoholic problems caused by helplessness and frustration. Such people can be seen and heard in places like Praterstern, Brünnerstrasse, etc. but we should never allow this to be the primary image of the Poles of Austria. There is a great deal of Polish migrants who hold high profile positions. The problem here is on the Polish side, because there is not much interest among Polish professionals working in Austria to create networks and be more visible as part of the civil society. Professor Irena Lipowicz tried to suggest an association of Polish medical doctors working in Austria, but there was not much enthusiasm or intention to realise it. This is a mistake, because the role of social diplomacy is very important. In any case, Professor Lipowicz showed a positive pattern through the establishment of the Professors Club, which was mentioned in Chapter 3 above. More initiatives should be undertaken. I would recommend the creation of circles of Polish professionals, who are occupied, for example, with teaching Polish, journalism, art, law, architecture and business, to create forums where ideas can be exchanged and thus cooperation enhanced. And above all, every Polish citizen who decided to head for Austria and settle a new life there should always bear in mind the word of wisdom passed on by Mahatma Gandhi: “be the change you want to see in the world”, because any everyday personal contact can be also a very good occasion to change negative stereotypes about Polish people.

- Another important factor, which must not be overlooked in the context of public diplomacy, is **media**, which plays a tremendous role in changing stereotypes. Contemporary mass media has multiple profits and naturally the rule that good news is dull news and bad news is often presented on the front page has its consequences also in the topics chosen by the editors and publishers. The Austrian media does not pay much attention to bilateral relations and before May 1st 2011 the expectation related to possible destructions in the employment

rate was a very hot topic and this attitude could only contribute to the negative image of the new EU states. Martin Pollack who was frequently quoted in the dissertation talks even about certain phenomena among Austrian journalists who are ashamed not to be able to pronounce the English or French name of the speaker or journalist in the radio, but such shame does not apply to the correct pronunciation of Polish or for example Hungarian names. According to the author this is embarrassing and disrespectful. This mental “iron curtain” which can still be found among certain Austrians cannot be changed easily through several PR tricks and the irrational conviction that what is Eastern is more strange, different and more distant to the Austrian way of life will last. What can be done to somehow approach the media environment? First of all, it would be highly desirable to research the journalists of Polish origin working in the Austrian media and establish contact with them through the Polish Embassy and naturally not convince them to write “positive” articles about Poland, but at least to be a source of knowledge about the Polish historical and political context. One of the ideas of the Polish Embassy was organising study trips and seminars in Poland for Austrian journalists. I think this undertaking should be more regular and not only occasional. Recently, there was a very interesting initiative organised by the leading Polish daily *Gazeta Wyborcza* devoted to students of journalism from the City University of London from different countries, who were invited to Poland in the summer of 2011 to write their observation about preparations for EURO 2012. The project was named *Mission 21*. Twenty one students from London came and each of them was sent to another Polish town to cover different events and to write about Poland and Poles from their own perspective. Their remarks were very inspiring and I am sure that these young students of journalism will have firsthand knowledge about Poland, already some contacts with Polish peers and their coverage on Polish issues will be more concrete. Taking into account the fact that those young people were from countries like: Mauritius, Greece, Denmark, Sweden, Russia, South Africa, Austria and United Kingdom, there is a good chance that topics about Poland

will stop being considered as distant and “exotic” at some point. This programme is not organised on a regular basis and it was sponsored by private media concern, but I find this quite simple idea to be fantastic, because young students of journalism have much more time and enthusiasm to discover Poland and its peculiarities than career journalists who already have multiple obligations. I think that a good idea is to establish a fellowship for Austrian students of journalism and to propose internships for them in Polish media.

- Professor Beata Ociepka proposes also new communication channels via **social media** like **Twitter, Facebook, LinkedIn, YouTube etc...** Facebook has different applications, which enable one to create groups of fans and supporters of certain causes and it would be quite desirable to work on some professional Facebook fan pages devoted to Poland, Polish culture, Polish cuisine etc... and invite as many members as possible through different networks of users. The advantage of this method is that it is low cost, because the majority of new social media are free of charge and this method could be good idea to settle a new discourse. I see a particular potential in YouTube, because many people search for information on this platform, where the means of communication is through short films or photo presentations, where everybody is welcome to write comments. There are different ideas for short movies presenting personal and subjective views, like for example “10 worst countries to visit” where Poland was listed a one such a country, because of it being perceived as boring, conservative and too religious, along with countries such as Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, Jamaica etc... Such film clips can have many viewers and Poland should definitely think about promoting Poland through new media. Polish people who are using those platforms should also feel responsible for the reputation of their country.

Final Conclusion

Before going to the final conclusions which aim to summarise the entire dissertation I would like to pose this last question: **what is the value of public diplomacy?**

We live in times when one cannot not communicate in order to be a part of a society. If we approach the English School paradigm of the theory of international relations we will find out that the international system of states is compared to the society of states who operate under anarchy, because there is no entity like a world government, which could have control over this “society of states”. In anarchy, states can use a number of ways to fulfil their goals, for example war, pressure, manipulation, but also diplomacy, dialogue or economic incentive. In order to choose the second options, which are usually a guarantee of peace, then appropriate communication is crucial and the value of public diplomacy becomes high.

The problem with assessing the value of public diplomacy is that it is very hard to express it in numbers or really any measurable means. Usually, rather qualitative methods are used for judging its usefulness. There are many examples to prove the value of public diplomacy:

- fulfilled goals at the international level;
- being recognised and familiar as a country;
- being understood by other countries and their public opinions;
- having international visitors and tourists;
- attracting international scholars and intellectuals;
- attracting international investors.

In the case of Poland the first step before introducing the Framework Programme³³² was a diagnosis by the experts on the image of Poland. It proved that the biggest problem was limited stock of objective knowledge on our country,

³³² The Programme was carried out in 2000 – 2002.

especially in the case of the actual economic, social and political situation³³³. Later on the Institute of Public Affairs conducted research on the change on the image of Poles in Germany. In 2000, Poland was perceived as a distant and culturally backward country. By 2006, the percentage of Germans speaking about the backwardness of Poles had dropped from 44% to 32%. It is also worth noticing that Germans also point out the diligence and economic growth in Poland³³⁴.

These results show that in some cases public diplomacy plays a crucial role.

The major purpose of this dissertation *Public Diplomacy in Polish-Austrian Relations. The experience of Poland in 2007 – 2009* was first of all to write the first monograph of this relatively new phenomenon in political science. There are naturally different opinions on the role of public diplomacy and its significance in international relations. One may regard it as a make up activity in order to pass on a certain message as favourably as possible and others may see it as an additional tool to the regular communication of diplomatic outposts. In my opinion, public diplomacy is far more significant in modern international relations, because it provides an unprecedented opportunity to reach the population of the country.

Poland was more than 50 years under the influence of the Soviet bloc and there are still sectors where the hard consequences of the centrally-planned economy are still visible. On the other hand, the great political transition of the divided Europe started exactly in Poland with the creation of Solidarity Movements under the guidance of Lech Wałęsa in 1980 and with the Round Table negotiations later on in 1989. Nearly immediately after establishing the first democratic government of Tadeusz Mazowiecki in 1989 Polish foreign policy was directed towards the West. On December 16th 1991 Poland signed an Association Agreement (Układ Europejski), which established multilateral economic relations with the European Community, but the European side was reluctant to establish the possibility and the approximate time

³³³ B. Ociepka (edited), *Dyplomacja Publiczna*, article: M. Ryniejska – Kiełdanowicz, *Dyplomacja publiczna – polskie doświadczenia*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, Wrocław 2008, p. 90.

³³⁴ Op. cit. p. 110, after: A. Popko, *Niemcy o Polsce i Polakach 2000 – 2006. Główne wnioski z badania*, ISP, Warsaw 2006.

of further formal integration.

Two years later in June 1993 during the Copenhagen Summit, the European Union accepted the idea of the future membership of Central and Eastern European countries, namely, Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary. In the “White Book”, EU-Polish relations were discussed in detail and the development of these relations was divided into short and long term priorities. Poland presented its official application to the EU on April 15th 1994 and until the completion of the negotiation and accession processes, this remained the top priority in Polish policy until 2004.

On May 1st 2004 Poland joined the European Union with optimism and new hopes for a better future. Nevertheless, many Poles who decided to leave the country in order to look for professional opportunities have had to face not only the transitional work ban periods lasting up to seven years in the case of Austria and Germany, but also very often a cumulated amount of reluctance in disregarding stereotypes.

Can public diplomacy act as a rescue desk in this situation? My answer is not in the current dimension. The contemporary strategy is directed too much towards the narrow diplomatic and intellectual circles and has nearly no direct contact with the wider audiences. There is an urgent need to open a new chapter in public diplomacy planning for students, young scholars and entrepreneurs.

On the other hand, I can see also a positive change in the general leadership of Polish foreign policy, which is conducted by Radosław Sikorski. He shows that Poland is ready to become an important player in the European Union. He even said that if the United Kingdom is really going to marginalise its role in the European Union, then the Poles are ready to take over its place³³⁵. This might still sound like temerity and exaggeration, but at least it shows that Poland is an eager, ambitious and optimistic member of the European Union. According to the British political scientist and columnist Roderick Parkes, the Poles are going to ground their position in the European Community and try to get promoted into the circle of its five most important

³³⁵ Quoted after: R. Parkes, *Jak Brytania przegapiła, że Polska rośnie w siłę*, Gazeta Wyborcza, Nr 87, 13-14 April 2013, p. 17.

members³³⁶. Poland is also positively assessed by the influential weekly *The Economist* which in 2010 said that Poland turned from Romanism to realism in international policy. Introverted and historically sensitive policy has been replaced by well-calculated actions, which aim at strengthening relations with Germany and Russia and making the relationship with the United States less emotional³³⁷. Such voices publicly spread by international journalists on numerous occasions are definitely a sign of a certain success in Polish public diplomacy. I believe that zealous engagement of the Polish government in European affairs is a good step and it should be continued in coming years. That was not always obvious because different Polish governments for decades were focusing on the well-being of bilateral relations with the United States, treating this country as a key partner. I think that this potential should be additionally strengthened by greater visibility and involvement of the Polish senior EU officials and politicians in Brussels. Poland already has several recognised and respected figures like Danuta Hübner, Janusz Lewandowski and Jacek Saryusz-Wolski, but I believe there is a need for more persons who can represent Poland in the European area.

Coming back to the well-being of public diplomacy in Polish–Austrian relations I believe that the historical and cultural potential that exists there should not be wasted. I think that there is still a great deal of work to be done by the Polish government to bring greater familiarity with Poland in Austria. I would suggest more significant investment in scholarships and academic and professional exchanges for Poles and Austrians. I would also propose to organise essay and thesis competitions by the Polish Embassy in Vienna for young Austrians, who could prepare their academic papers about Poland in different fields such as international relations, history, economics, geography, literature etc... These small actions could be a real step towards further positive change.

Another possible opportunity for progress could be cooperation of Poles and Austrians in the framework of international institutions and organisations. It would be

³³⁶ Op. cit p. 17.

³³⁷ Quoted after: R. Parkes, *Jak Brytania przegapiła, że Polska rośnie w siłę*, Gazeta Wyborcza, Nr 87, 13-14 April 2013, p. 17.

desirable from the point of view of public diplomacy to initiate actions by Polish and Austrian Members of, for example, the European Parliament around a good cause.

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Appendices

COLLECTION OF INTERVIEWS

Interview 1

Ambassador Emil Brix

(June 10th 2009, Vienna)

Let me first explain the reason for my visit. I am writing a doctoral thesis about public diplomacy in Polish–Austrian relations where I focus on the years 2007 to 2009 and I would like talk about your experiences as a diplomat.

I have read your article *Optionen für eine österreichische Perspektive* from the book *Das neue Polen in Europa* and my first question relates to one quote:

Gemeinsame Bemühungen im bereich der public diplomacy könnten ein wirksamer Ansatz für eine Vertiefung der regionalen Interessengemeinschaft sein.

Could you please develop this thought?

Basically, I had in mind that it is useful that the region that includes Poland and Austria would act together to promote the knowledge and the interest in our two countries, because we have a lot of things in common and we can create a stronger interest on the international scene towards the issue than we do separately. That concerns certainly the soft power side of diplomacy, public diplomacy and I think the most obvious example can be the old notion of Galicia, the cultural area of Southern Poland in XVIII, XIX and XX century. There is one project to have a large exhibition about the myth of Galicia from XVIII century to the present day, which we will produce together in major capitals worldwide. The idea is to present it certainly in Warsaw, in Vienna, but also in New York, London and Jerusalem and Lviv also.

What do you think the efforts in the Polish–Austrian relationship in public diplomacy should be? I mean how should they be performed? Should the

Ministers work together, the Ministers of cultural departments? How do you imagine it?

I think this question concerns various policy-making fields, not only cultural cooperation. The cultural cooperation can be a front-running instrument, because there is already cooperation among the Directors of the cultural departments of the Foreign Ministry. There is also a good cooperation between the special institutions, which Poland has, like the Adam Mickiewicz Institute or the International Cultural Centre in Cracow and Austrian Institutions, so this is an example of how it should be done. We also need such cooperation in other fields, like the Transport Ministries, Ministries of Economy, Ministries of Education and so on. There is also a question about the NGOs and their involvement. I mean also the art institutions, libraries. This should not be only about implementation of the ministerial decisions, but also about the potential of the network. This network must be based at the civil society level.

You were the first Consul General in Cracow and famous for your great engagement in supporting the educational and cultural undertakings. You received the Gloria Artis Medal. I would like to speak a while about the public diplomacy at the regional level? How this historical relationship between Cracow and Vienna can be used for further development? What are your tips for the future? Which assets are the most valuable?

In public diplomacy one of the major assets is that you do not have to work only between the state A and state B, but you also work with the regional communities and regional identities. If you stress this, you can make much better use of traditions which reach and share crossing the national boundaries. This is very obvious in the South of Poland. Mostly with Małopolska, but also in Silesia. I would not only mention Cracow, but also Katowice. A good example of cooperation can be recalled between the Oberösterreich and the Katowice area in the field of workforce development, employment policies. There has been an agency that has been formed in the Katowice area, which is working using the mutual experiences, for example how to re-educate the workers. This is not a usual discussion, which concerns the labour

market and not opening it yet for the new EU member countries, but it creates a common interest in developing means, strategies to make the labour markets more effective in both regions.

The old instrument of the city partnerships is still important I think and a good thing about this sort of cooperation and partnership of the regional programmes is that they are flexible. They are based on the common interest of the two sides. This is a modern concept: how the regional communities should work together.

Now I would like to talk about the media. Public diplomacy is also about “good news” placement in the media. I have just learned that there are not any Austrian correspondents in Poland. I know it is hard to say, but what should be done to attract topics other than just illegal workers, job market restrictions, crimes in the Austrian media, which relate to Poland and the Poles?

