



POSTGRADUATE STUDIES – SECOND CYCLE

THESIS:
**Cultural Diplomacy between Kosova
and Serbia**

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Tetovo, March 2017

Abstract

My Thesis on Cultural diplomacy between Kosova and Serbia focuses on the relevance of the cultural activities, for both states and nations. Thinking about culture as the field where the differentiation of nations happens, I have created an analytical framework with the help of post-classical nationalism theories, and the poststructuralism theory in international relations. To the benefit of my analysis was the assumption that there are no given constants and that even cultures and nations are themselves part of the continuing interpretation processes. Important to my analysis was also the interpretative semiotics of Eco, and his notion of collective and social encyclopedias, representing the scope of knowledge of Kosovo and Serbia as members of a group that engage in Cultural Diplomacy.

Teza ime mbi Diplomacinë kulturore në mes Kosovës dhe Sërbisë është përqëndruar në relevancën e aktiviteteve kulturore për të dyja shtetet dhe kombet. Duke supozuar se kultura është fusha ku ndodh diferencimi ndërmjet kombeve, e kam krijuar një kornizë analitike me ndihmën e teorive post klasike të nacionalizimit dhe teorisë të poststrukturalizmit nga marrëdhëniet ndërkombëtare. Analizës sime i ka shërbyer edhe supozimi se nuk ka konstante dhe që kultura dhe kombet janë poashtu pjesë e proceseve të vazhdueshme të interpretimit. Me rëndësi për analizën time ka qenë poashtu edhe semiotika interpretative e Eco-s, dhe nocioni i enciklopedisë kolektive dhe sociale, që përfaqëson horizontin e njohurive të Kosovës dhe Sërbisë si anëtarë të një grupi që marrin pjesë në diplomaci kulturore.

Мојата теза на културната дипломатија меѓу Косово и Србија се фокусира на важноста на културните активности за двете земји и народи. Под претпоставка дека културата е област каде диференцијација се јавува меѓу народите, јас создадов аналитичка рамка со помош на класичните теории на национализмот и теоријата на пост-структурализмот од меѓународните односи. На мојата анализа и послужи и претпоставката дека нема константи и дека културата и народите, исто така се дел од тековните процеси на толкување. Важно за мојата анализа беше, исто така, семиотиката на толкувачки Еко, и идејата за колективна и социјална енциклопедија, што го претставува хоризонтот на знаење на Косово и Србија како членови на една група која учествува во културната дипломатија.

Table of Contents

Abstract	1
1. Introduction.....	5
2. Theory - Culture and the State.....	9
2.1 Theories of International Relations and Culture	9
2.1.1 Introduction.....	9
2.1.2 The rationalist group of theories.....	9
2.1.3 The non-rationalist group of theories	13
2.2 Theories of Nationalism Studies.....	18
2.2.1 Post-classical theories of nationalism studies	18
3. Methodology	21
3.1 Cultural semiotics.....	21
3.1.1 A brief summary	21
3.2 Self-referential property of the sign and Universalism	24
3.2.1 Universalism and particularism	24
3.2.2 Self-referential property of a sign.....	28
3.2.3 A brief summary	31
4. Analysis of the Cultural Diplomacy between Kosova and Serbia	32
4.1 Political Dialog and Cultural relations	32
4.2. Reflections and analysis on the cultural relations among Kosova and Serbia and the nation-building process as the context for cultural diplomacy among them	37
4.3 The Arts.....	47
4.3.1 Introductory points.....	47
4.3.2 Theoretical considerations.....	50
4.3.3 The Analysis of the Arts.....	54
4.4 Exchange programs	58
4.4.1 Introductory points.....	58
4.4.2 Theoretical considerations.....	58
4.4.3 The Analysis of exchange programs	62
Conclusions	65
Bibliography	67

1. Introduction

In my analysis of cultural diplomacy between Kosova and Serbia I have viewed diplomacy as an institution where both states and nations participate. I have focused on two parts of cultural diplomacy, namely the arts and the exchange programs while viewing this type of diplomacy as the means to constitute states, nations, cultures and international politics. My attention was therefore on the relevance of cultural events and cultural products, by making use of rationalist and non-rationalist theories of international relations and extending the theoretical framework with post-classical theories of nationalism studies to further elaborate the connection of culture as the “battle ground” and the states, the nations and the international arena. With the help of Eco’s cultural semiotics it is possible to build two concepts of culture, which compared to the constructivist and new sociological institutionalism views, represent an upgrade. They allow understanding culture as an interpretative construct that not only constitutes nations but makes it possible for them to differentiate themselves from each other.

Based on my assumption that the cultural diplomacy is a result of the interaction of different actors in a specific social and historic context, I have embraced the alternative definition of “*institution*,” as it is offered by Jönsson and Hall. Diplomacy is therefore an institution of international societies, not of individual states. This approach has served to abandon the state-centric perspective of diplomacy. It has had a crucial impact on the way I tried to create my analysis of cultural diplomacy in which Kosova and Serbia were and are engaged in together.

Searching for the adequate theoretical background for my analysis, I have made a journey through the theories of international relations, explaining *rationalist theories*, comprised of *neorealism and rational institutionalism*, as well as the *non-rationalist theories*, comprised of *social neo-institutionalism, social-constructivism and post-structuralism*. The latter one, in my view, leaning on the assumptions of Schreiner, is more suitable one for my attempt to create an analysis of cultural diplomacy, enabling us to grasp the distinction between the state and the international as an ideology of *particularism and universalism*. It allows a much more narrow *notion of culture* which is beyond the dichotomy of the two levels, the state and the international, and is able to see and explain them as constructs of not only but also cultural diplomacy. *Epistemologically speaking, post-structuralism is convinced that knowledge is only possible within the social and historical circumstances.*

Thinking about *culture as the field where the differentiation of nations happens*, I also looked at nationalism theories, and I was drawn mostly by the approach of the Modern Scholars of nationalism studies, and the concept of the *imagined political community*, introduced by Anderson. It has served a great deal to me, while I was writing on the both processes of nation-

building and state-building for Kosova and Serbia and how culture and its various elements had an impact on that. Anderson stated that there is a prerequisite to the process of the creation of a nation. He names it the "*apprehension of time*". Thus I focus on common communicative and printing elements as building blocks of a nation, and not on the assumption that nations are a result of ethnical and historical identification. Even though these assumptions have helped me to build a theoretical concept necessary for the understanding of nation as a *cultural construct*, I realized also the limitations.

First, there is a lack of explanation on the *creative process of imagination*, as in the way in which the nation is being defined or created. As he has focused more on the benefits of nationalism, he omits the elaboration on how and what exactly leads to the modern concept of nations, as a historical successor of communities bound by "religion" or "dynastic realms." The second point of critique is the fact that nationalism in the eyes of Anderson as well as the classical-modernist nationalism studies bears no *uncertainties* and *ambiguities*.

Brubaker has moved forward, on the two problematic points of Anderson's assumptions. His methodological critique on how the nation is analyzed has been profoundly valuable to me throughout my work. He points out that the scientific analysis should include the nation in its study and not think of it as something already existing or given. This shows that there is a constant confusion of *categories of praxis* and *categories of analysis* with the classical nationalism studies. The Nation as a *category of praxis* is and should be an interpretative part of the construction and reconstruction of nationalism and nation. Brubaker goes even further with his methodological critique, by arguing that it is wrong to try to describe or outline the term nation, because one should rather put this process of interpretative and cultural construction at the heart of the analysis. Brubaker is convinced that not only nations are marked by uncertain institutionalization, interpretation but also dynamic processes, and therefore they cannot be perceived as static, real entities. Therefore this process of interpretative construction must be at the center of the analysis. The uncertainties, the ambiguities and the cracks that are certainly part of this process, show not only that the status of nations is unsteady, they also raise the important question for the analysis of cultural diplomacy, of their relevance when one looks at the bilateral interaction of nations and the fact that the interpretative construction of them is unfinished and characterized by uncertainties. Culture becomes highly relevant in this assumption of mutual differentiation among nations and their unsteady character in the interpretation process. Thus culture represents the space where construction and differentiation of nations takes place. Drawing on these points, I will summarize and try to set the term of nation in a frame, as a uncertain and continuous process of interpretation, that is in need of other cultural constructs to overcome these uncertainties.

The *interpretative social sciences* and especially *Eco's Semiotics* might be suitable for a cultural diplomacy analysis because of a couple of reasons. I agree with Schreiner, when he elaborates this through the explaining of three elements. Eco's notion of *encyclopedia* makes it

possible to methodologically grasp (or render tangible) the different notions of culture, while at the same time understanding them as circumstances of interpretations.

According to this assumption, the world exists because of human interpretations, the reciprocal reference of such interpretations.

This notion of culture consequently *stands above or is placed over* the notion of society, allowing it not only to serve better to different research issues (questions) but also to be more inclusive for phenomena that would be left out otherwise. This is a different and much broader character of the notion of culture than the one from the International relations theories of *constructivism and sociological institutionalism*, who focus only on specific phenomena such as “ideas”, “roles”, “meanings” or “norms.” In order to fill the “*conceptual emptiness*” that this kind of notion of culture leaves the semiotic analysis of cultural diplomacy has to make central notions like “*culture*”, “*nation*”, “*state*” and “*the international*” comprehensible through semiotics and interpretations.

Eco's network of encyclopedia which can be seen as an ideology, may be the key in understanding the “semiotic link” between culture and nation. Both of them are constructed through repetitive and same interpretations that are in a mutual conditional relationship, that creates an impact of legitimacy without the need for itself to be legitimized.

Groups and *social and collective encyclopedia* have to be treated as hypothetical constructs, that cannot be defined exactly but serve the semiotics to understand different interpretations. For the analysis of cultural diplomacy it means that it has to understand culture in the narrow sense, as *category of praxis*, as a building block of encyclopedic knowledge which is constructed by interpretation. These *collective or social encyclopedias* involve all the cultural knowledge of all nations and states, and therefore it cannot be identical to latter ones (nations and states).

These collective and social encyclopedias relevant to Cultural Foreign Policy/ Cultural Diplomacy do not merely serve the “*members of a group*” that have the same culture or are shaped by the same culture, but constitute the scope of knowledge of the group comprised of those members (states) that engage in Cultural Diplomacy.