I totally agree that in the concept of public diplomacy, media and media communication play a central role. Public diplomacy is about winning friends and influencing people. But there is a difference between sending a positive message and sending messages at all. So we have both problems in public diplomacy. One is to increase the level of information about the other country; the second thing is to change a little bit the content of the messages. It depends very much on the given situation, which is more important. In the case of Poland and Austria we do have the problem of the two situations to work on, to increase the breath of the information and not to concentrate on the scandal issues, because this is obviously a catchy thing for any journalist in Europe. We need also to broaden the spectrum of information given.

The second thing is about the positive information. I think it is too much to demand from the media to concentrate on the positive issues only, because media is not there to present good news. There is also a line: what is propaganda and good news? I am not convinced that public diplomacy is there to make sure that only good news is presented about a country, but it is rather about increasing the spectrum, because it gives a much more credible image of the country and the question is what

are the instruments that we have. You mentioned that the problem is the lack of Austrian correspondents in Poland and lack of direct information, but I do not think it is the problem. It is not about having more and more correspondents, because one of the advantages of globalisation is it became much easier for any media person to get that interest to him/her. The future will not be about increasing the number of correspondents in the other country, but to find other ways to make sure that the information is everywhere, like on the net for example. It is about making it interesting enough to report on it. How it is to be done is one of the most difficult questions, because the information is interesting for the newspaper if it attracts the readers and it depends on the knowledge and possibility of journalists and also the public to convince people and the media that what is happening in the other country is of the relevance to their own situation. Nobody will cover in the Austrian media about the thing because it is interesting only in Poland. The way to do this, to increase the level of interest, is to make clear that within the European context in Poland in the field of social policy, in the field of fighting against corruption, in the field that Poland plays in Eastern Europe for example working with Ukraine. If this is seen as something that is also important for the Austrian public then it will also be reported. I would rather recommend not to try to position positive articles through propaganda means, but to think how can we explain the relevance of issues in Austria for the other public. It is the task that public diplomacy has to make sure that this happens.

Now I would like to turn to the Austrian side? What is the responsible body for creating the strategy of public diplomacy for Poland? How much independence is given to the Ambassador for example?

Austria, as most countries, does not have a clear public diplomacy strategy, but we have various actors in the public diplomacy, which have their own strategy. The main actors are our foreign policy people, the Embassies, the consulates and the cultural institutions. They are quite independent from obligations from Vienna.

There are also the strategies of the business and tourism people, which is mainly done through our trade offices in Poland in Poland. There is no sort of clear

way of combining these two public diplomacies at the moment. There are attempts to create some sort of public diplomacy strategy, which covers all these aspects. The interests are partly overlapping, but they are not equal. Within Austria itself there is no institution, which is developing strategies for individual countries in the field of public diplomacy. We have not changed it much that the culture is the major field in our relations. Our objectives are very clear. We want to position Austria as a Central European actor. We also want to make clear that these cultural and historical relations with Austria and Poland are a good pre-condition and prerequisite for our business relations. So we want to create an image of a trustworthy economic partner to support our economic interest vis-a-vis Poland.

Thirdly, we also see a sort of European objective there, for instance one of our objectives is to work on some delicate issues like politics of memory, how to we deal with the Second World War, how do we deal with the Jewish questions, Roma issues, minority issues, neighbour relations. There must be conditions to work with Poland on some of those issues we find important for Europe and European integration.

Having in mind your previous experiences as the first Consul General in Cracow do you see any special features in Polish–Austrian relations?

It is obvious that culture plays a special role in Polish–Austrian relations. Normally, in public diplomacy culture is a one factor, but not a dominating factor. In this relation it is a dominating factor and I give you one example that proves this. There is no other country worldwide that we spend as much money in the field of culture relations as we do in Poland. That is the reason that we have two cultural institutions, one in Warsaw and a one in Cracow. We are spending about 12 to 30% of worldwide money we spend on our cultural relations in Poland. There are only two more countries where we have two cultural institutions: Italy and the United States.

This is an exceptional case, which is mainly the consequence of the time before 1989. It was possible already in the Communism period to open an official cultural institution in Warsaw. At that time I was told, and I have also experienced, that the

Austrian Cultural Institute played an important role as the window towards the West for people like Mazowiecki and other opposition people, who could use this cultural institute in Warsaw. We have not changed it much that the culture is the major field in our relations. I also leave it to the work that you are doing to look in the question how to change it possibly now and not to concentrate so strongly on culture and public diplomacy, but develop also other interests.

Thank you.

Interview 2

Professor Bogusław Dybaś

(May 7th 2009, Vienna)

My first question is how the Polish Academy of Sciences brings Polish science closer to the Austrians? I do not mean the very elite contacts between the professors, but the broader ones.

There are different levels of our activity. Our task is to promote Polish science and we always pose the question as to what kind of groups should we reach. Of course there are very elite undertakings, because our aim is also to gather top experts in order to extend the mutual Polish–Austrian relations in the field of science. These contacts are: conferences, workshops etc. Although we also focus on organising events which are addressed to the broad audience, especially when we organise a lecture of a Polish professor. The results are different, because there is a huge competition of events in the city of Vienna. The recent successful events and undertakings were the lectures of Prof. Myśliwiec and Prof. Wolszczan.

How many participants are there in the Polish Academy of Science usually?

Normally around 100 to 150 persons, in a way because our lecture halls cannot contain more than that. I think that the quality more than the quantity matters.

What I have noticed on the PAN posters is the fact that the majority of events concern the subjects of history or history of arts. Is there any chance that also an engineer or a doctor will take an advantage of the PAN events?

Well, I will put this way: the exact sciences, which do not have any intercultural context, they do not require promotion that much. The people who work in medicine, physics or biology, they are just above the state boundaries. They just have their own contacts and environment, where the nationality has minor meaning. In the case of the social science and humanities the matter is different. There is a certain cultural and

linguistic barrier and this is a challenge for us as the Polish Institution in Austria. We are aware that the Austrians do not know much about Polish culture and history, however there are premises on which they should know more, because there are many historical factors that unite us. I am a historian and I find the historical context of the Polish-Austrian relations very important.

Let us turn from public diplomacy to traditional diplomacy for a while. How would you describe the contacts of the PAN with the Polish diplomatic corps? Are they formalised or just unofficial?

First of all, the PAN is an independent body here in Vienna and we are subordinate only to the Headquarters of PAN in Warsaw. However in practice we cooperate closely. I participate once a month in a meeting with the Polish Ambassador, where he talks about current issues which concern the Polish representation in Vienna. It is also an occasion to tell what we are doing. The Ambassador helps us a lot. For example, he agrees to support the promotion of Polish books. We also cooperate closely with the Polish Institute as well as with representatives of “Polonia”, like Strzecha and Krakau – Wiener Gesellschaft, Polonica etc...

There is also one society affiliated to the PAN called the Professors’ Club (Klub Profesorów). Could you please tell more about it?

The Professors` Club came to existence in 2004 and it was initiated by the former Polish Ambassador Irena Lipowicz. The purpose of this club is the integration of the society of Austrian intellectuals, who have a Polish origin. The Club members meet a few times a year. They initiate different undertakings, for example a competition for young Polish musicians and painters. The existence of the club is based on its own status and it is affiliated to the PAN. Currently, the chief is Prof. Ewa Wiedner-Zajęc.

Do know how many Poles received a Professor degree in Austria? Are there any credible statistics?

Well, I haven't got any concrete statistics, but there are at least a dozen university Professors who are famous for their achievement in classical music, medicine etc.

You have probably heard that the image of Polish people among the Austrians is rather negative. Is it possible to change it? What would you recommend? I will only add that Austria does not have this problem. Poles would love to visit Austria and the Austrians enjoy a very favourable reputation.

I think there is no method that will change it radically. It must be intensive and laborious work to change our negative image. Well, we must also take into account that the general diplomatic relations between Poland and Austria are not intense. It is a different thing with the Polish–German relations and in this case the room for the promotion and mutual understanding is much more broad. Media cover many events, like the exhibition “My Berlińczycy” in Berlin etc... We need lots of patience. To the greatest possible extent we can spread the good news about the PAN and its events.

What are then the future challenges for the PAN?

Well, we will keep on our “positivist” work in bringing Poland closer to Austrians. We also want to develop our library and its resources.

How is the Director of the PAN nominated and what are the required qualifications?

There is an open concours and fluency in German is naturally required.

Thank you

Interview 3

Małgorzata Grudzińska

(May 11th 2009, Vienna)

I would like to start with the question about the legal basis for the cultural relations between Poland and Austria. Which conventions are binding?

So the basic treaty is the Agreement on the Cultural and Scientific Cooperation (14 VI 1972). There are conventions, which are elaborated every three years, but they are compatible with the treaty from 1972. The new Convention will be signed next year.

How would you assess the role of the Polish Institute in public diplomacy? How far is it directed to the elites from the diplomatic circuits and to what extent does it apply to the broad audience? Generally, the broad public audience should be a component of the public diplomacy.

Our activity is directed to the broad audience. You have probably noticed that when you entered the gate of the Institute, which is the integral part of the Polish Embassy in Vienna, there were no security officers or ID control at the entrance. Everybody is welcome. The Institute and the Library are open to public. Many pedestrians who were passing by accidentally visited our Institute to learn more about it. Moreover our cultural programme which is published once every two months is distributed to more than 2,000 receivers. The diplomats have a certain knowledge about Poland, because of their assignment, whereas the knowledge of the “average” Austrian about Poland is very limited. Our role is to encourage the interest in Poland among the Austrians and to inspire them to visit places like Cracow, Katowice, Warsaw, Tatras Mountains etc...

Getting back to the events addressed to the broad audience... We are in the process of organising the “Orange Alternative” Happening, which was advertised at all Viennese universities.

We must be also aware that many events are addressed to a specific group of people. They are maybe not elite, but they are associated with the so-called high culture. We have had recently a gathering with Olga Tokarczuk. Nevertheless, I was kindly surprised, because around 150–200 people came for this event. The guests were both Austrian and Polish.

Speaking about the guests of the Institute... Who is the “typical” guest? How numerous is the circuit?

I cannot express it in exact numbers. Many events are organised outside the Institute. Sometimes the people do not choose to come only because of the Polish component or sentiment, but only because of the high value of the cultural event. The recent concert of Nigel Kennedy can be a great example. Hundreds of people came. We have also succeeded with our project in the Museum Quartier. The events outside attract a diverse audience.

What do the Austrians find the most interesting about Polish culture in your opinion? Who is interested in Polish culture? Students, the Austrians of Polish origin or maybe other groups?

Well, it is very diverse. We must also take into account different types of art. It is easier with music, because the words are not needed there. It is different with literature. Not everybody can grasp the phenomenon of Dorota Masłowska for example. Austrians are pretty interested in events regarding the political history.

Could you mention any particular personalities, who contribute to the well-being of the Polish-Austrian relations? I do not mean people who do it professionally.

First of all, it is Martin Pollack, who is a recognised translator of Polish literature. He has done many impressive things, for example he translated all the Ryszard Kapuscinski books. I would also mention Liliana Niesielska, Joanna Ziemska. An interesting personality is Zofia Reinbacher. She launched a Polish bookshop 25

years ago. Another important personality is Prof. Krzysztof Michalski, Franz Batalia etc...

What are the major challenges for the Institute in the future? What do you find successful? Are there any frustrations in your work?

The closest challenge is the election on the 4th June 2009, “Orange Alternative”, “Das Jahrzehnt der Solidarnosc”. I am not content about the result of the discussions about the political history. I wish our project promoting the book about Irena Sendler in Austrian schools was more successful.

I would like to learn more about your formal assignment as the Director of the Polish Institute. How much are your tasks fixed by the Ministry and how much you can choose the priorities freely?

First of all, my most important task is promoting Poland and taking care of public diplomacy. However, the Director is the author of the Institute programme, which requires the approval of the appropriate Department in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Warsaw. We deliver a new plan once a year in November. The programme is verified in the context of finances and the quality of content. Of course there is also a place for great and spontaneous ideas.

Thank you.

Interview 4

Professor Irena Lipowicz

Warsaw, November 15th 2010

You have been the Polish Ambassador in Austria from 2000 to 2004. What were the greatest challenges in your work during this period? It was the year of the Polish accession to the European Union and Austria was not supporting Polish endeavours; the Austrian attitude was very sceptical. In the report of Małgorzata Sikorska *Poland – Austria. Mutual Image* (2004) the major associations about Poles were recalled. They were: *religious, backward and conservative etc...* What are your memories from this period from the Ambassadorial point of view? Did you personally face these voices of scepticism?

The stereotype of our country and society was that negative, that it became one of the reasons why I became an ambassador. Before my nomination I was the Chair of the Polish–Austrian group in our Parliament and I was not thinking about a change, but the news coming from Austria about lack of acceptance of Polish membership in the EU was so alarming that upon the request of Professor Geremek I decided to take over the Embassy in Vienna. From Professor Geremek's point of view, who was at this time the Minister of Foreign Affairs, there was a need to have an ambassador who would combine different skills and would fight for broad social and political acceptance for Poland.

We have been analysing all the time the changes of Austrian attitudes toward our country. It was a four year long mission, which was concentrated on the one goal: to acquire the support for Polish membership aspiration to the EU among different social and political circles in Austria, like parties SPÖ, FPÖ or ÖVP for example. When it come to FPÖ we tried to work with the base of this party, namely the voters, because I have never met Jörg Haider. We have tried to present our arguments to all possible social circles: including farmers, soldiers, Catholics, Protestants etc.. We took part in different events. These were for example: a lecture for the high-ranked military

officers or in the Diplomatic Academy of Vienna or participation in the monastery trade fairs in Bludenz or meeting with the residents of the Great House of Social Care in Vienna.

We can currently observe a new campaign of Hans-Christian Strache a few months ahead of the Austrian opening of a job market for Poland and other new EU members which is about to point out possible “catastrophes” caused by this undertaking. There are different sponsored articles and outlets distributed by the young FPÖ members.

This is nothing new. First of all, the success of Mr. Strache confirms only our realistic assessment of the situation. I only remind that Mr. Chancellor stressed that giving Jörg Haider access to the government would diminish the social base of populism in Austria, whereas the opinion of Polish media was sceptical. We were sure that the populism would come back and inviting once such a party has irreversible outcomes. Such waves of hostility and panic have been known before, however the situation in 2004 was much more dramatic, because the rejection of Polish candidacy by the Austrian parliament would put our country in an extremely difficult situation. The current undertakings of Mr. Strache are only a sign of the low level of a political debate and are maybe upsetting for Poles living in Austria.

Coming back to public diplomacy... What were the major strategic highlights during your cadence as an Ambassador from 2000 to 2004? How did you try to convince different circles, including public opinion, that accepting Poland in the EU is the right step? What were your ideas at this time?

First of all, we diagnosed the lack of knowledge of Austrian society about our country. Poland was little known and hardly popular. Different prejudices and stereotypes had been stimulated. In order to change this situation I have managed to organise the Polish Year in Austria. In the framework of this undertaking different events were organised, for example: an exhibition in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, which was very successful. There were many public diplomacy initiatives. We were

focused on large scale events. 150,000 people have watched the exhibition in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, including the Chancellor Schüssel. This success was a breakthrough in our relations with Austrian elite and later on our work was slightly easier. Currently, our government prepares similar exhibition in Berlin for Fall 2011. Such big exhibitions really make sense, especially in our neighbouring countries.