The combination of *two patterns of interpretation that are self-referential (also auto-referential) or universal* could be the key to the central problem of the Cultural Foreign Policy / Cultural Diplomacy. By offering *criteria and features*, these universalisms create the opportunity for states and nations to use them, when they are claiming particulars. These Universalisms have two common aspects: First, their *factual statements* claim to cover a particular area of phenomena and second, through their *normative proposition* they claim the overall validity and acceptance from a particular focus group.

The *auto-referential pattern* comes from a combination of different concepts, influenced by both Luhmann and Eco as well as Schreiner, I understand it as a supposedly objective, but actually interpretatively constructed element of a sign, belonging and referring to a particular social complex.

Because of this interpretation it is possible for the sign to withstand this situation of interpretation and it gets attributed a sort of autonomy, intrinsic value (its own value). The relevance of *universalism as the carrier of factual statements and normative claims lies here, because both seem to be all-embracing, the universalism seems to be superordinate to the situation of interpretation.*

States and nations may also construct each other as states and nations by recognizing the culture of the other. This seems possible because of the modern way of conceptualizing phenomena like the *arts, science, persons or languages, understands them as universal, and on the other hand nationally places them or locates them. The contradiction of universalism and particularism, becomes also due to cultural diplomacy a constructed contradiction through interpretation.*

Finally I have also gained additional insights for my analysis, especially on the relation of the notions “culture”, “imperialism” and “the narrative”, from Edward Said, whose works, especially “Orientalism” and “Culture and Imperialism” have had a great impact on my theoretical concept. Worth mentioning is not only his view on the concept of “culture” as a summary of all practices like the arts of description, communication, and representation, relatively autonomous, often existing in aesthetic forms, and especially the novel. It becomes even more clear to me and I hope to the reader as well that, what makes his work so relevant to my attempt of creating an analysis of cultural diplomacy, is that he was calling for more attention on cultural forms like the novel, because stories as he assumed and as I believe does apply also in the case of Kosova and Serbia, that issues that they were arguing and being in conflict for such a long time for, were reflected, contested, and even for a time decided in narrative. The power to narrate was and is at the heart of the cultural relations among both countries and as such should also be the focus of an analysis of cultural diplomacy.

If the Relevance of Cultural Diplomacy activities and their products would not be at the center of analysis, it would not only be able to understand the importance of past and present activities among the two states and nations but also it would be more difficult to come up with an effective cultural diplomacy strategy on both sides. While there is method of analyzing the effects, the success or the impact of cultural diplomacy, at least not known to me, attempting to understand and in return engage in cultural diplomacy and in order to achieve a relaxation or even rapprochement among Kosova and Serbia, would be difficult.

Cultural diplomacy may serve as an effective tool of diplomacy among states. What lies at the heart of my modest attempt to create a framework for the analysis, is to understand the constructs: nation, culture, state and the international, which together make up this sort of diplomacy. It is a step into introspection, a look into the mirror that everyone (state, nation) has to take before knowing what and how to represent itself to the others, the international community or just a specific state or nation. This fundamental question has puzzled me in this

journey on analyzing the cultural diplomacy among Kosova and Serbia, two actors whose fates have been intertwined for a long time now. While I have just briefly touched upon the roles of various actors, such as the states, non-governmental institutions, cultural institutions in both countries and its citizens as well as the international cultural institutions, I have searched for answers from another point of view. Engaging in cultural diplomacy, means to me also to understand what is relevant among the actors that make up this cultural diplomacy, what reference different cultural products in the area of sports, science, the arts and exchange of people have, to societies and states and why they can either create possibilities of rapprochement among them. While there are many approaches to an analysis of cultural diplomacy, it is my believe that even though most of us see these cultural products and events that are part of this cultural diplomacy among the states, what is relevant is how we think about them, what they mean to us and therefore eventually if they could have a positive impact on our societies, our nations and our cultures.

2. Theory - Culture and the State

2.1 Theories of International Relations and Culture

2.1.1 Introduction

I'm aiming to present the most relevant points on the theories of international relations, by elaborating briefly on those that I have considered as important in the path to create an analysis of the cultural diplomacy. I will look closer into two theory groups, namely the rationalist theories, comprised of: Neorealism, and rational Institutionalism and the non-rationalist theories, comprised of: new sociological institutionalism, social-constructivism and post-structuralism.

2.1.2 The rationalist group of theories

2.1.2.1 Neorealism

My orientation through the basic thoughts of Neorealism, leans on the concepts of one of it's major Thinkers, Kenneth Waltz. In his view the two building blocks (fundamental assumptions) of this theory are, anarchy and the rational state. According to him *anarchy* is the state in which there is a lack of a superior authority with the power, the means and the

motivation to regulate the relations among states.¹ Additionally to this lack of authority or super structure that holds the strings in the International Relations, he (Waltz) has come up with the second assumption, *the rational state*. In this way he means to give human attributes to the state, namely the self-centred and strategic thinking of each state in the way it acts. The state is seen as the only important actor in the international arena.²

In this presumably state of disbelief and mistrust among states, none is ever sure of the other actor's (state) goals, and therefore also not sure against any possible attacks. This Theory is relying (tied up with) the *theory of human nature in society* (*germ = vorgesellschaftlicher Naturzustand*) which comes from the political theory of Thomas Hobbes.³ The pattern of behavior is *self-help approach*.

It is understandable that many scholars have picked up the notion "ordering principle" to describe this anarchic order in which there is no power standing above others and war / conflict derives from this order and not from the individual actions and patterns of behavior of the actors⁴.

To further elaborate on this, Waltz has come up with three levels for his analysis, the *system, the structure and the actors or units (representing the states)*. The term *system* stands for the restraints and regularities that regulate the environment and the states are subject to them, even though they have not created them or wished for them. With *Structure* on the other hand, he has managed to create a clear analytical cut between it and *the states*, by determining the structures positionally. This means that the way in which restraints are imposed on the Units of the system, depends on the arrangement to each other and not the interactions to each other⁵.

This structure is an unintended product of the actions of the individual states that follow their self-interest and this inexistence of authority. All states must exercise the same functions, and in this atmosphere of insecurity they have to preserve their safety by themselves. In this anarchic environment, there can be no functional differentiations and that is why Waltz calls the states as "like units"⁶. The most important states (major powers) are the actors which impose themselves and influence this structure⁷.

¹ Waltz 1979; Grieco 1993, page 118; Mearsheimer 1995, page 10; Vogt 1999, page 44; Layne 1993, page 11; Hartmann 2001, page 36; Gilpin 1986, page 304.

² Mearsheimer 1995, page 10; Mearsheimer 2001, page 31; Gilpin 1981, page 18-24; Compare to that also Schweller 1994, page 99. Compare SEE: Hynek, Lectures, Metropolitan University Prague, Prague, 2014

³ Reading Political Philosophy, 2000. From Machiavelli to Mill – The Theory of Human Nature in Society, page 100-105. Compare Reading Political Philosophy, The Theory of Human Nature in Society

⁴ Mearsheimer 2001, page 30: "ordering principle"; Buzan/ Jones/ Little 1993, page 38: "organizing principle"; Waltz 1979, chapter 6: "anarchic orders"

⁵ Waltz 1979, page 73-74 and 68; page 79.

⁶ Waltz 1979, page 96 and 101.

⁷ Waltz 1979, page 94 and 100-101; Schweller 1993, page 75.

States are indeed the most relevant actors in the international system, even though Waltz acknowledges the existence of other actors as well⁸. This is the final level of analysis, *the units*. These are positioned differently and they act differently according to their position, while they are still subject to the same restraints and share the same goal, to survive⁹.

The way in which the structure influences/ works on the actors (states), is explained by Waltz through two terms: Socialization and Competition. It is through these two modes that the anarchic structure influences the states that are acting rationally. While *socialization* of the states enhances behavior patterns of the anarchic structure, the competition favours the states which are the better strategiers in this environment.¹⁰

In this system characterized by anarchy, where actors have different capabilities, and act in the self-help approach to defend their vital interests, they tend to form alliances with other states. This structural form - “*Balance of powers*” created by Waltz and stands for the aim of states use the method of Balancing or Band Wagoning to react to stronger powers¹¹.

I come to the conclusion that according to Waltz theory intergovernmental cooperation is highly unlikely and occurs only as a form of alliances to balance between the powers. In this situation the units (states) are acting rationally in the self-help approach, in an anarchic structure¹².

“The relations that prevail internationally seldom shift rapidly in type or in quality. They are marked instead by *dismaying persistence*,... so long as none of the competing units is able to convert the anarchic international real into a hierarchic one.”¹³

2.1.2.2 Rational institutionalism

At the center of this theory stands the term “Institution”, and this concept came as a result of the critique in the 70s on the neorealism, and of it’s complete concentration on the actors as the only relevant actors in the international system. It was also an attempt to create the possibility for rational actors to cooperate among each others. This theory became known as “rational institutionalism”¹⁴.

While this concept still is relying on the previous thoughts of Neorealism, with an emphasis on actors, I will elaborate where it has gone beyond it, based on 4 basic approaches.

⁸ Waltz 1979, page 93-94.

⁹ Waltz 1979, page 80.

¹⁰ Waltz 1979, page 75-77.

¹¹ Waltz 1979, page 118-132; Vogt 1999, page 49-51. His concepts were changed by Stephen Walt and Randall Schweller, Walt 1987; Schweller 1994. Hynek, Nik. Lectures on Theories of International Relations, MUP, 2014.

¹² Schreiner 2011, page 52.

¹³ Waltz 1979, page 66.

¹⁴ Hellmann/ Wolf 1993, page 153.

First, these institutions have a relative durability, where change does not happen or happens only gradually. The reasons for it and the processes that one connects with institutional change are interpreted differently by different institutionalisms¹⁵.

Second, this theory gives immense power and influence on institutions over the behavior of actors. It views them (actors and non-actors) as derivatives of institutions, while the way and scope is explained differently by different institutionalisms¹⁶.

Third, it views institutions as autonomous especially in their relation to the actors as well as the environment. Despite the fact that both are influenced by it, they are capable to develop themselves. This assumption of relative autonomy of the institutions is intertwined to the assumption of their influence on actors. But Schreiner thinks that these two should be analysed separately, because they are from two different levels of analysis¹⁷.

Fourth and this might be the reasons why Neorealists and rational institutionalists are debating heavily, for the rational institutionalist assumptions the central concept of actors are as important as they are for rationalism assumptions. This means that for them actors are rational, and base their actions on their self-interests and are in competition with one another, while they are trying to get their way¹⁸.