We have also tried to expand our contact with Austrian artistic societies. The cooperation with the Prince Schwarzenberg brought very good outcomes. We were also in touch with the circles of writers and commentators, like Leon Zelman. Additionally, the cardinals König and Schönborn have been frequent guests in our embassy. We have managed to invite the current President of Austria to work in the Gusen Committee. Andreas Khol was also very useful in our efforts to care for the memory places.

There were two possible approaches to our activity. The first one, that we are too active, because we would be accepted in the EU anyway. However, if there was a referendum we could be quite easily rejected. At this time the fear of an inflow of Polish workers was much stronger than it is right now.

My initial undertakings have been considered as unconventional. According to the typical point of view an ambassador should be more static, write notes and documents etc... We have organised for example the meeting and training of the Border Service Guards from Poland and Austria. However, there were also awkward moments. During one conference for architects, Polish participants were arrested because they were taking photos of some buildings and there was a suspicion that the Poles may steal something. There were such attitudes! The representatives of the Polish police were invited for the Ball of Police in Vienna in order to overcome this reluctance. It was one of the ways to approach the different social circles.

Another initiative was the Professors' Club, which was launched together with Prof. Zazgornik. This club is active up to now.

The Polish Touristic Organisation was my natural ally. I really appreciated the cooperation with Mr. Włodzimierz Szelaḡ, who was a very devoted person.

Additionally, we have closely collaborated with the Polish Academy of Sciences and the Polish Institute.

My traditional “hard” ambassadorial tasks were around 40% of my job, whereas the other 60 % were unconventional activities. Some colleagues – ambassadors - were critical of me. There were also voices from the Austrian side that my style is too expansive, especially after I organised the Christmas Eve dinner for the Polish prisoners embedded in the Austrian prisons. However in the end I received approval and a number of Austrian distinctions.

I paid attention to the federal character of Austria. I have acted in Stiria, Tirol, and Upper Austria the most intensively. The Consul General of Styria, Gerold Ortner, was extremely supportive of me.

We have had the Chopin festival in Gaming (NÖ). Karintia was somehow blocked for me because of Jörg Haider. Although, I have also delivered several lectures there. The good knowledge of municipalities, the parliamentary experience and the respect for regions were my “heritage”.

The prestigious periodical *Die Furche* proposed me to write a monthly feuilleton upon my ambassadorial mission, however it was a hard time, because Poland did not have an ambassador in Austria. I was writing feuilletons for two years and it was the proof for me that Austria accepted me, because not every ambassador has such an opportunity.

I have also had other allies from the economic circles, like the Chamber of Commerce (Wirtschaftskammer) and Bank of Austria. They knew where the economic interest of Austria lay and they also had knowledge of and respect for Poland.

How many persons worked in your team in the Polish Embassy in Vienna?

The entire team was about 50 people, but I have cooperated closely with around ten persons from the Political and Consular Department, in particular with Mr. Drozd and Mr. Zaręba. I have also had wonderful deputies, namely Marek Rzeszotarski and Adam Hałaciński.

My doctoral thesis tries to argue that the right public diplomacy can positively impact Polish – Austrian relations. Ambassador Emil Brix shared with me his reflection on this issue:

It is obvious that culture plays a special role in Polish–Austrian relations. Normally in public diplomacy culture is one factor, but not a dominating factor. In this relationship it is a dominating factor and I give you one example that proves this.

What is your opinion?

Mr. Brix dealt with culture very intensively and has significant merits in this field. We have tried to broaden our cooperation, for example we organised the box fights together with the concert of Polish jazz. We wanted to make our cultural events more accessible to people.

I have not expected too much attention and an inclination from media in my work, however I tried to talk also with the tabloids. I have good memories about the cooperation with *Die Presse* and *Der Standard* and also with the local newspapers.

In the current public diplomacy efforts the following bodies take part: the Polish Embassy in Vienna, The Polish Institute, The Polish Academy of Sciences, honorary consulates and the Centre of Touristic Information and these are quite elite circles. Do you have any other institutions and persons that could also take part in this process?

We have to try to reach young Polish professionals working in Austria in high profile positions and to find contacts in the “new Polish emigration” who work in good

conditions. I did not fully succeed. I have managed to organise several meetings, but at this time it was still a bit too early. Now I think it is a good time. I have met for example Polish doctors working in Austria, but they were not interested in creating permanent structures of organisation, because of professional and family duties. It would be really great to strengthen this cooperation.

Do you have your own observations about the specifics of the contemporary Polish–Austrian relations? Are there any aspects that should be taken into account?

I have negatively assessed the time when there was a long term vacancy and there was no Polish Ambassador in Vienna. It was quite painful, because it was wasting the results of our work. From the Austrian side I do not see any negligence. Maybe the reaction for the populist incidents should be stronger... I think that we will deal with the paroxysm of fear for the last time and after May 1st everything will be better.

The Department of Slavic Studies of the University of Vienna and the summer school Polish in Cieszyn and in Cracow are quite significant supporters of the Polish Embassy in Vienna. The programme Erasmus plays an important role and it should be further developed. However, the most important support for our relations is by all means Polonia (Polish minority in Austria).

Thank you.

Interview 5

Professor Beata Ociepka

June 11th 2011, Wrocław

I would like to start with a methodological question. Is it possible to estimate the level of influence of the concrete public diplomacy campaign? We can naturally base on the example of Poland and Austria and I would like to know how can we assess that a given campaign was a success or a failure? Is it possible to measure it?

There is a certain problem. I have a bit of a different approach to public diplomacy, because I specialise in two fields: political science and media studies, and in a way that is why I treat public diplomacy as a form of international political communication. I do not use willingly use the term in a campaign of public diplomacy. Although, it is hard to avoid it. I prefer to speak about programmes and strategies of public diplomacy and the effectiveness of public diplomacy is a great concern of all who deal with it. I think that the reflections about this issue are quite similar to public relations.

First of all, the activities and strategies of public diplomacy are long term and quite often they accompany concrete political actions. Let's imagine a country, which wants to achieve a certain political goal, like entering the European Union for example and having this in mind the strategy is created. In this case we can measure that we want to convince the French society, where we were supposed to have a referendum about the future membership of Poland in the EU to agree to the Polish candidacy. Here we could imagine that successful public diplomacy would result in the change of the French people's attitude, so they would vote in favour of Poland. But still it is hard to judge to what extent this change would have been a result of public diplomacy and how much it would have been affected by the amelioration of the job market - and they

would not regard Poles as the competitors and this would induce the change in the point of view.

Normally, we agree that it is possible to assess the effectiveness of public diplomacy in short term goals and in regard to these undertakings which had clear goals.

If there are any cultural activities, branding, tourism or educational undertakings devoted to students in order to make them the multipliers, and these actions have a concrete form, then we measure each element of the strategy from the point of its effectiveness. Let's say that we printed 60,000 informational leaflets and they reached the addressees, and say we have first results, but we do not know whether these receivers really changed their attitude. Thus, this is the biggest problem of public diplomacy, which in my interpretation is a form of international communication, which impacts on the public abroad and here we can record certain short term changes, when we observe for example more visits of foreigners to Poland, but still it does not mean that we "won over" such a person or that we changed her/his attitude from negative into positive. As you know, usually in case of influences it is easier to strengthen or weaken the attitude rather than change it from negative into positive, and we have this knowledge from political communication. And it is similar here. If we consider the example of Ireland and Spain we can be sure that a significant positive change can be observed, but this happened after twenty years of image, branding and public diplomacy activities! I treat public diplomacy as a form of international political communication and this is also a tool, which is used by countries in order to rank a given country on the international arena and then the measure of public diplomacy effectiveness can be somehow associated with the assessment of a certain country position in international relations. In this case we must use the classical analysis of the theory of international relations. For example, the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs Radosław Sikorski stresses that our position in the European Union improved and this is also confirmed by the public opinion research. We have started to be considered as a "middle power" in Europe. Here we could also say that this is a result of the successful public diplomacy directed to the destination groups, like political and economic elites,

journalists, but also the general public, because this the basic direction of public diplomacy, but still it is very hard to say for sure what was the outcome of public diplomacy and what was the result of a real fact that Poland does its best to behave as a reliable partner especially on the grounds of the economy. We have successfully survived the year 2008 and this significantly advanced our position. What we can do for the time being is to focus on the short term campaigns and to observe what kind of result they bring, even if this is a classical quantitative research method. Let's say we want 1,000 people to learn about something and the information hits 1,000 people. The long term research of public opinion is usually prepared by professional institutions. In the case of Poland it is worth mentioning the Institute of Public Affairs with its regular research on the image of Poland in different countries.

Do you agree with the opinion that a significant change in a country's image takes approximately 20 years?

I would say so if I did not know what is going on with our relations with Germany, because here we could notice significant changes after 20 years. We must be aware that the change of attitude must be present in many environments. This is not only the change of the media content, because paradoxically this is quite easy to achieve. It is also crucial to see the changes in the school textbooks and this is a long term effect, because it takes long time. Finally, we should also take into account what the groups of peers say amongst themselves and what kind of message they hear from their parents. That is what the experts say about the twenty years long process. We can learn a lot from the experience of Spain and Ireland about the length of the process. I observe quite carefully our relationship with Germany and to be honest these twenty years do not bring as good effects as I hoped. The stereotypes come back especially in conflict situations, when there is a tension.

My doctoral dissertation deals with public diplomacy in Polish–Austrian relations between 2007 and 2009. Do you have your own assessment of what our representatives do in this case?

Well, the Polish Year in Austria during our application process was very much appreciated. Thanks to this undertaking we could reach the Austrian audience with high culture. *(Let us remember that Poland does not have a strategy of public diplomacy – although there was a plan to create it until the end of 2009 and it did not happen due to political reasons and we will not have it also this year, because of the election in the Fall of 2011).* What I can say about the directions of undertakings until the year 2015? Austria is not a top priority country when it comes to public diplomacy. Austria was important for us before 2004, because of the negative attitude concerning our EU aspirations and the fear that Austrian governments would not support the candidacy of Poland. I think that we neglected Austria after 2004 as the campaign country, because I can hardly see special efforts and contacts. What I can clearly see is the touristic advertisement of Austria in Poland. This is regarded quite positively, because Austria is one of the favourite places when it comes to skiing among the Polish people and in this case I can see significant progress, however I do not notice that Austria is a significant destination country for Polish public diplomacy. I think this was enfeebled after 2004. When there was no more fear about the accession the situation changed.

You wrote quite an important article about Polish public diplomacy before the EU accession. How can you assess the effectiveness of this campaign with the perspective of several years. I mean especially Austria. (In fact, there was a significant success, because we were admitted to the EU, but is there a broader context?)

Well again, if we wanted to measure it with the willingness to open the job market in Austria the effectiveness of this campaign was very weak, especially taking into account the fact that the efforts in public diplomacy were hardly continued after 2004. The reasons for it were limited financial resources and additionally in 2005 the government changed and the new leaders had completely new ideas in this field. They introduced the element of historical diplomacy, what was maybe not so important in the case of Austria, but the "historical public diplomacy" was particularly visible with

our relations with Germany and Russia. I think this was another reason why Austria stopped being the point of central interest. There were many aspects of Polish foreign policy after 2005, like *the creative tension* also in the branding campaign and let's bear in our minds that there is no continuation in the strategy of public diplomacy in Poland, because when a new party wins the election it usually implements own ideas or does not continue the initiatives of the predecessors. This is not only a Polish problem, but also other countries of Central and Eastern Europe deal with this issue. Well, only Estonia has a politically neutral Department of Public Diplomacy. I do not suppose that leaving Austria on a side is cognisant. I think this is a reason that we still do not have a classical campaign of public diplomacy, but only partial elements of it.

Which tools of public diplomacy are the most efficient in your opinion? Which are the ones we should focus on in cases where the distance is significant? Austrians and Germans speak about the “other mentality” of Poles, which is mostly associated with conservatism and being overly religious. What should we take into account in the new public diplomacy strategy for Poland?

There is such a tool and it is slightly underappreciated in Poland. I mean civil diplomacy. We can observe this phenomenon on the example of numerous Poles, who go to Austria for skiing. We have heard many stories about unpleasant treatment of the Polish people by Austrian customs officers on the borders, but now it has positively changed. Polish skiers changed this attitude. We must be aware that it starts from the bottom on our personal level.

I would also add the social media here, but maybe it is still a bit too early for it. Perhaps the exchange of point of view on different forums or on Twitter between Polish and Austrian skiers would give more chances for improvement of our relations.

Taking into account the number of Poles travelling to Austria every year it would be good to engage NGOs for common undertakings.

We cannot forget the importance of cultural diplomacy. I represent the point of view, that public diplomacy is a roof over the cultural diplomacy and its uses its methods. Moreover, I also believe that elements like branding–building and economic diplomacy should be coordinated and used by public diplomacy. It would be desirable

to establish contacts with Austrian media and schools and share our knowledge with them.

Finally, it is crucial for Poland to take an advantage from the EU presidency and EURO 2012, because sport reaches the broadest audience. Let's also not neglect our regional cooperation with Austria and the potential of cities like Cracow or Wrocław (Breslau).

Polish public diplomacy in Austria is mostly based on ambitious high culture events for a relatively narrow circle. How do you assess focusing on nearly exclusively high culture and how we can improve this tendency?

First of all, we should appreciate more how much we succeeded after the transformation in 1989. We should find canals to communicate this message in Austria. To make this effective we should strengthen this information internally and to show what Poland tries to do in the Eastern partnership and in the North African countries, because this is so-called *soft power*. Poland should share with Tunisia the *know-how* to enter the road to democracy, how to avoid mistakes naturally upon the invitation from the Tunisian government, because the societies do not like to be preached to. I think that this kind of information about Polish activities and additionally the message about the good condition of the Polish economy and successful fight against the crisis of 2008 is very desirable. This could change the stereotype about a weak Polish economy.

Nevertheless, the logic of contemporary media says that negative and surprising information attracts the attention of the public first. Not everything can be achieved via public diplomacy. It is also about the change of attitudes on the level of schools, textbooks, school and student exchange.

Thank you for the interview.

Interview 6

Martin Pollack

August 4th 2009, Vienna

Let me start with recalling two quotations from the interviews which you gave to the Polish press:

The most dangerous is xenophobia at the moment – this fear of the stranger. Austrians are the masters of it, although I do not really understand what is the reason of it (Dziennik).

The Austrians are probably the most sceptical in the entire European Union. This is strange, because there is no rational justification . Thanks to the EU enlargement we have earned lots of money. Today we are afraid that Bulgaria and Romania are not doing well, and Hungary is bankrupt. What will be then with our money? We are afraid of the foreign workforce flow. Ireland and Great Britain welcomes people from the Central Europe. We do not at all.

Austria is afraid. We have a complex, because many Austrians come from the East. We want to forget and cut off the roots. We think that if we do that, the poor family from the East will not move in to our prosperous houses with a garden (Gazeta).

What is then the real reason for this reluctance and scepticism of Austrians towards the people from the East? Is it only about the GDP inequality and the lower life standard? Is it that simple? Is it also about the mentality and other social values? What is your opinion?

No, it cannot be only considered in the material dimension. That would be too easy. I think that the Austrian people are not really aware that they are afraid. This fear is just a spontaneous reaction. This fear is also a product of the political activity of men like Haider and Strache who gained a certain political capital thanks to it.

I think there is also a mental side in this dissonance we talk about. The Austrians who come back from the East want to forget this fact, because it reminds them about the worse times. And this is not a new phenomenon. During the monarchy times, the Galicia region was one of the poorest territories. I am sure that the contemporary Austrian is not familiar with the Galicia times, but this factor of the unaware fear survived and this psychological state of mind cannot be rationally discussed and dealt with the right arguments.

I think that the very important thing, which we still can do, is the open discussion about history, including talking also about the awkward topics, like the role of Austria in World War II.

This strange fear does not only apply to Poland. I can give an example about the Burgenland, where I reside. My village is very close to the Hungarian and Slovenian borders and Burgenland is the former territory of Hungary from the times of the Monarchy. Anyway, the Austrians from my region still protest against the opening of the highways to Hungary. The reason is simply unknown for me.

I have spoken about Polish–Austrian relations with the Ambassador Emil Brix, the first Consul General in Cracow. I have asked him about the most characteristic features in the diplomatic relations between these two countries. He said that in the case of Poland and Austria the relations are mostly focused on the level of intensive cultural cooperation and based on the very elite and small circuit of people. How do you think this is so? Why only elites and only the cultural dimension as fundamental in Polish-Austrian relations?

An average Austrian does not have a special interest in Poland. This is still an unknown sphere for many Austrian citizens. They mostly choose Croatia and Italy as the holiday destinations. This lack of interest in Poland is surprising, because there are many Poles in Austria and many of them advanced in the social hierarchy. They work in free professions.

Let's talk about literature now. You have made many efforts to bring Polish authors closer to Austrian readers. You have translated all the books of Ryszard Kapuscinski into German. How would you assess the role of literature in

shaping the relations between our countries? Is the literature able to impact it positively?

I am very sceptical about this approach that literature, even the most outstanding, can change the negative attitude. I am a writer and a translator for years and I am aware that this interest in the high profile literature is again limited to a narrow group. When I speak about Kapuscinski readers I do not mean the hundreds of thousands readers, but about a much smaller group in the entire European German speaking territory. As a writer I am aware that we deal with very small non-representative groups of society. They do not have so much power as the politicians do. They have a much stronger and socially influential power, namely the media. For example Heinz-Christian Strache and having an access to the *Kronen Zeitung*, which has a circulation of around one million, the impact is incomparable with an impact of an outstanding writer. Speaking about persuasion and defeating the stereotypes I deal already with the people who are very well read and they do not need my assistance. Sometimes I participate in a meeting with youth in schools and in this case there is also a matter of small and cameral gatherings. The challenge is to reach new and broad audiences and this is very difficult and it required a great deal of patience. Not only book are a solution, but articles.

In 1995 you published an article in the *Literatura na swiecie (The Literature in the World)* entitled *The cases of Ryszard Kapuscinski...*, where you expressed a rather bitter digression about the perspective of Eastern writers in the West. You mentioned that even very talented and high profile writers have little chance to be recognised in the West. You wrote: *Mispronouncing the Polish or Hungarian names seems to be en bon ton – as the speaker was afraid that the correct pronunciation will make him a suspicious person.* It was in 1994. How would you comment on it in 2009?

It has slightly changed in the case of Kapuscinski. His circulation is not tremendous, but he has a stable and loyal group of readers. The situation is very difficult when it comes to other writers, like Andrzej Stasiuk. I have managed to convince the managing editors of *Der Spiegel* to publish the profile of Stasiuk with

many efforts, but it was just exceptional appearance. This is really difficult to do when it comes to the writers from the East. In the case of the Ukrainian and Lithuanian writers the situation is even worse than in case of the Polish writers, because they are nearly unknown.

The other thing with the pronunciation: it is a shame not to be able to pronounce the English or French name by the speaker or journalist on the radio, but such a shame does not apply to the correct pronunciation of the Polish and say Hungarian names. This is really embarrassing and disrespectful, but this is a part of Austrian mentality. My advice is to learn Eastern languages or at least have consultations on the right pronunciation before the programme.

In my final question I would like to know if there is a remedy or hope at least toward this cultural distance and mistrust. Is there any chance that the European Integration process will bring some positive change. What can be done?

Well, in my opinion the most important are media. The media have great power, also in the political dimension and in changing the stereotypes. I could observe that in the 1980s in the case of the Polish people who arrived to Austria with the migration wave. They were an unknown nationality before to the Austrians. A great deal of destructive migrants also arrived. There were different undertakings of the migrants which faced the protest of Austrians, like the illegal bazaars etc... This negative behavior significantly contributed to the negative stereotype about the Poles and the work to change it into a positive is dramatically hard to do.

We should also not forget about the role of the politicians, who are afraid of the Kronen Zeitung and the workers' union. They act under the fear and pressure of the publicity and this is why they give such negative tone to the newcomers. Many prosperous European countries, like Sweden and Ireland, opened the job markets and there was no catastrophe. The Austrian problem is that there is no open discussion about the inconvenient topics. Politicians are too much afraid.

Thank you.

Interview 7

Crocker Snow Jr.

April 3rd 2009, Boston, USA

Sir, could you please explain briefly the mission and assignment of The Murrow Centre? Is it mostly the collection of books, articles and recordings or are there any other undertakings which are worthwhile mentioning? I have read the revitalisation vision. What has been achieved so far?

The mission and the assignment of the Murrow Center is outlined on the website. Put a little less formally, it is to engage in a combination of study and research among students, scholars and practitioners to illuminate the practice of public diplomacy - official and non-official, US and non US - as a significant if little understood aspect of international affairs among nations.

How many students of the Fletcher School are affiliated with the Murrow Centre? What is the number of the Murrow Centre staff at the moment?

This is hard. There are no students at Fletcher concentrating in PD per se. It is a subset, not a prime platform of the Fletcher curriculum. There are however 10-12 current Fletcher students who have a special interest in the field, have taken courses at Fletcher related to it and, most important, have undertaken or are applying for summer jobs at the State Department or other government organs where PD is central.

How do the students contribute to the work of the Murrow Centre?

On an *ad hoc* basis. When we have a particular programme such as last year's two-day conference 'Credible Public Diplomacy' marking the 100th anniversary of Edward R. Murrow's birth, students are extensively involved in the planning, invitations to outside speakers, web site development, presentation of papers and post-conference reports. Individual students with special interests or theses related to the field work with me and other faculty members with insights in the subject. They are on occasion marshalled for alumni events and/or funding approaches.

What is the biggest challenge for the Murrow Centre in the future?

Funding, pure and simple. The field in general, and in particular at Fletcher, was diminished during the 1990's (end of Cold War, closing of USIA, etc.) and has not fully recovered since (despite the obvious need due to the negative international impact of the Bush Administration). As part of this trend the Murrow Center budget is quite negligible compared to twenty years ago. The challenge is to get sufficient non-government funding from the likes of the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations, Twentieth Century Fund, etc. to elevate and even institutionalise current academic and research programmes.

Sir, you have pursued a career in international journalism. Do you remember the moment (approximate time) when you faced the term “public diplomacy” for the first time? The first book with public diplomacy in the title was published in 1972 and this is a relatively new phenomenon.

Yes. It happens I was the first Edward R. Murrow Fellow when given a fellowship at the Fletcher School in 1967-68, eight years after graduating from college (Harvard) following several years practice as an international affairs journalist for WGBH public radio and television. This was two years after the phrase public diplomacy was coined and defined by the then Fletcher Dean Edmund A. Gullion.

How would you describe the ideal public diplomat? What skills would you emphasis the most?

Well-travelled internationally. Knowledgeable about not only U.S. history and policy but also about the histories of different countries and cultures. Abundant curiosity. A good communicator and creative personality with the ability to build a narrative. Of utmost importance, the ability to listen to and learn from others and thus to empathise with their positions and points of view.

Is it possible for a journalist to combine the role of an independent reporter with the role of “a public diplomat” for his country? To be honest I find many FOX News journalists an interesting example of the GOP public diplomacy worldwide. What is your opinion?

Certainly, it's possible and doubtless happens all the time. Most good professional journalists have most if not all of the traits outlined in the previous question. So they are de facto public diplomats, if not deliberate or designed. In other words, it's not part of their job description, but they often play the role unconsciously. (I don't regard most Fox News anchors and commentators in this category because they demonstrate little if any attempt at balance.)

What kind of advice you would give to the diplomats who deal with the media?

Be open, candid and trusting and do not patronise or talk down to the media. Of course this approach must be leavened by some knowledge and trust of the media personality with whom the diplomat is dealing. i.e. a professional, representing a solid media organisation, attempting to get it right and having earned your trust.

How do you see the ideal educational profile of a person who wants to pursue a career in public diplomacy?

As broad-based and internationally-oriented as possible, with some real work experience in government, media, business, or an NGO in one or more overseas countries in one or more cultures. This education is more important than any institutional education, at Fletcher or anywhere else. The formal education can only supplement the real word experience and insights gained from living and working abroad.

If there was a Master programme in public diplomacy what kind of core courses would you find crucial and most useful?

History of nations, comparative government, international economics, history of religions.

Which schools and think tanks do you find the most successful in research on public diplomacy?

Annenberg School at USC, Georgetown, Johns Hopkins, Syracuse and maybe Thunderbird in this country.

Which tools and methods of public diplomacy do you find the most efficient?

For me the ability to communicate creatively through a variety of personal and multi-media means is the key. Formal programmes of PD communications are in my view less effective than informal, often spontaneously arrived at, forms. An enjoyable social outing can be more effective in building understanding and confidence than an official meeting with an agenda. A spunky, multi-media communication can be more memorable and effective than a communique.

Thank you.

Interview 8

Włodzimierz Szelağ (the Director of Das Polnische Fremdenverkehrsamt)

late August 2009³³⁸, Vienna

How would you assess the interest of Austrians when it comes to travelling to Poland? What are the numbers of visitors?

According to the data from the Polish Institute of Tourism the yearly circuit is between 300,000 and 340,000 including also the people who work in Poland. We estimate that around 60% of the visitors go to Poland for business purposes. Anyway, the general tendency of interest is increasing.

What are the most popular touristic destinations?

The most popular practice is the round tour between the cities. This can be “a small” or “a big” city tour. The shorter one is five days long and includes a trip to Cracow, Zakopane and Częstochowa, or the longer is a nice day long journey with Warsaw, Wrocław, Gdańsk, Malbork. Nevertheless the most popular city is Cracow.

What are the major obstacles in the touristic movement between Poland and Austria?

First of all, there is a problem with transport. Although there are five flights a day between Warsaw and Vienna these are mostly for business people and the prices for the tickets are high. The cheapest tickets to Warsaw are 150 to 200 EUR and the average price is between 400 and 450 EUR.

We have also a railway connection to Poland and the length of the travel has not changed since 1901. Additionally, the train is stopped too many times on the territory of the Czech Republic. In case of the bus transport the quality of Polish roads and the traffic makes the journey much longer. There are many weaknesses in the Polish– Austrian transport. For example there is no direct connection to Gdańsk.

What is the most popular national brand that is the most often associated with Poland?

³³⁸ I have visited Mr. Włodzimierz Szelağ office several times. That is why the general date is given as the late August 2009.

Well, the Polish problem is that we consider too many products as the flagship brands and the result is that there is no significant one. The ideas change quite often, whereas a brand needs persistence in promotion. Anyway the potential for such a national brand could be the Polish vodka, Frederick Chopin and Polish folklore.

Additionally, the Polish governments do not invest in promotion and see it as a waste. The case of Croatia shows that expenses on promotion is an investment and it can have a good return.

Thank you.

Interview 9

Sławomir Wolny

June 8th 2009

I would like to start with a question about the meaning and definition of public diplomacy? What does it mean for you?

I mean influencing the international public opinion through the creation of the positive image of Poland – in the case of my job it is Austria. It is a new phenomenon for Poland, because formally we deal with it from 2008 when the Department of Public and Cultural Democracy was created.

Do you see any analogy between public relations and public diplomacy?

I would not connect them together, however there are certain common points and tools that these two disciplines use. I believe that the undertaking in public diplomacy must be more balanced than in PR. This is related to the institution responsible for the public diplomacy, because it is the State Office, namely the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. We want to gradually influence the opinion of the inhabitants of the foreign country.

What kind of tools and methods do you use in your work?

I will start with the comment that in order to conduct the efficient public diplomacy you need to have significant financial resources at your disposal, so this is the basic criterion, which impacts the different tools and instruments in the public diplomacy. I would mention the following possibilities:

- (a) Media action (event) – the recent example of the 1989 anniversary. What you can do is to reach the local media with your own texts and materials and it is a very difficult thing to do, because the journalists are very reluctant about the “imposed” materials. You can also publish an article at your own expense and the cost of it is around 5,000 EUR. The four page long “insert” (wkładka) costs 35,000 EUR, whereas our yearly budget for public diplomacy is 30,000 EUR.

The problem related to the budget affairs is that it is approved in March of the same year it is executed and you cannot really plan the events with precision. I wish the budget was approved at least a year in advance.

- (b) “Press breakfasts” – we invite the journalists, the chiefs of the columns or the redactors. We organise these meetings once in the three months and the topic is naturally the contemporary situation in Poland. It gives a certain value when the official representative talks about Polish affairs first hand. The circuit of the journalists is different and varies from four to ten and it is dependent on the subject. The important aspect about the relations with the media is the attitude of the Ambassador: when it is too formal and official not many journalists will be responding to our invitations. My responsibility as the Counselor is to maintain as positive relations with the media as possible.
- (c) Study trips for the reporters to Poland.

Generally the problem is that Austrian journalists do not show much interest in the Polish affairs. Austria does not have its own correspondent in Warsaw. The information about Poland is delivered through German reporters “second hand”.

Poland has one correspondent from *Rzeczpospolita* for three countries including Austria.

Is the Polish Embassy involved in the cultural undertakings?

Well, this is the primary assignment of the Polish Institute and when there is a need we do consult and cooperate together. The Polish Embassy organises concerts from time to time. We have the Steinway piano. We have had the concert of Piotr Paleczny recently.

The Polish Institute is formally a part of the Polish Embassy and it plays the unofficial role of the Department of Culture. The Institute conducts specialised activities and undertakings and there are separate coordinators for the theatre, film and dance. We do not have such opportunities in the Embassy.

Can you describe the circuit of people you deal with in your work? To whom it is addressed?

First of all, through public diplomacy we want to establish contact with the people of the country we reside in. Of course if we organise the cultural events we do invite not only the Ambassadors and mostly from the EU and NATO circuit, mostly for the National Holiday events.