The institutionalism is beneficiary for actors, while the profits for the actors and the functions for the institutions are versatile. They can give the incentives to cooperation, minimize the risks but also create frameworks for agreements and rules of conduct¹⁹.

Cooperation, this is conviction of the rational institutionalism, is nurtured in the environment of uncertainty and the lack of a central regulating power. The anarchic system of states is the other approach of the neorealism that is accepted by rational institutionalism: "Nations dwell in perpetual anarchy, for no central authority imposes limits on the pursuit of sovereign interests. [...] The possibility of a breach of promise can impede cooperation even when cooperation would leave all better off. Yet, at other times, states do realize common goals through cooperation under anarchy. Despite the absence of any ultimate international authority, governments often bind themselves to mutually advantageous courses of action. And, though no international sovereign stands ready to enforce the terms of agreement, states can realize common interests through tacit cooperation, formal bilateral and multilateral negotiation, and the creation of international regimes."²⁰

¹⁵Baltzer 2001, page 126; Berger/Luckmann 2003, page 86; Krasner 1988, page 73-74; Goehler 1994, page 22; Goehler 1988, page 16; Keohane/ Nye 2001, page 47-48; March/Olsen 1989, page 17; Rehberg 1994, page 47; Waschkuhn 1987, page 71; Zucker 1991, page 87.

¹⁶Finnemore 1996b, page 326; Friedland/ Alford 1991, page 245; Keck 1991, page 637; Koeble 1995, page 233-235; Krasner 1988, page 73; March/Olsen 1989, page 162-164; March/ Olsen 1998, page 948.

¹⁷Schreiner 2011, page 53-54; ...More Sources

¹⁸Schreiner 2011, page 54; Hall/ Taylor 1996, page 944-954. Compare to this also Koelbe 1995, page 239-241; Keohane 1988, page 386; Puchala/ Hopkins 1989, page 89; Snidal 1986, page 25.

¹⁹Axelrode/Keohane 1993, page 109; Keohane 1988, page 386; Kohler-Koch 1989, page 23; Compare also Hellmann/Wolf 1993, page 158; Schreiner 2011, page 54-55. Compare Müller 1993, page 37, "*Mode of actions*" of *Institutions*.

²⁰Oye 1986, page 1.

Even though the survival is the main goal of the states, this theory argues that there are other objectives too, e.g. prosperity and it goes even further by arguing that the collective productivity of goods is necessarily connected to the network in which states are.²¹

Despite the fact that the existence of institutions in the *third point of the arguments*, derives from the common interests of states (actors), most of the institutionalism works explain that the creation or existence of institutions are the proof a positive attitude of the actors towards cooperation.²²

2.1.3 The non-rationalist group of theories

2.1.3.1 New Sociological Institutionalism

There is a basic disagreement of this theory with the assumption that the social order is dependend on the rational actors. For it is convinced that the dependency is mutual, and that the actors are dependend as well on the institutional structures. Things such as preferences, interests, values, norms and worldviews come from the social and institutional environment, in which actors are interlinked as well.²³

Institutions and cooperations are not viewed simply as derivates of the interaction among rational actors. “The cognitive lack of alternatives and reflexive constitution” is the reason for the sociological institutionalism, for the autonomy and relative durability of institutions and cooperations. This is the scene which the actors inhabit, and they are not able to know any other world, but the one that is created by the institutions.²⁴

In relation/ correlation to it, in new sociological institutionalism, actors behave according to regulations that are accepted in general and are socially constructed. In this theory the “*logics of appropriateness*” include facts such as cognitive, ethical and reflexive ones. In realism and rational theories on the contrary the model of “*logics of consequences*” facts such as rules, norms, and institutions and so on are neglected.²⁵

As a consequence of this assumption, the rational behavior of states (actors) is result rather a “cognitive logic” then the “psychological logic”, and rationality is the predominant pattern of behavior. Therefor institutions are seen as the ones that constitute the actors²⁶.

The view that institutions that are merely thought of as regulators in rational institutionalism, is being extended by this theory, which doesn not only see them as rules, procedures and routines, but as “interpretative brickstones of the social lives and social

²¹ Axelrod/ Keohane 1993, page 87-91; Hellmann/ Wolf 1993, page 159; Keohane 1989a, page 2; Keohane/Nye 2001, page 26; Kohler-Koch 1989, page 22; Milner 1993, page 162-163; Müller 1993, page 31 and 34; Snidal 1991a; Snidal 1991b, page 722; Stein 1993, page 31-35; Grieco 1993, page 127-128.

²² Keohane 1989, page 141; Kohler-Koch 1989, page 29.

²³ Finnemore 1996b, page 326 and 333; Hall/Taylor 1996, page 948-949; Taylor 1975, page 189-191.

²⁴ Zucker 1991, page 85-87, Rehberg 2002, page 50; Hall/Taylor 1996, page 948-949; Finnemore 1996b, page 326;

²⁵ March/ Olsen 1989, page 23-25; 160-162; March/ Olsen 1998, page 949-952.

²⁶ Meyer/ Rowan 1977; Ulbert 2005, page 18; Gibbons 1987, page 141;

interaction”, as the capability in humans to interpret. An interesting explanation can be found in the definition by Peter Hall/ Rosemary Taylor:

“[...] the sociological institutionalists tend to define institutions much more broadly than political scientists do to include, not just formal rules, procedures or norms, but the symbol systems, cognitive scripts, and moral templates that provide the >frames of meaning< guiding human action. Such a definition breaks down the conceptual divide between >institutions< and >culture<. The two shade into each other. This has two important implications. First, it challenges the distinction that many political scientists like to draw between >institutional explanation< based on organizational structures and >cultural explanations< based on an understanding of culture as shared attitudes or values. Second, this approach tends to redefine >culture< itself as >institutions<.”²⁷

However, in this case where the social world is imagined as always historically contingent, the so called “*agent-structure problem*” arises. Martha Fillmore could give an answer to this dilemma by stating that the difference between *constructivism* and *sociological institutionalism*, stands that for the second one, the term of structure is the important.²⁸ Another option to this dilemma could be the conviction on the mutual constitution of actors and institution. In this way neither of them would have the *analytical and ontological* priority.²⁹

2.1.3.2 Social Constructivism / Constructivism

There are two basic principles for the social world that characterize social constructivism: First, the social world shall be seen as constructed by social interactions and attribution of meanings; second, this world changes all the time, it is *historically contingent*,³⁰ posing the challenge to theoretically capture and construct it. These bear consequences of ontological, epistemological and methodological nature for both of these assumptions.

In this sense, humans give themselves as well as material and non-material things meaning and in this social world where they live. And “society has a dual meaning, carrying objective factuality and subjective meaning.”³¹ One cannot imagine himself beyond this social world and in this way becomes the >>objective truth<< as claimed by Peter Bergers and Thomas Luckmann: “[...] The truth of the day-to-day world seems as already objectified, that means that

²⁷ Hall/Taylor 1996, page 947-948; Schaber 1994, page 49-50.

²⁸ Finnemore 1996b, page 327; Finnemore 1996a, page 19-20; ...

²⁹ Schreiner 2011, page 59.

³⁰ On the notion historically contingent: Contingency is an important concept in understanding and investigating history and helping students develop historical thinking skills. Crudely defined, it is the opposite of inevitability. ... Historical events are dependent (or contingent) on multiple causes that shape when, how, and why an event happened the way it did. <http://teachinghistory.org/teaching-materials/ask-a-master-teacher/24118>.

³¹ Berger/Luckmann 2003, page 25; Taylor 1975, page 171-172 and 189-191; Onuf 1998, page 59; Ulbert 2005, page 13-15; Adler 2002, page 100; Wendt 1999, page 171-172; Neufeld 1993. Compare Schreiner 2011, page 59-60.

it is constructed through an arrangement of the objects, that have been declared as objects, long before I got on the stage.”³²

A social world like this evolves/grows as do actors and societies change/ convert and actors interact. The constructivism views this as historically contingent, because the social world is constituted and objectivized in an interpretative way.³³

The way in which the *actor* is conceptualized, as we have seen in neorealism and rational institutionalism, were *identities and institutionalisms* are exogenous³⁴ to the social interaction, and in difference to the assumptions of sociological institutionalism, constructivism has another understanding. Identities and institutionalisms are constituted by meaning, from the social world itself and together with the other qualities/features of actors.³⁵

Compared to other theories such as the rationalism and behavioralism or the holistic theories such as structuralism or the institutionalism, there is no dilemma where to put the ontological priority, on the actor or structure. In constructivism, this issue is dealt with, by giving both sides the same ontological status.³⁶

When it comes to the influences that institutions have on actors, constructivism rather accentuates the *mutual constitution of the social world* and don't put the weight on the constituting and causal weight of institution on actors, as the sociological institutionalism does. There is an obvious improvement in comparison to the previous theories and approaches that would either focus on the rational actors or the institutions.

At the same time, when you look at the way, in which constructivism takes over the assumption of much of the rest of traditional theories of International relations, of the states as the main actors in the international system, you realize that the *idea of social constitution* of the social world as well as the *social entities* that were interpreted, are neglected.³⁷ This change of methodological thinking into the quasi-ontological assumptions is visible in two points: the constructivist conception of the state and the role of norms and ideas in constructivist research. As I pointed out earlier, states are seen as the major actors, and as Wendt puts it they are seen and should be studies as that. In his view actors do have a similar character that allows them to

³² Berger/Luckmann 2003, page 21-98, page 24.

³³ Ashley 1989; Milliken 1999; Shapiro 1989; Ruggie 1998, page 25-27. As well as in works that research the social world constituted in a interpretative way, e.g. Klotz 1995; Kratochwill 1986; Weber 1995. Hynek, Nikola. Saving Identity from Postmodernism? Genealogies of Constructivism and the Art of Governing International Relations..

³⁴ Exogenous means that it it caused by factors or an agent from outside the organism or system.

³⁵ Campbell 1998, page 9-10; Wendt 1999, page 113-133; Wendt 1992, page 399; Weldes/ Laffey 1999, page 14. Ulbert 2005, page 18.

³⁶ Adler 2002, page 104; Carlsnaes 1992, page 246; Dessler 1989, page 451-452; Ulbert 2005, page 17; Wendt 1987, page 338-339.