Anyway, we want to show Poland to the Austrians, not to the Swedes or the Chinese.

Now I would like to turn to the more administrative aspects. Who is the author of public diplomacy in Poland? To what extent are the guidelines from the Foreign Ministry binding to the diplomatic outposts overseas?

Well, in my opinion the strategy must be created at the highest level. It should be initiated by the Government and further guidelines should be passed on to the Department of the Vice Minister to prepare the strategy of the plan in detail. This is how I imagine it in the ideal way. Next, the project goes to the Department of Public and Cultural Diplomacy and then the guidelines are sent to the diplomatic outposts. We must of course remember that depending on the location of the outpost the message must be different, because if we deal with the World War II memory the content of invitations must take in various participants.

Once we receive the guidelines from the Ministry we prepare the plan of promotion and the outline goes to Warsaw for approval with a decision about the budget. Depending on the financial possibilities the plan goes through further elaboration.

Sometimes there is a room for spontaneous actions, like the recent *EUland Strasse*.

How high is the yearly budget devoted to public diplomacy in the Embassy?

30,000 EUR in 2008.

Public diplomacy is strongly related to image. I am sure you are familiar with the studies on the image of the Poles in Austria. What are your observations?

Generally the image of Poland and the Polish people is negative and is based on numerous stereotypes from the past, which are passed on from generation to generation. Additionally, the Austrians are a highly hermetic nation and the Iron Curtain still exists in the minds of many Austrians. There are some interests in the former Galicia region.

The second thing is that Poland was considered also as the Trojan horse of the United States in Europe. Polish involvement in the Iraq war was highly criticised as well as signing the Anti-Missile Shield Treaty in the middle of the Georgian– Russian conflict which additionally escalated the tension.

This negative and very often disregarding attitude, scepticism and stereotypes breed many problems. I can give you one example, which took place during the European Football Championship in Klagenfurt when the match with the Germans was played. The police officers who were responsible to keep order from Poland and Germany arrived to the hotel which had renovated and nonrenovated parts. German officers were given the better part whereas the Polish policemen were sent to the damaged non renovated part with bedrooms for six persons. The Poles refused to stay in these rooms and made a complaint to the Austrian officers, who were hosting them. The Austrian officers immediately protested against the treatment and wanted to explain the situation from the direction of the hotel. The response was: *Aber das sind die Polen.*

It is very difficult to change the image, but I think that first of all we have to want to change ourselves.

What are the positive experiences in your work?

Well, we have very good cooperation with the different public institutions, like the Renner Institute, Diplomatic Academy, The Foreign Ministry. They do show some concern about Polish issues.

Thank you.

Appendix 10

Protocol from the meeting of the Polish–Austrian Commission on Cooperation in Culture, Science and Education 2007 – 2009.

The Meeting was held on 2–5 December 2006 and the result is an Executive Programme for 2007–2009.

Art. 1 – Cooperation in science and technology

Art. 2 – Academies of Science

Art. 3 - Cooperation in Science

Art. 4 – European High Education – the Bologna Process

Art. 5 – Scholarships

Art. 6 – Lectors and visiting Professors

Art. 7 – Summer Collegiae

Art. 8 – Official worldwide web pages and sources about the studies

Art. 9 – Equivalentents

Art. 10 – The Exchange of the Experts

Art. 11 – The Vocational Training

Art. 12 – Professional Training of the Teachers

Art. 13 – Polish Language in Austria

Art. 14 – Certificate of Polish as the Foreign Language

Art. 15 – German as the Foreign Language

Art. 16 – The Austrian Diploma of the Foreign Language

Art. 17 – The Education of the Disabled People

Art. 18 – The Partnership in Education

Art. 19 – The Competition in Math

Art. 20 – The Textbooks

Art. 21 – The Educational Programmes in the EU

Art. 22 – The Educational Programmes for the Adults

Art. 23 – UNESCO Committees

(Culture and Art)

Art. 24 – Polish Year in Austria

Both parties welcomed with satisfaction the organisation of the Polish Year in Austria 2002–2003.

Art. 25 – Polish-Austrian Award in Journalism

The prize is awarded and starting in 2006 it is changed into the Award for Contribution in Development of Polish–Austrian relations – established by the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Art. 26 – The Fields of Cooperation

§ 1. Literature, plastic arts, photography, film, theatre, dance, music, the protection of cultural goods

§ 2. Encouragement for direct contacts between artists and cultural and art institutions. The exchange of information on politics, culture and legal rules

§ 3. The cooperation in the framework of EU programmes.

§ 4. The activity of the association Kulturkontakt Austria supporting culture

§5. The cooperation of artistic schools of both countries

Art. 27 – the Encouragement to participate in cultural events

Art. 28 – Plastic Arts

The Acknowledgement of the direct cooperation of the museums, galleries, organisations and associations from the field of the plastic arts, architecture, patterns in organization, the individual and group exhibitions

Art. 29 – Music

The expression of interest in the direct cooperation between the orchestras, groups, solists and orchestral directors (dirigents). The acknowledgment of cooperation between the artistic unions and institutions in music.

Art. 30 – Theatre, opera, dance

The presence of cooperation in these fields, encouragement to the exchange of information and experiences between theatres, directors, actors, dancers and choreographers from the mutual countries and acknowledgment of their positive cooperation.

Art. 31

Film and photography

§1. The parties encourage deepening the cooperation between the film producers, directors and appropriate film institutions.

§ 2. The parties encourage organisation of the cycles and film weeks devoted to the country of the partner state and to the participation in the international film festival in the partner state.

§ 3. Both parties acknowledged the cooperation between the film archives of both states.

§ 4. The encouragement of the organisation of the contemporary and historical photography exhibitions.

Art. 32 Literature and Publishing Houses

§1. Both parties agree that literature plays a significant role in mutual cultural contacts and the parties encourage the exchange of information and experiences and deepening the cooperation between the publishing houses, authors and organisations, which represent their interest.

§2. Both parties support the participation of authors in the literature events in the partner country and the direct contacts between the unions of editors and publishers.

§3. Both parties emphasise the meaning of translating and editing the literature books in the country of the partner and acknowledge with satisfaction the direct contacts between the unions of translators and editors.

§ 4. The Institution responsible for the promotion of Polish literature abroad is Instytut Książki (www.instytutksiazki.pl) under the supervision of the Minister of Culture and National Heritage.

Art. 33

Culture management

Both parties express interests = in cooperation in research on culture and culture management.

Art. 34

Exchange

Both parties agree to exchange 35 experts in culture and art (each side) in time when the protocol is binding.

Art. 35

The Peoples` Art

The parties are in favor of cooperation of institutions and organisations related to the peoples` art and artistic craftsmanship in order to exchange experiences and experts. The parties highly encourage participation in the events and festivals.

Art. 36

The Protection of Monuments

Both parties encourage scientific cooperation in the Protection of Monuments, conservation and restoration of pieces of art. Additionally, the parties agree to exchange 15 persons in time when the protocol is binding.

Art. 37

The Cultural Heritage

Both parties encourage contacts and the exchange of experiences in this field. Cooperation in identification and evidence, scientific elaboration, the return of cultural goods which belong to Poland and Austria respectively are highly recommended. Additionally, the parties agree to exchange 10 experts specialising in cultural goods in time when the protocol is binding.

Art. 38

The Libraries

The parties encourage the direct exchange of publications and information between the Polish National Library and the Austrian National Library and other libraries. The parties also encourage the cooperation between the associations of librarians in Poland and in Austria. The parties agree to exchange 10 experts - librarians in time when the protocol is binding.

Art. 39

The Museums

Both parties encourage the cooperation between the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna and the Royal Castle in Warsaw and the other museums. The parties agree to exchange 10 experts in time when the protocol is binding.

Art. 40

The Artistic Education

Both parties are interested in cooperation of the respective institutions and organisations in music, theatre and the plastic arts in particular those entities which deal with the youth and children.

Art. 41

The Archives

Both parties encourage the cooperation of archivists in this field and foster the participation of Austria in pursuing the realisation of the international programme of the Council of Europe “Recalling – (odtworzenie) the Polish Memory”.

CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS

Art. 42

The cultural outposts

Both parties emphasise the importance of the Polish Institute in Vienna and the Austrian Forum of Culture in Warsaw and Cracow and Austrian Institutes in Warsaw, Cracow and Wroclaw in spreading the knowledge in the field of culture, science, education, history and the contemporary situation in the respective countries and also in initiating and developing the contacts between the representatives of cultural and scientific environments, propagating the command of language of the respective countries.

Art. 43

The Austrian Libraries

Both parties express satisfaction because of the coming into existence of the Austrian Libraries in Warsaw, Cracow, Opole, Poznan, Przemysl and Wroclaw and thus fostering cultural and scientific cooperation.

Art. 44

Other Institutions

The parties acknowledge the following institutions:

- a) Polish-Austrian Society**
- b) Austrian–Polish Society**
- c) International Chopin Society in Vienna**
- d) Adam Mickiewicz Institute in Warsaw**
- e) The Book Institute**
- f) International Cultural Centre in Cracow**
- g) Institute for the Donau Region and Central Europe in Vienna**

Other fields of cooperation

Art. 45

Youth

The programme “Youth in Action” in the framework of the European Union

Art. 46

Physical Education and Sport

The general conclusions and finances

Art. 47

The conditions of the exchange of the experts

Art. 48

Exhibitions

Art. 49

Other forms of cooperation

-The final conclusions -

The Document was concluded by the chairs of the delegations Elżbieta Jogalla – The Counselor Minister (Poland) - and Stephan Vavrik – The Counselor Minister (Austria).

The gathering of the Polish–Austrian Commission was held on 4-5 December 2006.

Polish Delegation:

- Elzbieta Jogalla, The Counselor Minister – the Department of Promotion – The Ministry of Foreign Affairs;
- Slawomir Adamiec – the Director of the International Cooperation – The Ministry of Education;
- Malgorzata Grudzinska – the First Cultural Counselor, Director of the Polish Institute
- Jacek Grabowski – the First Counselor, the Chief of the Treaty Unit – The Ministry of Foreign Affairs;
- Ewa Orlecka – the Counselor in the Department of Promotion – The Ministry of Foreign Affairs;
- Jan Calak – the Specialist in the Department of International Cooperation - The Ministry of Science and High Education;
- Krzysztof Hejno – the Specialist in the Department of International Cooperation, the Ministry of Education.

Austrian Delegation:

- Mag. Stephan Vavrick – The Counselor Minister – The Ministry of Foreign Affairs;
- Dr Hans – Martin Windisch – Grätz – The Counselor - The Ministry of Foreign Affairs;
- Dr Dieter Sommer – The Ministerial Counselor - The Ministry of Foreign Affairs;
- Dr Elizabeth Burda – Buchner – The Ministry of Education, Science and Culture;
- Dr Christina Kissler - The Ministerial Counselor - The Ministry of Education, Science and Culture;
- Dr Walter Maria Stojan – the Director of the Austrian Forum of Culture in Warsaw.

Appendix 11

Maria A. Pierzchala

Doctoral project: „Public diplomacy in Polish – Austrian relations”

The questionnaire

The purpose of this questionnaire is to research on the mutual knowledge and attitude among Polish and Austrian students to give better understanding of the public diplomacy in the Polish – Austrian relations and its eventual needs for improvement.

The questionnaire is anonymous and serves only for the purpose of the doctoral project “Public diplomacy in Polish – Austrian relations”. It consists of open and multiple choice questions.

I will highly appreciate your help and thank you in advance for taking your time for filling it out,

PART I

1. Gender male female
2. Age
3. Faculty.....
4. Desired occupation (Beruf).....

PART II

Introductory questions

1. Have you ever visited Poland? yes no
2. Which cities have you visited?
3. Would you like to spend your holidays in Poland? yes no
4. Would you like to study in Poland? yes no
5. Would you like to work in Poland? yes no
6. How would you assess your command of the Polish language?
 advanced intermediate basic I have never studied Polish
7. Do you have Polish friends? yes no
8. Do you plan a travel to Poland in the future? yes no

PART III

Associations, attitude

1. Enumerate any associations that come to your mind about Poland:
 - a).....
 - b).....
 - c).....
2. Enumerate any associations that come to your mind about a Pole:
 - a).....

- b).....
 c).....

3. How would you assess your personal attitude to Poland and the Polish people?
 positive rather positive
 negative rather negative
 indifferent other
 no knowledge about Poland and Polish people
 Comment:.....

4. Have you ever heard or told a Polish joke?
 yes no

5. How would you describe a "typical" Pole?

6. Which of the following items you find Polish? (choose max. 5)
 religious secular Catholic
 laborious lazy solid
 friendly arrogant cooperative
 poor wealthy generous
 honorable dishonest tricky
 serious responsible irresponsible
 intelligent reliable ambitious

PART IV
 General basic knowledge about Poland

1. Polish population is around:
 a) 11 millions
 b) 80 millions
 c) 38 millions
 d) I do not know
2. The President of Poland is:
 a) Lech Wałęsa
 b) Aleksander Kwaśniewski
 c) Lech Kaczyński
 d) I do not know

3. The currency of Poland is:
 - a) EURO
 - b) Crown
 - c) Zloty
 - d) I do not know

4. The colors of Polish flag are:
 - a) white – blue – red
 - b) white – red
 - c) red – white – green
 - d) I do not know

5. Please give the names of Polish national heroes:
 - a).....
 - b).....
 - c).....
 - d) I do not know any Polish heroes

6. Please give the names of Polish writers you have read or you have heard about:
 - a).....
 - b).....
 - c).....
 - d) I do not know any Polish writers

7. Please give the names of Polish musicians you know?
 - a).....
 - b).....
 - c).....
 - d) I do not know any Polish musicians

8. Please give the names of Polish cities you know:
 - a).....
 - b).....
 - c).....
 - d) I do not know any Polish cities.

9. Please give the names of the originally Polish products (food, fashion, cars, IT, banking etc...)
 - a).....
 - b).....
 - c).....
 - d) I do not know any Polish products

10. Please give the name of the Polish companies which you know:
 - a).....
 - b).....
 - c).....
 - d) I do not know any Polish companies

11. You can include additional personal comments here:

.....

.....

THE END

Thank you very much for taking part in my research project!

If you have any questions or need my assistance feel free to contact me.

My e-mail address is: pierzchala1@gmail.com.

Appendix 12

The overview of Polish public diplomacy 2007 – 2009

Table 1. Poland and its history 2007

19. 04. – 28. 05	<i>Project Achtung! Umpolen</i> which presents the Polish culture and the alternative art. Freiraum /quartier 21 teart Dschungel Wien Museumquartier Rote Bar.
22.04 – 17.06	27 th Spring Festival <i>Angerer Fruhling</i> , Anger, Puch, Stubenberg, Kulm (Styria)
22 – 23. 10	The presentation of Anna Mieszkowska`s book <i>The Mother of the Holocaust Children</i> and the screening of the film about Irena Sendler; the Main Library Hauptbuechrei amd Guertel, the reading room of the University of Vienna, the Theresianum and gim. Don Bosco Ebbrechtsdorf.
6.11	The Project <i>Karol Szymanowski</i> – presenting the person and heritage of Karol Szymanowski on the 125 th anniversary of his birthday. The private musical university of the Vienna Conservatory and the Actors Art in Vienna.
15 – 23. 12	The days of Janusz Korczak in the children theatre – Dschungel in Vienna.