³⁷ Jackson/ Nexon 1999, page 293; Biersteker 2002, page 158. Hellmann/ Wolf 1993, page 156; Ashley 1984, page 238-241; Schreiner 2011, page 63.

be studied / treated as “closed entities that based on a society, sovereignty, monopoly of power and subject to an institutional order.”³⁸

This understanding of the state as a concept, even though it seems closer to the understanding of the international politics, comes with problems as Weller puts it: “[...] but latest at the stage of the methodological decisions for the empirical analysis of all these >constructivist< facts this [theoretical gap] comes to the surface: where do you find ideas, norms, values, rolemodels, culture, identity, knowledge, and argumentation empirically, if not in linguistic expressions? And who has ever heard a state speaking or seen it writing?”³⁹

This has the consequence of excluding the state as one of the most important objects of the political science research in the constructive analysis. Thus it (the state) would then be analysed as a product of the social world constituted by interpretation.⁴⁰

More or less the same would happen to two other concepts that are of relevance in constructivism, namely the ideas and norms, which in many cases in theoretical or empirical constructivist works are important. They are analysed like they have a causal impact on the behavior of actors. The international politics are consequently not seen as an interpretative complex, and the focus of this constructivism based on norms, lies on the impact that norms and ideas have on the behavior of actors.⁴¹

The concept previously mentioned in the theory of sociological institutionalism, *the “logics of appropriateness”*, as Ole Sending argues that one can not deny its inheritance from the Research of organization, which claims that a person does not act independently but by being subjected by a higher authority. This means that the logics of appropriateness as a holistic position.⁴²

The social world that counts as constituted by interpretation gets neglected, and the social phenomena such the logics of behavior, the norms, levels of analysis and states are seen as objects, even though they are actually constructed socially and by interpretation. The historical contingency of the concepts of states as well as the others mentioned above can not be taken into consideration anymore. I agree with Schreiner on that point that, it would make sense from a constructivist perspective to focus not on the activity of states, but rather on their constitution also through their activity. This would mean that states as well as systems of states and norms and ideas, could be analysed as historically contingent, constructed and reproduced endlessly by interpretation.⁴³

³⁸ Wendt 1999, page 198-223; Wendt 1995, page 72; Weber 2001, page 67;

³⁹ Weller 2005, page 51. Compare also Weight 1999, page 128; Ringmar 1996.

⁴⁰ Weber 1995, page 1-7; Compare Suganami 1999, page 379, who speaks of the narrative construction of actors; Weldes/ Laffey 1999, page 14-16, speaking of states as productions and reproductions as actors.

⁴¹ Plenty of authors of this constructivism based on norms.

⁴² Sending 2002.

⁴³ Schreiner 2011, page 65-66. Compare the definition of Culture in the Theories of IR and Eco's Notion of Culture, which stands above the notion of society and therefore is suitable for the analysis of a broader scope that will include more phenomena and not only, “ideas”, “roles”, “meanings” and “norms”.

Compare also with in my explanation in the last subchapter on Social Constructivism: “Alternative definition of “institution”, “we see diplomacy as an institution of international societies, not of individual states. In fact, an

2.1.3.3 Post-Structuralism

Understanding the social as not only in a metaphorical sense of texts or ideas and interpreting the state as semiotically constructed entity, comes closer to the final remarks that I made in the section on the theory of social constructivism. These assumptions are based on the thoughts of scholars such as Jacques Derrida, Michael Foucault and Pierre Bourdieu and the world that is constructed by interpretation is where the humans live, made up by texts and meanings, which the humans reproduce.⁴⁴

Ashley interprets the state in the *poststructuralist tradition* as a discursive constructed borderline, between the international that is constructed domain or realm in an anarchic way and the humans. This approach enables us to grasp/ see the distinction between the state and the international as an ideology of *particularism and universalism*. By naming this concept as poststructuralism or postmodernism, Ashley goes on to describe the state as the tangible, the particular where the international stands on the other side as a result of the universal principle of more particularisms.⁴⁵ He does not view this relation as an objective event, but rather as a powerful discourse, a construct that is being built through differentiation, which on the other hand sees states as obvious.

It seems as though the world is comprised of binary oppositions that are dissolved to the benefit of one of the sides. The questions of the difference itself should not be asked. This according to Derrida's notion of "*Logocentrism*," is the essential attribute of the Modern times as Ashley sees it. The world is pressed in such dichotomies.⁴⁶

This way of differentiation in the poststructural approach, is without a doubt a crucial part of the construction of the meaning through which states and systems of states are constructed. At this point, one has to mention the critique on this process of construction through differentiation. Especially negative events seem to be used in this process of construction, such as the notions "war", "danger" and "enemy". The "scheme of the good and the bad guy" in the poststructural approach, is according to Roxanne Doty who has used the USA/Philippines and the UK/Kenia cases to describe the construction of western and prosperous states through the presentation/ narration of the undeveloped regions and states. In the same way Edward Said claims in his book "Orientalism" that the West has created the negative image of the East, in order to construct itself as the opposite and as something better.⁴⁷

important point of departure in our research strategy is to abandon the state-centric perspective... Instead we conceive of diplomacy as an institution structuring relations among *polities*, in Jönsson, Christer, and Martin Hall, *Essence of Diplomacy*, p.25 – Diplomacy as an Institution.

⁴⁴ "Writing the state" by Weber 1995, page 1; Ruggie 1998, page 35; Debrix 2003; Der Derian 1989, page 6; George 1994, page 191-197; Weldes/ Laffey 1999, page 16.

⁴⁵ Ashley 1989, page 298-308; Ashley 1988, page 230-244; Compare also Ashley/Walker 1990; Walker 1993, page 60-73; Walker 1990.

⁴⁶ Derrida's notion of "Logocentrism"

⁴⁷ Doty 1996, Said, 1978. [Verejtje: Ketu duhet te shtohen edhe disa fjali si perfundim per kete teori]

Epistemologically there is a big difference between more moderate constructivism and the radical ones and post structuralism, because the latter think that new scientific findings are only possible in a discursive and socially constructed world. In this sense, this work of mine is also a construct and part of this process of construction.

2.2 Theories of Nationalism Studies

2.2.1 Post-classical theories of nationalism studies

The character of nations as well as nation-states is not given; on the contrary they have a constant precarious character that is constructed permanently by interpretation. What they have in common with the *modernist position* is the negation of the historic teleological that are present in a subliminal way in the works of *primordial* authors. The post-classical thinking goes even beyond modernist thinking in abandoning “big stories”.⁴⁸

To be able to understand and analyse the nation, one has to focus more on the creative imagination. Going beyond the other thinkers of modernist nationalism, Anderson was convinced that one should highlight the question of how one can understand this act of imagination. This point has been made on another occasion by Gellner, but for him it was merely a sociohistoric necessity.⁴⁹

Anderson stated that there is a prerequisite to the process of the creation of a nation. He names it the “*apprehension of time*”. In modern times, newspapers and with it mass media have managed to connect events that are independent from each other as well as acts of identical but time bound consumption of topics. An *idea of or sense for community* is being created among individuals, who are not acquainted personally with each other. This process happens under the assumption of a *temporal correspondence or coincidence in time*. Consequently Anderson names a couple of factors that have led to the development of nationalism in the modern sense, starting with printing, which combined with the capitalism and the vernacular, represent the new technological and economical and communicative elements.⁵⁰

Besides having in common the communicative and printing elements as building blocks of a nation, Anderson shares also the belief with the modernists approach, that the modern nations are not a result of ethnical and historical identification. This is how he comes to his definition of a nation: “It is an imagined political community – imagined as in bounded and

⁴⁸ Day/Thompson 2004, page 84-104.

⁴⁹ Schreiner 2011, page 96. Compare Anderson, Imagined Communities, mentioned for that time in the way it changed the Nationalism Studies, in articles.

⁵⁰ Anderson 1993, page 30-54. Compare also Smutny 2004, page 69-70. Anderson 2006, page 22.

sovereign”.⁵¹ The group of people, for which this community stands for, is an act of creativity, an act of imagination. On the one hand it is bounded, because it has borders that differentiate it from other nations. This specific definition of a border for nations by Anderson, implies that there is a connection to the contradiction or dichotomy of *particularism and universalism*, which is central to the nationalism studies, because every nation is seeking to be differentiated, but at the same time the organization of the world should be universal as well as the pattern of interpretation. On the other hand, there is an ideological link of the nation with the imagination of freedom, and therefore these nations claim sovereignty.⁵²

The first point of critique is that while the assumptions of Anderson are highly relevant to my attempt to create an analysis of cultural diplomacy, there are limitations in his thinking. First, there is a lack of explanation on the creative process of imagination, as in the way in which the nation is being defined or created. As he has focused more on the benefits of nationalism, he omits the elaboration on how and what exactly leads to the modern concept of nations, as a historical successor of communities bound by “religion” or “dynastic realms”.⁵³

The second point of critique is the fact that nationalism in the eyes of Anderson as well as the classical-modernist nationalism studies bears no *uncertainties* and *ambiguities*. The powers that create and keep the imagined nation together are not being explained.⁵⁴

At this point it is worth turning to the thinking of Roger Brubaker, who, as the most prominent post-classical opponent of these modernists’ concepts, has moved forward, on the two problematic points of Anderson’s assumptions.

Seeing the ethnical, racial and national groups as real existing social entities, is the crucial part of disagreement between Brubaker and the classical-modernists. The questions of how and why they come into existence are left out.

”Most discussions of nationhood are discussions of nations. Nations are understood as real entities, as communities, as substantial, enduring collectivities. That they exist is taken for granted, although how they exist – and how they came to exist – is much disputed.”⁵⁵

He points out that the scientific analysis should include the nation in its study and not think of it as something already existing/ given. This shows that there is a constant confusion of *categories of praxis and categories of analysis* with the classical nationalism studies. The nation as a category of praxis, is and should be an interpretative part of the construction and reconstruction of nationalism and nation. Brubaker goes even further with his methodological critique, by arguing that it is wrong to try to describe or outline the term nation, because one

⁵¹ Anderson 1993, page 30-54. Compare also Smutny 2004, page 15. Additional Sources: IR – Literature – Political Ideologies; Articles (3); Anderson, Benedict_Imagined communities_revised ed. 2006

⁵² Anderson 1993, page 15-16; Compare also McCrone 1998, page 6; Compare my explanation on the two concepts of Particularism and Universalism in chapter 3. Universalism.

⁵³ Compare article on Anderson.

⁵⁴ Day/Thompson 2004, page 92-93; McCrone 1998, page 6; Kramer 1997, page 536.

⁵⁵ Brubaker 1996, page 13. Compare also Brubaker 2007, page 16-19.

should rather put this process of interpretative and cultural construction at the heart of the analysis.⁵⁶

He suggests: “We should not ask >what is a nation< but rather: how is nationhood as a political and cultural form institutionalized within and among states? How does nation work as practical category, as classificatory scheme, as cognitive frame?”⁵⁷

This assumption, that because of the character of the nations that is constructed by interpretation, and that part of that construction they are subject to uncertainties, precarities and the temporary character, allows thinking beyond the two uncertain/unclear points made by Anderson and the classical-modernist nationalism studies.⁵⁸ While Anderson differentiated when he argues about nations, between the functions that are beneficiary to the society and the contents of nationalism, Brubaker is convinced that not only nations are marked by uncertain institutionalization, interpretation but also dynamic processes, and therefore they cannot be perceived as static, real entities. Therefore this process of interpretative construction must be at the center of the analysis. The uncertainties, the ambiguities and the cracks that are certainly part of this process, show not only that the status of nations is unsteady, they also raise the important question for the analysis of cultural diplomacy, of their relevance when one looks at the bilateral interaction of nations and the fact that the interpretative construction of them is unfinished and characterized by uncertainties.⁵⁹

When it comes to borders, Brubaker’s assumptions try to find a definition of them that is other than territorial. These borders symbolize the attempt to constitute the nations by processes of differentiation from each other, while the same processes show that these nations are coherent internally. This is the theoretic novelty that the post-classical nationalism studies bring.⁶⁰

Culture becomes highly relevant in this assumption of mutual differentiation among nations and their unsteady character in the interpretation process. Thus culture represents the space where construction and differentiation of nations takes place.⁶¹

Drawing on these points, I will summarize and try to set the term of nation in a frame, as an uncertain and continuous process of interpretation that is in need of other cultural constructs to overcome these uncertainties. This leads to the next issue that seeks an answer, even though it is not a complete one, namely the definition of the term culture itself. While it is impossible to elaborate on it thoroughly in my work, I will give it a try to examine what culture means for the analysis of nationalism the nationstate as well as the cultural diplomacy.⁶²

⁵⁶ Brubaker 1996, page 15-16; Brubaker 2007, page 19-20; Brubaker & Cooper 2000, page 4-6, Categories of Praxis and Categories of Analysis.

⁵⁷ Brubaker 1996, page 16.

⁵⁸ [Comment: Change sentence]

⁵⁹ Schreiner 2011, page 98.

⁶⁰ Brubaker 2000; Compare also Marx 2002; Brubaker 1994, page 75-76, on the French Revolution; Eriksen 2002, page 39; Brown 2001, for the material borders.

⁶¹ Compare also Abu-Lughod 1991, page 143: “Culture is the essential tool for making other.”

⁶² Compare also: Brubaker/Cooper 2000.

3. Methodology

3.1 Cultural semiotics

The Pattern of interpretations represents the abductive interpretations that are similar to each other. As a result of this process, meanings are produced by them. By referring to extensive encyclopedic knowledge, that is necessary in the process of the interpretation of complex matters and that is being refined, substantiate, reproduced or reduced and corrected. These analytical constructs are part of the encyclopedias and though they cannot be seen, it is possible to describe them and identify them as regulatory hypotheses. As such they are derivations of statements and activities.

Schreiner continues in his assumptions that the sociologically interested Semiotics, or as Meta-semiotics its concern should be to expatiate that which is implicit and unquestioned in the process of interpretation. It should be able to describe the abductive search for the cultural knowledge bases, including patterns of interpretation, through which meanings can be created.⁶³

3.1.1 A brief summary

This subchapter is a brief summary as well as recollection of the assumptions that I have mentioned before in the second chapter where I have written on the Nationalism theories and the theories of international relations.

Eco's Semiotics might be suitable as a building block of the methodology for a cultural diplomacy analysis because of a couple of reasons. Schreiner elaborates this through the explaining of three elements. His notion of *encyclopedia* makes it possible to methodologically grasp (or render tangible) the different *notions of culture*, while at the same time understanding them as circumstances of interpretations.⁶⁴

⁶³ Schreiner 2011, page 164 – 165.

⁶⁴ *Explanation of the notion of encyclopedia*, Sources: <https://www.google.com/webhp?sourceid=chrome-instant&ion=1&espv=2&ie=UTF-8#q=umberto+eco+encyclopedia>

Eco proposition is based on the assumption that the “*meaningfulness of the world*” exists only because of the human interpretations, the reciprocal reference of such interpretations.

This notion of culture consequently *stands above or is placed over* the notion of society, allowing it not only to serve better to different research issues (questions) but also to be more inclusive for phenomena that would be left out otherwise. This is a different and much broader character of the notion of culture than the one from the International relations theories of *constructivism and sociological institutionalism*, who focus only on specific phenomena such as “ideas”, “roles”, “meanings” or “norms”.⁶⁵

In order to fill the “conceptual emptiness” that this kind of notion of culture leaves the semiotic analysis of cultural diplomacy has to make central notions like “culture”, “nation”, “state” and “the international” comprehensible through semiotics and interpretations.

Leaning on the ideas of Bauman and Eco, I try to record different social phenomena and to explain them. It is through these *constructs*, that we can understand the world and through which it is constructed.

Even the interpretative act of differentiating the nation from culture, is as the state, the nation and the culture, a part of the interpretative order of the continuum.

The *international* also represents such a part of this continuum. Schreiner had concluded that a sharp differentiation theoretically and methodologically of *levels* of state and the international, could be dropped for the sake of the assumption of their mutual constitution. This could be possible, so he continues through a semiotic grasp, which would allow interpretations and encyclopedic knowledge. “*The international gets it’s meaning only through the semantic networking and is connected through semiosis to ideas of states and nations.*”⁶⁶

In the same way the notion *culture* could be seen as a cultural construct, and no differentiation should be made either between the rather specific and the general or broader notion of culture. “It is encyclopedically in a mutual constitution with the *state, the nation and the international*, and as every cultural construct at the same time precondition and the result of specific interpretations and therefor historically and socially contingent.”

It is the narrow concept of culture that becomes more interesting for the analysis of the cultural diplomacy. The reason for that is that it fades out its own semantic constitution. The difference between the ideas of culture and nation is based on the precondition that the *latter (culture) has an impact of legitimacy on the former (nation)*. The precondition stands for the projection on the nations, of the mutual differentiation among cultures. Those cultures are necessarily constructed through *selection and innovation*. In the meantime the imagination of

⁶⁵ Compare Eco’s notions of “culture” with my explanations in the theories of international relations in Chapter 2.

⁶⁶ Schreiner 2011, page 171.

changing cultures is the basis for the idea of the nation and its supposed transhistorical character.⁶⁷

Eco's network of encyclopedia which can be seen as an ideology is the key in understanding the “semiotic link” between culture and nation. Both of them are constructed through repetitive and same interpretations that are in a mutual conditional relationship that creates an impact of legitimacy without the need for itself to be legitimized.⁶⁸

With the help of these observations it is possible to build two concepts of culture, which compared to the constructivist and sociological institutionalist views, represent an upgrade. They allow understanding culture as an interpretative construct that not only constitutes nations but makes it possible for them to differentiate themselves from each other.

The unclear notion of culture by Eco is a problem for the analysis of cultural diplomacy. Based on the assumption of Schreiner, I will also make use of Eco's notion of encyclopedia.⁶⁹

On the one hand the encyclopedia can be a *global encyclopedia*, which includes all the knowledge and all the interpretations.⁷⁰ On the other hand Encyclopedia can stand for the *collective or social encyclopedia*, which represents the average knowledge that differentiates a group from another group. It is relevant to ask the question if there is a connection between this type of notion of encyclopedia and the narrow notion of culture. In doing so, culture would represent a closed and socially relatively stabile social group, that shares a certain encyclopedia and because if it is different from other cultures.⁷¹ Schreiner points out that in this way there is a methodological mix up of *the category of praxis with the category of analysis, which Brubaker has come up with*. This makes sense, because culture in the narrow sense is a category of (interpretation) praxis.⁷²

Groups and social and collective encyclopedia have to be treated as hypothetical constructs, that cannot be defined exactly but serve the semiotics to understand different interpretations. For the analysis of cultural diplomacy it means that it has to understand culture in the narrow sense, as *category of praxis*, as a building block of encyclopedic knowledge which is constructed by interpretation. These *collective or social encyclopedias* involve all the cultural knowledge of all nations and states, and therefore it cannot be identical to latter ones (nations and states). Cultural diplomacy is done in a similar way by various states and is interpreted internally in a similar way by those states.

⁶⁷ Schreiner 2011, page 171. In his explanation in his subchapter 1.3.2 Nation state and culture, he has pointed out that legitimacy impact that the ideas of culture have on the ideas of nations. *Compare Hobsbawm, Invented Tradition*, 1983, page 1-14 and 263-308.

⁶⁸ My explanation of the notion “pattern of Interpretations”, in introductory concepts in Chapter 3 Methodology. *Compare Schreiner 2011*, page 164.

⁶⁹ *Compare Eco 2007*, page 55-77; *Eco 1985b*, page 77-130.

⁷⁰ *Eco 2007*, page 55.

⁷¹ Violi, 1992, S. 104 and Anna Maria Lorusso, 2008, S. 67, interpret *Eco's notion of encyclopedia*. *Eco goes himself in this direction*, *Eco 2007*, page 56; *Eco 1994*, page 154. *Schreiner uses Eco to make a critique of Eco*.

⁷² *Brubaker/Cooper 2000*, page 4-6.