Table 2. The culture and art 2007

01.12 2006 – 11. 01– Vrana 16.01 – 04.02 – Kunstlerhaus in Graz 6 – 20.02 – the Province of Hausmannstaetten 22.02 – 13.03 – the Townhall in Frohnleiten 20.03 – 1.04 –	The exhibition of drawings of the participants of the International Concour for Children and Youth “A child and a dog”.
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Haus der Begegnung in Steiermark 05 – 19.04 – The Main Office of the Steiermark Province 24.04 – 09.05 – Kultursaal – Mariazell – Steiermark	
24.01 – 01.03	The exhibition <i>There is no place for art</i> – IP ³³⁹ in Vienna;
31.01 - 3.03	The exhibition <i>Quantity as Quality</i> – the works of Pawel Althamer – Kunsthalle Exnergasse – Vienna.
1.03 – 29.04	The exhibition <i>Brueckenschlag/Die Czernowitzer Austria und Symbole und Identitäten in einem neuen Europa</i> – Oesterreichisches Museum fuer Voelkerkunde in Vienna.
6.03 – 17.04	The exhibition of the contemporary painting with the involvement of Marzena Nowak – the Gallery Mezzanin in Vienna.
7.03 – 27.04	The exhibition of the Ryszard Kapuściński photos <i>Fragments</i> – IP in Vienna.
22.04 – 12.06	The exhibition of Janusz Jancza on the festival <i>Angerer Fruehling</i> – the Kunstgalerie der Raiffeisenbank – Anger in Steiermark.
19.04 – 30.04	The exhibition of Mikołaj Długosz and Bartosz Mucha – Freiraum in Wien; Marley Pardel and Rahim Blah.
1-2. 05	The exhibition of the multimedia works of Anna Theiss, Kobasa Laksa and Hubert Czrepok – Freiraum in Wien.
8-9.05	The exhibition of works by Marlena Pardel, Ksawery Kaliski and Łukasz Jastrubczak – Freiraum in Wien.

³³⁹ IP – This shortcoming should be understood as Instytut Polski – The Polish Institute.

15 – 16 .05	The exhibition of the collective IKOON: Julia Willms, Julien Diehn and Nick Oberthaler - Freiraum in Wien.
22.05 – 28.05	The screening of the films by Anna and Adam Witkowsy. Freiraum in Wien.
20. 06 – 19.07	The exhibition of the contest works of the young artists of the Polish origin living in Austria – IP in Vienna.
4.07 – 16.09	The exhibition <i>The Middle Age Art</i> from the collection of the National Museum in Warsaw – the Belvedere Museum.
5 – 29.07	The exhibition of the video art by Anna Konik <i>In The Middle of the Way</i> ; Passage Galerie Kuentlerhaus in Wien.
05.09	The vernissage of the first international graphic triennale in Vienna – Kuenstlerhaus in Vienna.

11.09 – 22.09	The exhibition <i>Permutations</i> by Wojciech Krzywobłocki - Galerie am Park in Vienna.
12.09 - 12.10	The exhibition by Ilse Chlan and Stefan Kaczmarek <i>Multiples & Structures</i> in the framework of the first international graphic triennale in Vienna – Gallery Geyling in Vienna.
18.09 – 7.11	The exhibition <i>The Seven Marvelous of the Contemporary Polish Caricature</i> with the participation of Julian Bohdanowicz, Tomasz Brody, Andrzej Czeczot, Jacek Gawłowski, Edward Lutczyn, Andrzej Mleczek and Marek Raczkowski – IP in Vienna.
21.09 – 20.10	The exhibition <i>Our Lady`s Forever</i> by Anna Konik – the Gallery Eugen Lendl, Graz, Steiermark.
22.09	The exhibition <i>Volksgarten. Die Politik der Zugehoerigkeit</i> with Paul Altman – Kunsthaus Graz, Steiermark.
22.09	The exhibition <i>What We Bought</i> with Piotr Uklański, Kunsthaus Graz Styria.

22.09	The exhibition <i>Die Blaue Blumen</i> with the work of Katarzyna Kobro – Kunstverein, Graz, Steiermark.
22.09	The exhibition <i>Gestures of Identity</i> with Marta Deskur, Robert Rumas and Artur Żmijewski – the Gallery Minoriten, Graz.
14.11 – 17.01	The exhibition <i>Masks</i> by Agnes Jeziorska – IP Wien.

Table 3. The film 2007

1.03	The screening of the <i>Ode to Joy</i> on the film festival EU – XXL – the Cinema in Kesselhaus Krems – Niederoestereich.
1-7.03	The screening of the series <i>Dekalog</i> by Krzysztof Kieślowski – Österreichisches Filmmuseum Wien.
20.03	The screening of the series <i>Bolek and Lolek and Reksio</i> , Palais Auersperg, Vienna.
26 & 28.04	The screening of the film <i>Z Odzysku</i> on the festival Crossing Europe – The Cinema City – Linz.
12.05	The screening of the films for children – foyer of the theatre Dschungel in Vienna.
27.09 29.11	The screening of the movies <i>Melodramas</i> by Filip Marczewski and <i>The Clinique</i> by Tomasz Wolski – IP Vienna. The screening of the documental movie <i>The Warhol Absolute</i> by Stanisław Mucha – The Slovakian Institute in Vienna.
14 – 23. 12	The screening of the film <i>Wszyscy jesteśmy Chrystusami</i> by Marek Koterski – Top Kino Wien

Table 4. The Theatre 2007

20.01	The evening of the Polish drama – the Volstheater, the Hundsturn scene, Vienna.
20.01	The performance <i>Prometheus und Figaro</i> by Lidia Amejko, the Lutheran Church, Vienna.
19 – 20. 04	The performance for children <i>Eight days of the world creation</i> – The children’s theatre Dschungel in Vienna.
19. 04	The presentation of the anthology of the young drama from East Europe <i>Neue Drama Östeuropäisches Theaters</i> – The Burgtheater in Vienna.
22.04	The performance <i>the Gallery of Portraits</i> and <i>Szwalnia Trąborybów</i> – the courtyard of Fürstendorf in Museumquartier, Vienna.
22.04	The performance <i>The Chess</i> - the courtyard of Fürstendorf in Museumquartier, Vienna.
13.05	The performance <i>Arka</i> – the <i>Courtyard Grosser Hof</i> - in Museumquartier, Vienna.
18- 19.05	The performance for children <i>Olbrzym</i> – The Theatre Dschungel in Vienna.
19.05	The performance <i>Świniopolis</i> – The Courtyard of the Grosser Hof in Museumquartier, Vienna.
16.06	The performance <i>Czerwony Kapturek</i> – on the Multikids Festival, Künstlerhaus in Vienna
11-15.09	The performance <i>Der Neue Wiener</i> – of the theatre festival of Mitteleuropäisches Theater Karusell – The Theatre Brett.
11-15.10	The study trip of the journalists and artists to Wrocław for

	the IV International Theatre Festival <i>Dialog</i> – Wrocław.
20.10	The scene reading of the drama <i>Macica</i> by Maria Wojtyszko on the Mitteleuropäisches Theater Karusell – The Theatre Brett in Vienna.
28.10	The performance <i>Franz K – Hommage</i> on the Mitteleuropäisches Theater Karusell - The Theatre Brett in Vienna.
7.11	The monodrama <i>Beckett</i> - on the Mitteleuropäisches Theater Karusell – The Theatre Brett in Vienna.
22.11	The performance <i>Multimedialne Coś</i> – by Bogusław Schaeffer the Theatre Brett in Vienna.
20.11	The discussion on the situation of the Polish contemporary theatre – IP in Vienna.
19-23.12	The performance <i>When I will be small again</i> - by Janusz Koczak - the theatre Dschungel in Vienna.

Table 5. Music and musical culture 2007

09.01	The concert of the jazz trio Simply Acoustic Trio - Club Porga Bess in Wien.
6.02	The Clubbing Project East – Klub Flex in Vienna.
23.02	The jazz concert with Andrzej Olejniczak and Piotr Wojtasik – Club Porgy & Bess in Vienna.
19-24.03	The festival of the Polish jazz in Graz – the music club Stockwerk in Graz.
23-24.03	The dancing performance <i>Strawberry muffin</i> – Vienna.
17.04	The concert of <i>Kroke</i> - the Club Porgy & Bess in Vienna.
22.04	The concert of <i>Karpatia</i> – the courtyard Fürstendorf in Museumquartier, Vienna.
28.04	The concert of CH Distrikt – Freieraum – Vienna.

30.04	The jazz concert of the <i>Contemporary Noise Quintet</i> – Bar Rote Bar, Volkstheater in Vienna.
10.05	The jazz concert by <i>Pink Freund</i> - Bar Rote Bar, Volkstheater in Vienna.
2.05	The concert of <i>Dobek Bistro</i> – the courtyard Grosser Hof in Museumquartier.
5.05	The electronic concert of <i>Mik Music</i> – the courtyard of Grosser Hof in Museumquartier
7.05	The jazz concert of the <i>Baaba</i> - Bar Rote Bar, Volkstheater in Vienna.
8.05	The jazz concert of the <i>100NKA</i> - Bar Rote Bar, Volkstheater in Vienna.
12.05	The concert of <i>Husky</i> – Freiraum 21, Vienna.
19.05	The concert of <i>Moosk</i> – Freiraum 21, Vienna.
26.05	The concert of <i>Loco Star</i> - Freiraum 21, Vienna.
28.05	The jazz concert of Robotobibok - Bar Rote Bar, Volkstheater in Vienna
11.06	The concert of Elżbieta Sikora – the Association of Art Kulturverein – Schmiede Vienna.
17.06	The concert of the old Polish sacral music – the Church of the St. Jacob, Bludenz.
18.08	The opening of the 11 th International Festival Avantgarde Tirol – Seefeld, Tirol.
30.08	The guitar concert – The Music Conservatory, Vienna.
16.09	The concert of <i>Pandelfis Consort</i> + balet <i>Cracovia Danza</i> from Cracow – Museum Lichtenstain in Vienna.
1.10	The jazz concert of Piotr Wojtasik – the club Porgy & Bess, Vienna
2.10	The jazz concert of Piotr Wojtasik – the club Stockwerk in

	Graz.
28.10	The jazz concert by <i>Grażyna Auguścik Band</i> , the club Joe Zawinul Birland in Vienna.
7.11	The concert on the Year of Karol Szymanowski – the University and The Actor Art in Vienna
7.11	The concert of the Szymanowski Quartet , The Music Verein and The Brahmsaal in Vienna.
17.11	The concert of the <i>Oleś Brothers</i> – the restaurant Fromme Helen in Vienna.
25.12	The concert of the quintet <i>Krzysztof Popek Quintet International</i> – the club Porgy & Bess in Vienna.
15.12	The concert of Christmas carols – the Church of Maria am Gestande in Vienna.

Table 6. The Literature 2007

9.02	The meeting with author Radek Knapp and Jurij Andruchowycz, Literaturhaus, Vienna
16.02	The promotion of the book by Zbigniew Mentzl <i>All the languages of the world</i> , the bookshop Thalia in Vienna.
7.03	The meeting in the name of Ryszard Kapuściński, IP in Vienna.
28.03	The meeting with Wojciech Kuczok - the major library Hauptbücherei am Gürtel in Vienna.
26.04	The meeting with Michał Witkowski, Freiraum in Vienna.
30.04	The meeting with Radek Knapp, the main hall of Anger in Steiermark.
3.05	The meeting with Krzysztof Siwczyk and Darek Foks - Freiraum in Vienna.
10.05	The meeting with Daniel Odija and Grzegorz Olszański -

	Freiraum in Vienna.
24.05	The meeting with Manuela Gretkowska - Freiraum in Vienna.
25.05	The final of the concur in literature for children and the youth <i>The literature crosses the boundaries</i> – the pedagogical centre in Graz.
23.08	The presentation of the book by Zygmunt Januszewski – IP in Vienna.
20.09	The promotion of the book <i>Widma w mieście Breslau</i> by Marek Krajwski – IP in Vienna.
23.10	The meeting with Dorota Masłowska – Kulturzentrum bei den Minotiten in Graz and on 24.10 in Literaturhaus in Vienna.
7.11	The presentation of book <i>Lubiewo</i> by Michał Witkowski – the Main Library in Vienna.
13.11	The presentation of the book <i>In the Garden of Memory</i> by Joanna Olczak – Ronikier, The Jewish Museum in Vienna.
4.12	The meeting with Andrzej Sapkowki – the bookshop Thalia in Vienna.
13.12	The meeting with Radek Knapp – Apotheke zum Löwen von Aspern in Vienna.

Table 7. Poland and its history 2008

08.01 – 01.02 & 19.02 – 07.03	The exhibition <i>Korczak and his Children. The Community Paid by Life.</i> VHS Brigitteneu & VHS Favoriten.
22.01	The presentation of the book <i>The Alphabet of the Polish Miracles</i> by Stephanie Peter – The IMW in Vienna.
13.03	The exhibition and discussion about the life and heritage of Joseph Roth and his friendship with Joseph Wittlin in Paris

	– Literaturhaus in Vienna.
03.04	The event <i>The Stars Are Our Witnesses</i> – 65 th anniversary of the uprising in the Getto in Warsaw, the Rathaus in Vienna.
09 – 30.04	The exhibition <i>The Outstanding Jews in Cracow in XIX and XX century</i> – IP in Vienna.
03.04 – 15.05	<i>Oneg Schabbat. The Archive of the underground of the Getto of Warsaw. The Archive of the Ringelun</i> – The University of Vienna.
10.04	The scientific session <i>The Cultural Memory: Holocaust and the Political Memory</i> – The University of Vienna.
24 – 26.04	The conference <i>Poland in Europe – about the heritage of Andrzej Kuśniewicz</i> – The Polish Academy of Sciences – Unit in Vienna.
24.04	The discussion devoted to the fascination of totalitarianism – IP in Vienna.
13.09	The insert about the Polish culture to the <i>Die Presse</i> daily and an article about the festival avanguardia in Breslau.
11.09	The show of the historical fencing techniques. Heeres – Geschichtliches Museum, Arsenal Vienna.
26.11 – 27.02	The exhibition <i>the Polish heritage. The Polish Republic for many cultures</i> – The Year of the Intercultural Dialogue. IP, Vienna
14-20.12	The study trip for the students of Slavic studies in Salzburg to Cracow and Oświęcim.

Table 8. The culture and art 2008

30.01 – 20.03	The exhibition <i>Świat mało znany</i> – the paintings of the disabled persons – IP Wiedeń.
14.02 – 07.09	The individual exhibition of Marzena Nowak – the Passage

	Galleries in Künstlerhaus .
28.02 – 19.04	The individual exhibition of Michał Budny – Galerie Nachst St. Stephan.
24.04 – 31.05	The individual exhibition of Marzena Nowak – the Gallery Mezzanin.
07.05 – 03.07	The exhibition <i>Nowe spojrzenie. Młoda polska sztuka z Galerii Piekary</i> – IP in Vienna.
27.06	The exhibition of the jazz photography by Marek Karewicz <i>Polish jazz. The window to the freedom.</i> VUPAS.
17.09 – 30.10	The international exhibition of the satyrykon. The presentation of the championship works in the satyr and humor – IP in Vienna.
18.09	The exhibition <i>Un coup de dé</i> with the participation of the Polish artists: Ewa Partum and Jarosław Kozłowski – Generali Foundation.
2-12 10.	The exhibition in the framework of the Vienna Design Week – the show of Bartosz Mucha`s projects – Haushaltswaren, Siefried Reiter, Vienna.
2.10	The vernissage <i>Korczak and his children</i> – the days of Janusz Korczak in Tirol, Ububtu Forum in Imst.
4.10 – 9.11	The exhibition <i>Wie Du Mir</i> – and the group szu szu – Rotor Association for Contemporary Art in Graz.
15.10	The screening of the films and works of Józef Robakowski and the presentation of a book about him, WUK.
05.11 – 08.01	The exhibition of the photographs during the Month of Photography in Vienna and the exhibition of the black and white photography <i>Silence</i> Dorota Buczkowska - IP in Vienna.
6-26 .11	The paintings of the disabled persons from Poland and Austria under the direction of Władysław Jurkow in Orpheum in Graz. (14.01 – 18.02 Rathaus in Leoben).

18-22.11	The study trip to the curators of art and the art journalists to Warsaw, Cracow and Łódź.
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Table 9. The films 2008

25.02 – 02.03	The screening of the S. Mucha's <i>Hope</i> on the film festival EU XXL – the Cinema Krems (Nieder Österreich).
4.04	The screening of the <i>Melodramat</i> by Filip Marczewski on the festival <i>Diagonale</i> , Vienna, Linz, Dornbirn, St. Pölten, Krems, Eisenstadt, Innsbrück, Graz and Klagenfurt.
7.05	The screening of films <i>The Pianist</i> by Roman Polański and <i>Weiser</i> by W. Marczewski and <i>Egoiści</i> by M. Traliński – three day presentation of the Polish literature in Salzburg.
18 – 22.05	The screening of the films by Jerzy Kucia and the students of the Academy of the Fine Arts in Poland – the Top Kino in Vienna (21.05) – (the Academy of the Fine Arts in Vienna 21.05).
3.09	The premier of the film <i>The Lessons of Mr. Kuki</i> by D. Gajewski – Künstler Kino.
7.10	The premiere of the film by W. Smarzowski <i>The Wedding</i> – W3 Village Cinemas.
17.11	The Screening of the films <i>Sarid</i> and <i>Miasteczko Kroke</i> – the University of Judaistic – Vienna .
26.11	The Screening of <i>Katyń</i> by Andrzej Wajda – Burgkino in Vienna.
27 -30. 11 – 03.12	The Screening of the cartoon movie by F. Pluciński <i>7 more minutes</i> on the film festival Anilouge, Budapest in Hungary and Votivkino in Vienna.

Table 10. The Theatre 2008

15 – 16.02	<i>Die Besten aus dem Osten</i> – the presentation of the J. Szaniawski Theatre and The Earth of Wałbrzych Theatre (The pieces <i>Kopalnia</i> , <i>Piaskownica</i> and <i>Człowiek z Bogiem w szafie</i> – Volkstheatre in Vienna.
15 – 17.05	<i>Exodus</i> – international European project on the cultural identification – Theater des Augenblicks.
30-31.05	<i>Mewa</i> – the appearance of the theatre <i>Doomsday</i> from Białystok. – the Doll Theatre Liarum .
30 – 31.05	<i>Dead Class</i> - the underground of the Minoryt Church.
6.06	<i>Two Poor Romanians Speaking Polish</i> by Dorota Masłowska – the pra premiere for the German speaking countries on the Wiener Fest Wochen – The Theatre Schauspielhaus.
10 – 30.08	The Summer Theatre Carousel – the theatre workshops for the students from Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary and Austria and the piece <i>Strange</i> - the Theatre Brett.
8.11	<i>The Migrants</i> by Sławomir Mrożek – The Theatre Brett.
14.11	<i>Testosteron</i> – by A. Saramonowicz - The Theatre Brett.
16.11	<i>Cholonek</i> – by Janosch from the Theatre Korez in Chorzów.
19.11	<i>Z Plejbeku</i> – the pantomime cabaret Świerszczychrząszcz z Szebrzeszyna - The Theatre Brett.
10. 12	<i>Herbert teatralnie</i> – the 10th anniversary of the authors dead and the performance <i>Alchemik Halucynacji</i> – Max – Reinhardt seminar.

Table 11. Music and musical culture 2008

20.01	The jazz concert by Jacek Kochan & Co feat Gary Thomas on the festival Hummin & Drummin; the music club Porgy & Bess; Vienna.
21.01	The jazz concert of the group Pink Freud – the music club Joe Zawinuls; Birdland in Vienna.
25.01	The jazz concert by the quartet of Adam Pierończyk – the music club Count Davis Jazz Club, Linz.
2.02	The concert of the duet ElekTro mOOn in festival sound:frame, TU Vienna.
2.02	The performance of the group Pandolfils Consort Wien and the Court Ballet Cracovia Danza with the program the Carnival in Venice, the Museum Liechtenstein in Vienna.
5.03	The jazz concert by Joanna Mądrostkiewicz and Peter Matic – the Gläserner Saal Musikverein in Vienna.
19.03	The jazz concert of the Contemporary Noise Quintet – the music club Joe Zawinulus Birdland in Vienna.
18.04	The jazz concert Trio Stonka – the music club Joe Zawinulus Birdland – Vienna.
29.04	<i>The Doubt and The Hope.</i> The koncert in the honor of the Upraising the the Warsaw Ghetto with an orchestra Aukso from Tychy and Shmuel Borzilai. The Concert Hall of Radiokulturhaus, ORF, Wiedeń.
May	20.05 – the music club Stockwer Graz, 21.05 – Sammlung Essl, Klosternenburg, 22.05 – Brunnenpassage, Vienna, 30.05 – Alte Schmiede, Vienna, 31.05 – Kosmotheater,

	Vienna. The Cycle of concerts of Mikołaj Trzaska & Clementine Gasser.
6.06	The concert of the cameral music – by the piano quintet of Józef Nowakowaki – the Terrena Salle, Vienna.
11 – 12.06	The cycle of the performances of the DJs <i>Pompon MusicShowcare</i> – the EURO 2008. (Kunstzone, Karlsplan, Parklounge, Vienna, Fanzone, Rathaus, Sass Music Club).
12.06	The concerts of the group <i>Karimski Club</i> – (Euro 2008). Fanzone Wien, Rathaus Wien, Music Club Ost – klub, Vienna.
12.06	The musical and multimedial performance Yeshe with the Doll Clinique from Wolimierz – Kunstzone Karlsplatz, Parklounge in Vienna.
13.06	The performance of the Dj la Horego – Kunstmeile Lendl Spiel – Klagenfurt.
16.06	The concert of the group <i>Big Fat Mama</i> – the Scene Public Viewings Euro 2008, Residenplatz, Salzburg. (Euro 2008).
11- 21.06	The cycle of performances <i>Autobus – pracownie – Galeria KR 736 EJ Vienna, Bad Waltersdorf, Graz, Klagenfurt, Salzburg, Linz, St. Pölten, Miselbach.</i>
27.06	The jazz concert <i>Jazz Band Ball Orchestra</i> – the concert hall of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Vienna.
25.09	The jazz concert of the Piotr Wojtasik quartet on the festival <i>Jazz in & aus der Monarchie</i> – the concert hall in PKS – Villa Baad Ischl (Salzburg).
26-29.09	The study trip for the festival Avant Music – Festival – the music clubs Firlej and Mleczarnia in Wrocław.
17.10	The concert of the group <i>Piotr Nalepa Breakout Tour</i> – the music Club Utopia in Vienna.

23.10	The accordion concert <i>In Motion</i> - the Theater des Augenblicks in Vienna.
24.10	The concert <i>Plastic Musik</i> – the concert hall Collegium Hungaricum in Vienna.
3.10	The concerts Trio Trio Trzaska – Gasser – Zevang - the music club Alte Gerberi in St. Johann and 4.10 (Rote Laterne in the Porgy and Bess in Vienna).
11.11	The concert of the F. Chopin music by Adam Makowicz and Krzysztof Jabłoński on the 90 th anniversary of the Polish Independence - the concert hall in The Konzerthaus in Vienna.
18.11	The jazz concert by Andre Ochodlo & Jazzisch; Quintet <i>Meyne Teg</i> – the Jewish Film Festival – Kino Metro in Vienna.
05.12	The premiere of the opera <i>Orfeo and Euridice</i> Ch. W. Glucka by Mariusz Treliński – the Slovak National Theatre in Bratislava.
14.12	The performance of the Polonia group <i>Zakopane</i> – the Christmas evening in the IP, Vienna.

Table 12. The Literature 2008

(6.02 Linz; 14.02 Krems; 26.02 Graz, 27.02 Vienna)	The cycle of the meeting with Wojciech Kuczok
4.03	The lecture and the reading of poetry by Adam Zagajewski - IMW in Vienna.
11.03	The meeting with Andrzej Stasiuk and the presentation of the book <i>Fado</i> – Kulturzentrum bei den Minoriten, Graz.
4-5.04	The presentation of the poetry by G. Jakubowska – Fijalkowska and F. he project Nastulczyk and the magazine <i>Pobocza</i> – the project Literarisch Lenz in Europe – the

	theatre Brett in Vienna.
7.05	The meeting with Stefan Chwin during presentation of the Polish literature in Salzburg – Literaturhaus in Salzburg.
8.05	The meeting with Wojciech Kuczok and Jacek Dehnel during the the Polish literature in Salzburg – Literaturhaus in Salzburg.
9.05	The meeting with Michał Witkowski and Bartosz Żurawiecki during the the Polish literature in Salzburg – Literaturhaus in Salzburg.
28.05	The meeting with Mariusz Szczygieł devoted to the <i>Gottland</i> book – the IP in Vienna.
24.10	The author`s meeting with Marek Krajewski – Kriminacht – IP in Vienna.
28.10	The meeting with Maria Nurowska and the presentation of the book <i>Your Name</i> , Hauptbucherei, Vienna.
12.11	The presentation of the book <i>Balthasar. Autobiography</i> – Sigmunf Freund Museum in Vienna.
20.11	The reading of the fragments of the <i>Sklepy cynamonowe</i> by Bruno Schulz – the days of the Ukrainian Literature, the Theatre Odeon in Vienna.
20.11	The presentation of the yearbook <i>Jahrbuch Polen 2008 Jugend</i> – IP Vienna.
22.11	The meeting with Mariusz Wilk – Kunsthalle in Vienna.
27.11	The presentation of the Great Polish – German dictionary – IP in Vienna.
2.12	The meeting with Arthur Becker – Hauptbücherei in Vienna.

Table 13. Poland and its history 2009 – 20th anniversary of the Fall of Communism in Central Europe

29.04 –	The international exhibition of political caricature coming from the
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29.05	times of communism; Katholische Pädagogische Hochschule Krems.
28 – 29.05	The presentation of exhibition of the Carta Centre <i>Decade of Solidarity 1979 – 1989</i> , Hofburg; 02. 13. 06 University of Vienna.
4 – 6.06	The project <i>Orange Alternative</i> ; Tanzquartier and the music club <i>Flex</i> .
15.06	The discussion <i>The Round Table and election`89. Where are the winners?</i> ; Diplomatic Academy of Vienna.
18.06 – 02.07	The international exhibition of contemporary art <i>1989 – 2009. 20 Years later</i> ; The Museum of Young Art, Vienna.
20.06 – 11.09	The exhibition <i>Decade of Solidarity 1979 – 1989</i> ; The Weiter Castle
16.08 – 6.09	The advertisement spot on the 20 th Anniversary of Regaining Freedom and Communism Fall in the Central Europe; information screens in metro and bus stations, Vienna.
14.09 – 09.10	“Joke and (R)Evolution – 1989 – now and before” – international exhibition of caricature – Collegium Hungaricum; Vienna.
15 – 19.09	The exhibition “The Decade of Solidarity 1979 – 1989”; Casion Velden and University of Alpen – Adria in Klagenfurt (12 – 19. 10).
21. 10	The panel discussion with German, Polish, Hungarian, Slovakian and Czech diplomats on consequences of the Iron Curtain Fall. Kollegium Kalksburg Vienna and Akademisches Gymnasium Linz (22.10)
9 – 27. 10	The exhibition <i>Decade of Solidarity 1979 – 1989</i> ; Department of Slavistic in Salzburg.
20.11	The lecture of Janusz Reiter “The Turning Point of 1989 – Beginning, Reason and Outcomes”; Kunsthalle, Vienna.
3 – 13. 12	The Film Festival <i>1989 – 2009. Alles bleibt anders</i> , Schikaneder i Top Kino, Vienna.
7.12	The discussion <i>1989 – Religion and Spiritual Life</i> in the framework of the exhibition <i>1989. The End of History or The Beginning of The Future?</i> ; Kunsthalle, Vienna.

Table 14. The Celebration of the 70th World War Anniversary

27.01	The presentation of the book <i>Holocaust in eyes of children</i> ; The Polish Institute, Vienna.
12.02, 18. 09	The screening of the film <i>Katyń</i> by Andrzej Wajda; The Polish Institute, Vienna.
24.09	The screening of the film <i>Class Meeting</i> organized by G. Brechelmacher and M. Eichorn; The Polish Institute, Vienna.
07.10	The screening of the film <i>Children of Offenders, Children of Victims</i> by Piotr Salsza (also discussion); Ebreichsdorf High School and Mödling High School (08.10).
25.02	The discussion <i>Polish – Lavian – Sass Union as the Pattern of Cultural Process of Integration in Europe</i> , The Polish Institute, Vienna.
27.03	<i>Ossolineum as the Place of Memory</i> ; the screening of the film <i>Ossolineum: memory and identity</i> by Maciej Piwowarczyk and the discussion; The Unit of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Vienna.
19.05	The presentation of book about Marcel Reich Ranicki and a discussion; The Polish Institute; Vienna.
22 – 24.05	The presentation and reading of the book <i>Sandy Mountain</i> in the framework of the <i>Slavistics`s not dead</i> ; <i>University of Vienna</i> .
30.06	The reading of the book <i>Polenreise. Orte, die ein Land erzählen</i> together with the presentation about Poland; The Thalia Book Store; Vienna.
29 – 30.06	The promotion of knowledge about Poland ; Gymnasium Don Bosco Unterwaltersdorf (Niederösterreich).
25.09	The short language course in Polish for beginners in the framework of the <i>Long Language Night</i> ; Main City Library, Vienna.
13.10	The discussion, concert and piece <i>Polish Young Artists in Vienna – Wir spielen mit cycle</i> ; The Polish Institute, Vienna.
5-7.11	The project <i>Discovering New World – We invite Slavic Countries</i> . (Framework of the Uni – Hautnah project); Europark, Salzburg.
16.11 and 1.12	The seminars for Austrian teachers teaching history and social and political sciences about Poland and its history in Europe; The Polish Institute, Vienna.
17.12	The Christmas Evening; ORT Radiokulturhaus, Vienna.