The specific contribution that the idea of culture in der international politics has, can be described with the fact that, *collective or social encyclopedias* on the one hand and the notion of culture in the narrow sense on the other hand are not identic or analogue methodologically speaking. These collective and social encyclopedias relevant to Cultural Foreign Policy/ Cultural Diplomacy do not merely serve the "members of a group" that have the same culture or are shaped by the same culture, but constitute the scope of knowledge of the group comprised of those members (states) that engage in cultural diplomacy." These members constitute the notions of culture, nation and state by thinking together about the variety and diversity of cultures, their national placing and their mutual differentiation."⁷³

3.2 Self-referential property of the sign and Universalism

3.2.1 Universalism and particularism

In order to be able to explain *Universalism and Particularism*, I will first speak about the dichotomy or contradiction that differentiates them. While Universalism tries to generalize any phenomena in any way, particularism tends to describe or grasp rather the particular features. This contradiction appears in versatile ways in the different scientific disciplines. There has been a debate in the philosophy of language and semiotics on whether general statements do really exist or are constructed by humans themselves.⁷⁴ Epistemological and methodological considerations are busy trying to figure out if and how one can deduce the general statements through universalism from the particular of a single case.⁷⁵

In my attempt to create the analysis of cultural diplomacy, I will make use of the thoughts of Schreiner, who picks up two configurations or structures of the general and the particular. His basic assumption is that the theories of international relations and the theories of nationalism tend to describe the difference between the nation state and the international through universalism and particularism.⁷⁶

Benedict Anderson for instance, draws the attention on a strange or peculiar aspect of the term nation, which confuses many in the nationalism studies: "Opposing the formal universalism of the nationality as a sociocultural term – in the modern world, where everyone should and will 'have' a nationality, as everyone 'has' a sex, there is the marginal particularism of it's respective characteristics, as for instance the defined uniqueness of the nationality 'greek'."⁷⁷

⁷³ Schreiner 2011, Page 175.

⁷⁴ Morris 1973, page 75-79; Eco 1977, page 117-157; Nöth 2000, page 145-146.

⁷⁵ Strathern 1995. Compare also the thoughts of Eco on Universalism and Particularism, in subchapter Cultural Semiotics.

⁷⁶ Schreiner 2011, page 181.

⁷⁷ Anderson 1993, page 14-15. Gellner 1991, page 15-16; Geertz 1965, page 108-109; Brubaker 2000, page 79.

In a similar way, John Breuilly, points out that the the right to selfdetermination is always based on universalism values or terms, while a nation defines a entirety or the whole of citizens within borders.⁷⁸

This Analysis, tells us that nationalism shows a universalism claim in two ways: one the one hand it claims the universal validity for the principle of the nation, while on the other hand it makes use of such in the process of the construction of the particular nation. In this way looking from the perspective of nationalism the international only exists with reference to Universalism. Furthermore the term of sovereignty proves that a nation is being successful in proving its particularism with reference to the universalim principle of nationalism.

This seems to neglect important aspects of Universalism, as has been pointed out by R.B.J Walker in his works. As he claims, it is wrong and simplistic to locate universalism and particularism at the national or the international level. As a result, the theories of international relations have transformed into a discipline, where only power and the insecurity in cooperation is being treated, that stands for the international. It appears that order and communality rules within states, whereas the international is characterized by anarchy and danger.⁷⁹

The crucial point in the assumptions of Walker is that he sets the particular not in the individual state, but in the level of the international, whereas the universal is set within the states: “Within any particular constituent of the state-system, within the secure confines of particular states, it becomes possible to aspire the universal.”⁸⁰

Whereas the states are a space of universal values and ethics, in the eyes of traditionalists the world politics are a space of egoistic particularisms, where wars seem to be the final decisive measures to come to conclusions.⁸¹ There is a cosmopolitan “us” that goes beyond its own claim of national states, but still it is bound by borders when it come to its relevance and applicability.⁸²

It appears that there are two universalisms and combined with the particularism coming from the nationalism, they form a much more complex image than that of the dichotomy or contradiction of universalism and particularism that I was talking about in the very beginning of this subchapter. There seems to be a universalism of the particulars in the international level in the eyes of the nationalism theories, which tends to devide the whole world in nations. These nations create a level of particularism that are on the one hand established by the universalim of the particular, and on the other hand hold another universalism inside them.⁸³

⁷⁸ Breuilly 1982, page 342.

⁷⁹ Walker 1984, page 185-188.

⁸⁰ Walker 1993, page 177.

⁸¹ Walker 1990, page 4-11; Walker 1984, page 189.

⁸² Walker 1993, page 178. Walker, RBJ 1989, History and Structure in the Theory of IR.Out of Line Essays on the politics of boundaries and the limits of modern, 2016. <https://www.routledge.com/Out-of-Line-Essays-on-the-Politics-of-Boundaries-and-the-Limits-of-Modern/Walker/p/book/9781138784611>

⁸³ Weiß 2005; Wallerstein 1991, page 92.

But are there really two universalisms or is actually just one? The common thing for both of them is the fact that they claim to make fundamental statements about humans, whereas the thing in which they differ is that one of the universalism constructs particularisms, while the other universalism limits the political and social relevance through the borders that the particularism sets. In this way both universalisms are to be seen as identical, while their difference comes from the ideological impact that they have.⁸⁴ “As a result of this, the claim gets stronger because of both post-structuralist theories of the international relations and post-classical nationalism theories, that the distinction between the international level and the national level as well as the distinction between states should not be taken as a priori given but it should be rather questioned as something that needs to be understood.”⁸⁵ The conflict or contradiction between universalism and particularism is based on the fact that, they are interdependent but also that universalism tries to generalize or to transcend the particular values of the national.⁸⁶

This claim of transcendentalism that is based on this constellation characterized by contradiction and complexity creates the background for terms such as nationalism, statehood, sovereignty, international relations and the modern times.⁸⁷

After this part where I explain to some extent the relation among Universalism and the other concepts of western thoughts, I will now focus on its components. There are factual as well as normative components. While the first become universal, because of their claim to cover, in an all-embracing way, a particular part of a phenomena. On the other hand the later (the normative component) directs its claim of validity to an entire target group, while it brings a positive attitude.⁸⁸

Schreiner uses the example of human rights, because he is convinced that, this concept is important for the analysis of cultural diplomacy, because one can draw the modern concepts of the human individual from it, which leads to an understanding of the exchange of people among states. I will come back to this relevant point, in my analysis of the exchange of people.⁸⁹

Beside this case there are other universalisms that are relevant to the analysis of nationalism and culture and cultural diplomacy as well. Schreiner numerates them: *creativity, physicality, knowledge or truth as well as language*.⁹⁰ This can be briefly explained by the fact that there is a belief that there is a basic capability of humans to be creative, as well as a capability to physical activity. In the meantime there seems to be a universalism in the pursuit of knowledge and truth among humans, as well as the need to communicate. In my final chapter I

⁸⁴ Mayall 1990, page 40. [S.184, pg.2:]

⁸⁵ Schreiner, 2011, page 184.

⁸⁶ Baumann 1999, page xxix-lii.

⁸⁷ Mayall 1990, page 35-40; Laclau 1996, to get the moralphilosophical perspective.

⁸⁸ Aspects and features of Universalism, in Schreiner 2011, page 185, pg.3 and page 186.

⁸⁹ My Thesis, Forth chapter. On Exchange of people. My thoughts on the case of human rights as a case of universalism.

⁹⁰ Schreiner 2011, page 187.

will focus on the universalisms of creativity and language, respectively in the subchapters *Arts and Exchange of people*.

Yet there are questions that are still open, and which need to be addressed. What is the relevance of these universalisms for my analysis and how can they be integrated in the concept that is based on Eco's semiotics, which I'm using. I will first try to find the answer to the latter question. For Eco universalisms represent ideologies that is a worldview that is incoherent and partial. It hides two aspects of an interpretation, on the one hand, its complex encyclopedic dependency and conditionality, and on the other hand, its pragmatic condition.⁹¹ The way they hide (the complex encyclopedic dependency and conditionality) these cultural objects is done firstly by fading or hiding the differentiating particularities of every single case in order to have a generalizing interpretation which is secured by a powerful normative claim. And secondly it hides the pragmatic condition by thinking of nationalism and statehood as something given / or already existing, without reflecting on its own contribution to their reproduction and their own dependency on them. This could also be seen as a critique of the universalism for its ethnocentric thinking.⁹²

The dependency of the social on interpretations is the basic assumption of Eco's thinking and the foundation for the interpretative semiotics. This is what the notion *pattern of interpretation* stands for, which I mentioned in the previous subchapter.⁹³ It should be considered or included when one studies nationalism, culture and cultural diplomacy in connection with universalism. As was mentioned earlier in this subchapter, by the modernist nationalism theories as well as the critique of Walker on the theories of international relations, universalism is described as an ideology which is constructed by interpretation.

We come closer to the relevance of the universalism for the analysis of cultural diplomacy by pointing out that, as a consequence of this concept, neither is it the normative claim, nor does it mean that the factual statements are actually true (no objective evidence). The relevance lays not in the question whether something is universal or not, but rather in its social function (social role) in the process of the construction of states, nationalism, the international level and cultural diplomacy. In the end the universalism, as convincing and universal it may seem in the particular case, can still not escape its dependency of the social on interpretations.⁹⁴

To be able to understand the relevance of the universalism for my analysis, I will put the finger on the relation among universalism and nation-state. As said before, it is of no coincidence that nation-states as well as the idea of universalism and the Universalist humanity

⁹¹ Schreiner 2011, page 162. Compare furthermore my thoughts on Cultural semiotics.

⁹² See the critique of Walker on ethnocentricity and universalism in the international relations; Walker 1984, page 182-185. According to Schreiner the *Reflexive Turn of the Social Sciences* can be seen as an attempt, scrutinize the ethnocentrism of a universalist concept of truth, Schreiner 2011, subchapter 2.1.1.

⁹³ Subchapter 3.1.1 A brief Summary.

⁹⁴ Schreiner 2011, page 189. Schreiner reminds us in this case that even this is a universal statement – as Eco rightly emphasizes, that even the semiotics is nothing else, but a hypothetical interpretation.

have developed in the same period of time.⁹⁵ Wallerstein points out that there is a similarity of what nation-states see as the particular and universal content in their cultures.⁹⁶

Culture becomes the umbrella under which the differentiation towards the other as well as the unifier in the internal affairs of a nation, in other words its alter ego.