Table 15. Promotion of culture and art

13.01 26.02	–	The exhibition <i>Polish Art of Poster</i> ; The Polish Institute, Vienna.
14.01 28.02	–	The exhibition of disabled persons from Poland and Austria; Rathaus in Leoben.
27.02 26.04	–	Julita Wójcik in <i>Biennale Cuvée</i> ; O.K. Centrum für Gegenwartskunst, Linz.
02. – 19.03		The exhibition of children drawing <i>My family</i> ; Künstlerhaus, Graz; 24.03 – 02.04 Feldkirchen; 15 – 29.04 Frohnleiten; 04-14.05 Bruck an der Mur; 19.28.05 Mariazell.
17.03 17.04	–	The exhibition of Mieczysław Karłowicz; The Polish Institute, Vienna.
16.04 14.06	–	The exhibition of Agnieszka Kalinowska, MUMOK Factory, Vienna.
25.04 21.06	–	The exhibition of Paweł Althamer and discussion about politically engaged art; The Museum of Secession; Vienna
25.04 13.06	–	International exhibition about transformation`89 <i>Where to go?</i> ; Galeria Rotor; Graz.
27.05 27.06	–	The international group exhibition <i>Smell it!</i> ; Kunsthalle Exnergasse, Vienna.
14 – 25.07		The group exhibition of painting and sculpture <i>Little Vienna with A Visit in Vienna</i> with the concert of <i>Vienna Trio</i> from Bielsko – Biała; Gallery Time, Vienna.
16.07 13.09	–	The exhibition of Paweł Książek <i>N.N. vs Artists</i> ; Kunstverein; Salzburg.
17.07 23.08	–	The multimedia exhibition about Karol Szymanowski; <i>Beautiful like me. Szymanowski – Iwaszkiewicz – Roger</i> ; Bregenz.
17.09 14.11	–	The exhibition of Agnes Janich <i>Man to Man</i> , Charim Gallery, Vienna.
29.09- 20.11		The exhibition of contemporary industrial patterning <i>Real World Laboratory. Central European Design</i> (Vienna Design Week); Freiraum, MQ, Vienna.

6.10 27.11	-	The exhibition of Krzysztof Izbedski – Cruz; Gallery <i>kunst#stücke</i> Vienna.
28.10 27.11	-	The exhibition entitles <i>Bogusław Schaeffer</i> ; The Polish Institute in Vienna
28.10 20.12	-	The exhibition <i>Between art and design</i> ; Gallery Feichtner, Vienna.
3 – 27.11		The exhibition <i>Korczak and his children</i> , VHS Brigittenau, Vienna.
27.11 28.01	-	The exhibition of Janina Kraupe; Gallery <i>Kunst#stücke</i> , Vienna.

Table 16. Promotion of film

15.01	The screening of a film <i>How is made</i> by Marcel Łoziński and sociological discussion; The Polish Institute, Vienna.
25.01	The screening of the film <i>Hope</i> by Stanisław Mucha, Votivkino, Vienna.
03.03	The screening of the film <i>It's time to die</i> by Dorota Kędzierzawska, Filmhaus Kino, Spittelberg, Vienna.
05.03	The screening of the film <i>Tricks</i> by Andrzej Jakimowski on the film festival EU XXL, Krems.
16.05	The show of films by Joanna Polak on the Film Festival VIS (short movies); 24.06. 0>port (Electric Avenue/MuseumsQuartier) Vienna.

Table 17. Promotion of theatre and drama knowledge

6.03	The piece <i>Two Poor Romanians Speaking Polish</i> by Dorota Masłowska directed by Armin Petras connected with the performance of rapers and talk with the author; Schaispielhaus, Vienna.
17.04	The piece <i>Teatro Capril Prometheus and Farrago</i> made by Lidia Amejko; The Church of Lord`s Resurrection, Vienna.
27.04	The piece <i>Helvers Nacht</i> by Jarosław Świerszcz, Jugendstiltheater, Vienna.

7 – 10.06	The piece (<i>A</i>) <i>pollonia</i> by Krzysztof Warlikowski and discussion with the author (Wiener Festwochen); Museumsquartier, Halle E, Vienna.
26.07 – 2.08	The premiere of <i>King Roger</i> by Karol Szymanowski on the Bregenz Festival.
15 – 19.09	Summer Theatre Carrousel, Theatre Seminars for students from Poland, The Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary and Austria. Preparation of the show <i>Aus dem Käfig raus</i> ; The Brett Theatre, Vienna.
25 – 27. 09	The piece of Ana Bilic <i>Concour for Integration</i> directed by Joseph Hartmann; 3raum-anatomietheater, Vienna.
9-10 – 23.10	The International Theatre Festival <i>Mitteleuropäisches Theaterkarussell</i> , The Brett Theatre.
14 - 24.10	The anniversary programme <i>Grotowski Inspiration</i> in honour of Jerzy Grotowski (Salon5 im Brick-5 Vienna).
14 – 24.10 and 7.11 – 30.11	The exhibition <i>Jerzy Grotowski – The Man and The Masterpiece</i> 50 year anniversary of Laboratorium Theatre – Salon 5, The Polish Institute, Vienna.
17 – 18.10	The acting workshops <i>Grotowski Inspiration</i> , Salon 5, The Polish Institute, Vienna.
7.11	The Year of Grotowski – the screening of documental films about Grotowski theatre; the result of drama workshops <i>Grotowski Inspiration</i> and a discussion; The Polish Institute, Vienna.
5.12	The presentation of piece by Papier Theatre <i>The Nutcracker</i> by P. Tchaikovsky; Theatermuseum, Vienna.

Table 18. Promotion of music, musical culture and dance

21- 25.01 and 30.12.09 – 1.01.10	The opera <i>Joyful Widow</i> directed by Cezary Tomaszewski performed by Polish women who work as cleaning ladies in Vienna; The Brutt Theatre, Vienna.
23.01	The inauguration concert devoted to the emigration composers – <i>The</i>

	<i>evening of Roman Maciejewski</i> ; The Polish Institute in Vienna.
20.02	<i>Le Matin – Mitteleuropäisches Kammerorchester</i> – the concert of young European composers inspired by Joseph Haydn music; Collegium Hungaricum, Vienna.
4 – 24.03	The 20 th Festival of Choreography, Performance and Video Arts <i>imagnetanz09</i> ; The Brutt Theatre in Künstler haus and in Konzerthaus, Vienna.
05.03	The Polish – Austrian jazz concert – the music club Blue Tomato, Vienna.
17.03	The evening of poetry and music in honour of Mieczysław Karłowicz (100 year death anniversary); The Polish Institute in Vienna.
29.03	The concert of the old music; Deutschordenskirche, Vienna.
6-8.04	The portrait of Tomasz Stańsko, the music club Porgy&Bess, Vienna.
2. 05	The concerts of New Kostas Programm from Wrocław, Music Club Porgy&Bess, Vienna.
6.05	The concert of experimental music with Paweł Mykietyn music <i>Aperghis.play!</i> ; Collegium Hungaricum Vienna.
10- 11.05	The jazz concert <i>Nigel Kennedy Quintet (GB/PL)</i> ; the music club Porgy & Bess, Vienna.
22.05	The performances of Polish artists <i>Sonic Zones: Fokus Polen</i> showing East European art; Museum of Secession, Vienna.
31.05	The concert of baroque music Liechtenstein Museum, Vienna.
17.06	Karol Szymanowski Award given to Peter Zimmermann and the concert; The Polish Institute in Vienna.
18.06	The concert <i>Tribute to Karl Bumi</i> with Piotr Wojtasik; The music Club Pergy & Bess, Vienna.
23.06	The concert of Andrzej Panufnik music and a talk with his daughter; The Polish Institute in Vienna.
30.06	Polish presentations (music, multimedia and performance <i>Warsaw calling</i> – Mak Nite, MAK Vienna.
14 and 17.07	The concert of Trio <i>Little Vienna</i> ; Time Gallery, Vienna
16 and	The anniversary of composer Bogusław Schäffer and exhibition of

20.08	musical graphic and a concert; Augustinermuseum Rattenberg an der Inn and St. Jakob Cathedral, Innsbruck.
29 and 30.08	The concert of female choir Puellae Orantes from Tarnów with Aukso orchestra; Stephansdom and the Polish Church, Vienna.
5 – 27.11	The audiovisual project [[URBAN.LAB]: Vienna, work-in-progress typ based on sound and video, Salon Gallery Projektionist, Vienna.
14.11	The concerts of Polish artists: Miloopa, Orange The Juice, RH+ and Village Kolektiv in <i>A Dosen of Europe</i> – in framework of Linz 2009 – European Capital of Culture; Club <i>Posthof</i> , Linz.
16.11	The piano Evening of Piotr Anderszewski, Konzerthaus, Vienna.
20 21.11	The presentations of Polish music groups <i>Dikanda, Miloopa, Loco, Star, Sofa</i> ; Djs Polish funky and SLG and visalisation of Elwira Wojtunik (Elektromoon) in framework of <i>Polish Weekend in Ostclub</i> , Ostklub, Vienna.
28.11	The charity concert for the Ute Bock association with Polish groups: <i>Das Kleine Wien Trio and Polish Quartet of Friderick Chopin 2010</i> ; The Old Stock Exchange, Vienna.
30.11	The concert of Opole Philharmonics, Musikverein, Vienna.
06.12	The Advent with the choir of Polish boys from Warsaw Philharmonics, The Church of Maria Treu, Vienna.
13.12	The concert devoted to the composer Grażyna Bacewicz; Jan III Sobieski Hall of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Vienna.
13.12	The Advent Concert <i>Polish Christmas</i> – The Church of the Holy Spirit in Kirchstetten, Nieder Österreich.

Table 19. Promotion of literature

19.01	The presentation of books <i>Tales from Austria</i> and <i>Poets from Poznań</i> , The Polish Institute in Vienna.
29.01	The meeting with Radek Knapp devoted to music and the city of Vienna toghetr with the reading of unpublished texts of the author; Konservatorium für Musik und Darstellende Kunst, Vienna.
16.02	The meeting with Steffan Möller and presentation of the book <i>Viva Polonia</i> , WUK in Vienna.

18.03	The meeting with Olga Tokarczuk and presentation of the German edition of her book <i>Bieguni</i> , Hauptbücherei in Vienna and Literaturhaus in Salzburg (19.03).
05.05	The meeting with Artur Becker and Radek Knapp, Literaturhaus in Graz.
15.09	The evening of poetry: presentation of magazine <i>Lichtungen</i> devoted to Polish poetry; The Polish Institute in Vienna, Graz (17.09) and Wies (18.09).
5-6.10	The International Festival of Poetry with the presence of two Polish poets; Literaturhaus in Vienna and The Old Townhall in Linz (7.10).
19.10	The presentation of Marek Krajewski book <i>The Plague in Wrocław</i> in the framework of 5 th edition of the Night of Criminal Stories; The Polish Institute in Vienna
4.11	The presentation of the book <i>Seven Lives of Adam Zieliński</i> by Ulrich Schmidt; The Polish Institute in Vienna.
5.11	The presentation on book <i>Viva Polonia. German Gastarbeiter in Poland</i> by Steffan Möller together with discussion, The Cinema Schikander in Vienna.
6-8.11	The Autumn Festival of Literature <i>Dilemma`89</i> , The Odeon Theatre, Vienna.
25.11	The presentation of the book <i>Ink Is Like Dynamite</i> of Maria Kijowska on the occasion of 100 anniversary of Stanisław Jerzy Lec birth, Huptbücherei in Vienna and OÖ Landesbiblithek in Linz (26.11).

Appendix 13

LEBENS LAUF

Persönliche Daten

Vorname und Name **Maria Pierzchala**

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Familienstand: ledig

Staatsangehörigkeit: Polen

Geburtsdaten: 23. Juni 1981

Schul- und Hochschulausbildung

2007 – 2013 **Doktoratsstudium**
Politikwissenschaft, Wien Universität, Österreich.

2006 – 2007 **Studium**
International Studien, Diplomatische Akademie
Wien, Österreich.

2003 – 2005 **Mag. phil.**
Journalismus, Jagiellonen Universität Krakau,
Polen.

- 2000 – 2003 **BA**
Journalismus, Jagiellonen Universiät in Krakau,
Polen.
- 1996 – 2000 **Abitur**
Gymnasium Nr. 2, Nowy Sącz.
- 1988 – 1996 **Grundschule** Nr. 17 in Nowy Sącz, Polen.

Berufserfahrungen

- 2001 **Praktikantin** der Redaktion
„Dziennik Polski“ (Tageszeitung?) Nowy Sącz,
Polen.
- 2002 **Praktikantin** des Büros des Sprechers des
Bürgermeisters der Stadt Krakau, Polen.
- 2004 **Praktikantin** der Vereinten Nationen, New York,
USA.
- 2005 – 2006 **Redakteurin/ Sekretärin** der
vierteljährlich erscheinende Zeitschrift
„Qualitätsmanagement“, Krakau, Polen.
- 2008 **Fremdsprachenlehrerin (Englisch),**
Awans Sprachsuchule, Gorlice, Polen.
- 2008 – 2012 **Hochschullehrerin** an der National Louis
University, Nowy Sącz, Polen.
- 2012 **Praktikantin** im Europäischen Parlament, Brüssel,
Belgien.

2012 – 2013 **Assistentin** in B&S Europe, Brüssel, Belgien.

Stipendien

2001 Stipendium für hohe Leistung in der Wissenschaft
Jagiellonen – Universität.

2002 Erasmus Stipendium an der Turku Universität,
Finland.

2003 und 2004 Stipendium, The Fund for American Studies'
Washington, USA.

2004 Stipendium, Stiftung Jan Kochanowski'
Jagiellonen – Universität.

2010 Stipendium der Reykjavík Universität.

2012 Stipendium des Roberts Schumans.

Sprachkenntnisse

Polnisch – Muttersprache

Englisch in Wort und Schrift

Deutsch in Wort und Schrift

Französisch in Wort und Schrift

EDV-Kenntnisse

Word, Excel, PowerPoint

Photoshop.

Publikationen

2010 - "International Relations of NGOs and Municipalities" - Publikation unterstützt durch das Projekt 'Europäischen Union' der National Luis University in Nowy Sącz, Polen.

2012 - "The Role of Non-governmental Organisations in Social Diplomacy in Polish – German Relations" – in *Organizacje międzynarodowe wobec politycznych i społecznych problemów świata* – Red. Wojciech Gizicki, Verlag Adam Marszałek, Toruń 2012.