“And to top off this dual track – the historical creation of the particular nations side by side with the historical creation of universal humanity – we find a very curious anomaly. Over time, the particular nation-states have come to resemble each other more and more in their cultural forms ... Even in the more particularistic arena of art forms, which country does not have its songs, its dances, its plays, its museums, its paintings, and today its skyscrapers? And are not the social structures that guarantee these art forms increasingly similar? It is almost as though the more intense the nationalist fervor in the world, the more identical seem the expressions of this nationalism.”⁹⁷

Universalism creates the necessary infrastructure for the differentiation processes among states; they provide the standards and the criteria. Cultural differentiation and through it the differentiation among states is possible because culture itself depends on the universal ideas, and this makes it possible to compare and to create relevance even beyond its own borders. Further it makes it possible to create interest, benevolence or goodwill and friendship or at least acceptance from the other (state). While these interpretations are not binding, as many empirical cases show, they as Schreiner claims can still be at the center of the analysis of cultural diplomacy.⁹⁸

3.2.2 Self-referential property of a sign

During the process of coming up with a definition of the notion of self-referential property of a sign, from now also Autoreferentiality⁹⁹, one notices that there are a few variations of it in the different scientific disciplines. While on the one hand the notion of “Self-fulfilling Prophecy” by Robert Merton has become the most influential one in Sociology¹⁰⁰, for other authors such as Ulrich Beck and Anthony Giddens, “reflexivity” stands for one of the most significant attributes of Individuals and Societies¹⁰¹. In disciplines such as Musicology, Aesthetics, Media science or Literary Studies this phenomenon of mutual reference is named as “self-referentiality”. In my attempts to come to an analysis of cultural diplomacy I have accepted the notion of *autoreferentiality* that stands for a specific form of self-referentiality and describes the concept that Schreiner has formulated, of a subject or object that refers to itself¹⁰². He has developed this concept by drawing lessons from two very different approaches from a big range of approaches. The first one of these is the self-reference in the *theories of functional*

⁹⁵ Habermas 1990, page 107-115; Tenbruck 1986, page 274.

⁹⁶ Wallerstein 1991, page 91-92.

⁹⁷ Wallerstein 1991, page 93.

⁹⁸ Schreiner 2011, page 190.

⁹⁹ Pavlicic 1993, page 97-106.

¹⁰⁰ Merton 1968, page 475 – 477.

¹⁰¹ Giddens 1991, page 32-33; Beck; Giddens; Lash 1999.

¹⁰² Schreiner 2011, page 191.

differentiations and the second one is the *self-reference of arts*. Thus he tries to integrate Universalism in his concept of the interpretation of signs (of Eco). The goal is to correlate both Universalism and Autoreferentiality (that could not be achieved in the last sub-chapter).

The way in which the concept of autoreferentiality is developed by Schreiner, is not through a mix of both approaches mentioned above, but rather through an adopting differentiation to neighboring concepts. From those one can borrow elements in order to create the semiotic concept of the interpretation of signs for cultural foreign policy / cultural diplomacy.

One of those approaches, namely the theories of functional differentiations views or understands the segments/subareas of society as autonomous. To further elaborate on these thoughts, Schreiner depicts the *system theory* of Niklas Luhmann. The society is the most comprehensive social system, comprised of subsystems, like the political system, the arts system and the judicial system.¹⁰³ One of the crucial points of the theory of Luhmann is that these systems are all self-referential, meaning that they are not dependent on their environment and that they themselves create their elements.¹⁰⁴

It is important to underline that these systems constitute themselves constantly by differentiating themselves from themselves and their environment.¹⁰⁵ There is less complexity within these systems and this because of the selection that happens. Luhmann describes this as the constitution of sense and that sense as the medium of the communication and of the consciousness.¹⁰⁶ The communication is crucial in the process of self-constitution of these systems. Thus the constitution of systems occurs while systems and environment differentiate themselves through the differentiation of communication and selection of the individual elements.¹⁰⁷

Self-referentiality is not created by observation or self-observation of a system, and therefore it makes sense when Luhmann emphasizes that the self-referential systems are the observing systems with merely /that have a specialized function. These systems double self-reference when they observe other self-referential systems¹⁰⁸.

While Luhmann's crucial point is the "*circular selfconstitution*" which is understood as given empirical and social fact." This becomes obvious and conceptual only through the observation of the system, through itself or through someone else. This observation also makes the selection and constitution of sense tangible, while both are dependent on the observed selfconstitution of the system. The critique by interpretative sociology would argue that the self-referentiality is not given but rather constructed by observation. This would imply a process of construction by interpretation. Similar to this is the point that Richard Münch has made, when he says that, the differentiation of systems is created by the system theory.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰³ Runkel/ Burkart 2005, page 7.

¹⁰⁴ Teoria e shoqërisë: Kryevepra e Luhmann në shqip. November 2016. <http://www.mapo.al/2016/11/teoria-e-shoqerise-kryevepra-e-luhmann-ne-shqip/1>

¹⁰⁵ Luhmann 1984, page 31-63.

¹⁰⁶ Luhmann 1995, page 224; Luhmann 1993, page 31; Luhmann 2004.

¹⁰⁷ Schreiner 2011, page 193.

¹⁰⁸ Luhmann 1993, page 30

¹⁰⁹ Münch 1996, page 350-351

In this type of system that is created by Luhmann, the observation stands outside, it is neither part of the system nor does it constitute it. “It makes it the social order visible as systematic order”. The self-referentiality of the system and the way in which the elements are associated clearly, created the possibility to think of a closed and superordinate complex.

To get a step further to his concept of autoreferentiality, Schreiner takes our attention to another way of understanding self-reference. Here on the aesthetics influenced semiotics, the focus is not on the above described complex – the system with the order, but rather the individual signs which are analysed one by one. To further elaborate on these theories, he looks closer into the thoughts of Roman Jakobson and Umberto Eco. The starting point for these theories is the conviction that the aesthetic signs of the arts develop their own rules, are independent from any influences from outside.¹¹⁰ Even though there is a slight resemblance to the theories of social differentiation, the important difference with them is that these theories of self-reference of the arts focus on the arts, but not in the way that the previous theories do, namely as social complex. While subareas such as autonomy, intrinsic value and special logic of the arts are crucial in the aesthetics theories in order to differentiate the arts from non-arts, in the previous mentioned theories (of social differentiation) they are not having this importance¹¹¹.

For Jakobson there is a transmitter that sends a message and a receiver. This message is characterized only through the relation to a context, a code which is understandable by both and a psychological connection. This implies that this language can have 6 functions. I will name only the one relevant for the process of coming closer to my analysis. This is the function that stands for the message that concentrates on itself and only for itself.¹¹² The understanding / the imagination of the above mentioned autonomy and intrinsic value of the arts is transformed into the possibility of the self-reference of an artistic-linguistic expression. Slightly similar to this, but more fundamentally Eco derives the assumption of self-reference from the poetical function of the language, as well as the ambiguity of the artistic sign. He calls it “*autoreflexivity*”.¹¹³

The crucial point here is that not every sign is self-referential, which would be the case if the signifier and the significatum/ significate would constitute each other. It is rather the ambiguity and Autoreflexivity of both that distinguishes the sign.¹¹⁴

The pertinence / applicability to what Schreiner believes the views on self-referentiality of Jakobson and Eco could have, is the fact that they do not think that self-referentiality refers to or applies to social complexes, as is the case with Luhmann, but rather as an interpretative attribute of a linguistic expression or a sign. The difference here is that, the individual sign is important for the semiotics interested in aesthetics, rather than the complex social structures of

¹¹⁰ My Thesis, Chapters 4. Analysis, Arts – Historical genesis. Compare Schreiner, subchapters 3.2.1 and 3.2.1.

¹¹¹ Schreiner 2011, page 196.

¹¹² Jakobson 1987, page 64-70.

¹¹³ Eco 1988, page 145-148; Eco 1987a, page 347-367; Eco 1987, page 349-351.

¹¹⁴ Eco 1987a, page 352-363. Eco 1987a, page 366-367.

order. *Communication, sense and the use of signs* are thought to be independent, they can be analysed separately and do not serve the construction of social systems.¹¹⁵

Autoreferentiality like Culture, State, Nation and International Relations is constructed by interpretation -This is how one can circumvent or bypass *categories of praxis and categories of analysis*.¹¹⁶

3.2.3 A brief summary

Drawing on the assumptions of nationalism theories and Walker's critique on liberal theories of international relations, one can conclude that necessarily the *nationalist particularism* and the *universalism* are mutually dependent. A nationalist particularism emphasizes particulars, that would be impossible or unnecessary if they could not refer to superordinate and supposedly universal criteria. Wallerstein points out that the states attempt to differentiate themselves from other states, especially through culture, but on the other hand this process is very similar if not identical to other states.¹¹⁷ By offering *criteria and features*, these universalisms create the opportunity for states and nations to use them, when they are claiming particulars. These universalisms have two common aspects: First, their *factual statements* claim to cover a particular area of a phenomenon and second, through their *normative proposition* they claim the overall validity and acceptance from a particular focus group.¹¹⁸

"Self-referentially" is the second crucial notion for the cultural diplomacy. According to Schreiner this is special form of self-reference, a concept that he developed to differentiate from the two others, the "Autopoiesis of Systems" from Luhmann¹¹⁹ and the "Auto-reflexivity of aesthetic signs according to Eco".¹²⁰

While Luhmann puts the entire complex of the system at the heart of his theory, Eco focuses on emphasizing the specifics of the individual signs. Schreiner on the other hand, influenced by both this approaches, understand it as a supposedly objective, but actually interpretatively constructed element of a sign, belonging and referring to a particular social complex.¹²¹

Because of this interpretation it is possible for the sign to withstand this situation of interpretation and it gets attributed a sort of autonomy, intrinsic value (its own value). The relevance of *universalism as the carrier of factual statements and normative claims lies here*,

¹¹⁵ Schreiner 2011, page 198.

¹¹⁶ Schreiner 2011, page 201.

¹¹⁷ Wallerstein 1991, page 91-93.

¹¹⁸ Schreiner 2011, page 202-203.

¹¹⁹ Luhmann, Niklas. 1991, page 123; Luhmann 1984. Compare Runkel/Burkart 2005, page 7. Schreiner 191-195. The notion autopoiesis means creation, production – refers to a system capable of reproducing and maintaining itself.

¹²⁰ Eco 1987a, page 347; Eco 1988, page 145; Compare Schreiner 2011, page 197-202.

¹²¹ Schreiner 2011, page 203, prg.3.

because both seem to be all-embracing, the universalism seems to be superordinate to the situation of interpretation.

The combination of the auto-referential and universal as the combination of two patterns of interpretation may be the key to a central problem of cultural diplomacy.

Schreiner points out that: "cultural diplomacy is based upon the mutual or reciprocal cultural (but not only cultural) recognition of states or the showing of goodwill or benevolence."¹²²

Another point where I agree with Schreiner, is when he assumes also that it would be equally wrong, as the scholars or thinkers of poststructuralism did assume, that the differentiation among states have to always be associated with hostility and mistrustfulness.¹²³

States and nations may also construct each other as states and nations by recognizing the culture of the other. This seems possible because of the modern way of conceptualizing phenomena like the *arts, science, persons or languages, understands them as universal, and on the other hand nationally places them or locates them. The contradiction of universalism and particularism becomes also due to cultural diplomacy a constructed contradiction through interpretation.*

4. Analysis of the Cultural Diplomacy between Kosova and Serbia

4.1 Political Dialog and Cultural relations

The political dialogue between Kosova and Serbia that is facilitated by the European Union's High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, has had many ups and downs its brief history. The most recent meeting between the representatives of Kosova and Serbia in 2017 were held in the shadow of the a couple of incidents that have rather complicated this political dialog and made it even harder for the politicians to generate positive attitude of the respective population towards the normalization of the relations among them. That might be the reason why this round of meeting had not produced anykind of results and the pressure was present throughout the time.¹²⁴

¹²² Schreiner 2011, page 204.

¹²³ My Thesis, Chapter 2. Theories of International Relations - explanation on poststructuralism; Ashley 1989, und Campbell 1998, mentioning words such as 'War', 'Enemy' or 'Danger'; Compare Schreiner 2011, page 67.

¹²⁴ "The meeting went terribly wrong and had no results," an anonymous diplomatic source told Deutsche Welle. In: Morina, Die/ Zivanovic, Maja, "Kosovo-Serbia Talks Fail to Defuse Tensions," BIRN, 02 February 2017. <http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/dialogue-of-normalizations-or-tensions-02-02-2017>

While the political dialogue kept alive with the continuous support and pressure by the European Union and the US, the latter has withdrawn gradually from the scene and left it to Brussels to push both sides to further steps that would eventually lead to the normalization. But because of the crisis within the EU, regarding the Brexit, the Migrant Crisis and also due to the actual and rather unclear foreign policy of the Trump Administration (US) towards the EU as a political organization, it is increasingly becoming harder for Brussels to “motivate” Kosovo and Serbia to stick to the dialog. In the meantime nationalist forces in Kosovo and Serbia have come out more frequently, testing the grounds and the possible reactions of the powers that are engaged in the Western Balkans. Sending a train with nationalist motives claiming Kosovo to be a part of Serbia and referring to the Cultural Heritage in Kosovo as Serbian, was one of those attempts to provoke the sentiments on both sides, and in opinion clearly part of the calculations of the political elites in Serbia to generate support for the upcoming election in Serbia. While further escalation was prevented, because on the one hand Kosovar special police troops were sent to the border and on the other hand the Serbian government stopped the train before it crossed the border with Kosovo, it turned out to be a welcoming event for both sides. What I mean by it, is that, both the Serbian political leadership as well the Kosovar ones were racing to claim that stopping the train and therefore avoiding the conflict, was possible only because of the intervention of them. A German Member of Parliament called on Berlin and the EU to act and prevent any further escalation by responding to these events with sanctions. It seems as though sanctions are not the means through which neither Berlin nor Brussels want to act.¹²⁵

Because of events like these, that are rather inflaming the negative opinions among Kosovars and Serbians, and due to no real changes that affect the common people, it is of no surprise that most of the people in Kosovo aren't in favor of this political dialog. Half of the population is viewing the dialog as something that has failed their expectations to normalize the relations among them. While the Myth of the Battle of Kosovo has been one of the driving forces of the Serbian Foreign Policy and Nation-building process, it has proven to be counterproductive and rather led to weakening of Serbian position towards Kosovo. Sending a train with these messages states that the political elites that rule over Serbia have no ambitions of creating moments of rapproachments with the Kosovar state and nation. The new study released by the Kosovar Center for Security Studies, “Trends of Perception towards Kosovo's Policy and Dialogue with Serbia”, just proves that these provocations only serve the most radical forces in Serbia to reclaim Kosovo and on the other hand also support the claim of radical forces in Kosovo to stop the political dialogue altogether. While tensions have soared because of the train and the wall built on the northern part of the city of Mitrovica (in northern Kosovo), relations have not been really good for a long time now.¹²⁶

¹²⁵ Weiland, Severin, “Krise auf dem Westbalkan: ‘Berlin und EU dürfen sich nicht wegducken’,” 19 January 2017. <http://www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/westbalkan-cdu-politiker-brand-fordert-sanktionen-gegen-serbenfuehrer-a-1130775.html>

¹²⁶ Die/Zivanovic 2017, “Kosovo-Serbia Talks Fail to Defuse Tensions,” BIRN. <http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/dialogue-of-normalizations-or-tensions-02-02-2017>

One of the major successes as it was proclaimed by the EU, part of the “First Agreement of Principles Governing the Normalisation of Relations”, (referred to as the 'Brussels agreement', was signed in April 2013) was the: creation an Association/Community of Serb majority municipalities (ASM) in the north of Kosovo, vested with autonomy as regards economic development, education, health, urban and rural planning; and removing the parallel Serbian structures, while also integrating the police and judiciary in the Kosovo system.”¹²⁷ The establishment of the Association of Serb-Majority Municipalities, was viewed by most Kosovars as something negative (71.7% according to the survey by the Kosovar Center for Security Studies in 2016) and because of the strong opposition by the political parties that are not in the government in Kosova and the increasing hostile vocabulary by them towards Serbia, had a big impact on the sentiments of the population in Kosova not only towards Serbia but also towards the dialog. The lack of transparency in the whole process of the negotiations has left “room for misinterpretation and misuse of the content of the agreements by the political elites in both countries”.¹²⁸

This agreement also stated that “neither side would block the other's entry into the EU” and also the membership to international organizations. Soon this would prove to be a naïve expectation, especially with the case of the application for membership to UNESCO by the Kosovar Government and also FIFA. In both cases Serbia was actively trying to block Kosova from the membership along with its allies in the world, and in the case of UNESCO, it succeeded and used the opportunity to restate its claim over the cultural heritage regarding the Orthodox religion sites in Kosova. In the case of FIFA it did not succeed even though it clearly made efforts to do so.¹²⁹

The Dialog has proven to be a powerful tool for the elevation of radical and corrupted elites both in Serbia and in Kosova. The miscalculation – Stability and Dialogue goes before the Democratization process in Serbia and Kosova has rather decreased the initial hope among the moderates in both societies that this dialogue would create the fundament of the relaxation of relations and would result in the full normalization of relations with the recognition of Kosova by Serbia as the final agreement. The declining support for this version of political dialog is also a result of the declining trust in the democracy, fair election processes and rule of law in both states. While most of the people in Serbia are not willing to engage in a new military adventure (conflict) with Kosova, it appears that there no real progress being made.¹³⁰

¹²⁷ European Parliament 2016, Serbia and Kosovo: Normalisation of relations.

¹²⁸ BIRN Prishtina 2016, “Trust in Serbia Dialogue Tumbles in Kosovo”.

<http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/kosovo-s-public-trust-on-serbia-dialogue-scores-lowest-02-10-2016>

¹²⁹ Ker-Lindsay 2012, The Foreign Policy of Counter Secession. Preventing the Recognition of Contested States. Oxford; Compare: Ker-Lindsay 2015, Engagement without recognition: the limits of diplomatic interaction with contested states; Keil/ Stahl 2014, The Foreign Policies of Post-Yugoslav States. From Yugoslavia to Europe. Page 147-173 on the Serbian Foreign Policy and Page 198-217 on the Foreign Policy as a Constitutive Element of Statehood and Statehood Prerogative: The Case of Kosovo.

¹³⁰ Bieber, Florian. “Trump and the Balkan Princes: What Trump’s presidency means for South East Europe.” Feb 5 2017. <http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/euorpblog/2017/02/06/trump-and-the-balkan-princes/> Compare: Robelli, Enver,

The priority of the US and the EU namely settling the disagreements regarding the status of Kosovo, is rather proving as misjudgement of the international actors; the second point is, that the intervention of the international actors in the internal affairs (as in the case of the formation of the government after the 2014 election in Kosova) may actually undermine the small success of the dialogue between Prishtina and Belgrade. The attempt to integrate the Serbian parallel structures within Kosova has resulted only in creating a strong one party rule in most of the Serbian governed municipalities by the “Serbian List” that openly oppose the state of Kosova and are under the direct influence of the government of Serbia.¹³¹

While meetings will have to touch on more sensitive issues like the missing persons, there will be a need of a broader agreement among the government and opposition parties in Kosova. In the meantime there seems to be no change in the official discourse of Serbian politicians towards Kosova and the importance it has for the Serbian nation. The famous Serbian dissident Vesna Pešić has recently pointed out that for the last 200 years there has been no change in the attitude of the Serbian state towards its neighbors and the concern of Serbia remains the issue of the state and the Serbs that live outside of the Serbian state.¹³²

While the EU seems to have lost its attractiveness in the eyes of the states of Western Balkans, other powers have tried to get through the backdoor, namely culture and the call “for a common history” and therefore common values. Russia has reemerged as the protecting power for the orthodox Slavic Serbs where as Turkish leader Erdogan has approached the Balkan Muslims and openly claims that there are strong historical, cultural and political bonds with a couple of Balkan countries that used to be part of the Ottoman Empire.

The response of the EU has been to create a new Western Balkans Foundation with the seat in the Albanian capital, Tirana. This new Foundation aims to coordinate and finance the newly established exchange programme among young people from the countries of Western Balkans. It is based upon the successful role model “the Franco-German youth office” established in the course of the Elysée agreement in 1963, as well as the “German-Polish youth office”.¹³³ It remains to be seen whether this new initiative will be able to generate a new positive attitude among the young people, who have not experienced the wars and are less

“Kosova and the Serbs: Almost nobody is ready to fight in Kosova,” 14 February 2017. <http://dialogplus.ch/kosova-dhe-serbet-gati-askush-nuk-deshiron-te-perkundet-ne-djepin-e-kombit-123732>

¹³¹ BE-ja dhe SHBA-ja duhet ta ndryshojnë qasjen e vet ndaj Kosovës,” 13 November 2015. <http://koha.net/?id=27&l=84012> Compare: Weber 2015, page 1-3. Këmbimi i demokracisë me zgjidhjen e mosmarrëveshjeve rreth statusit. Analizë politike e Democratization Policy Council.

¹³² Vesna Pešić – intervju, 2017. The New York Review of Books | <http://pescanik.net/vesna-pesic-intervju-9/> Article translated in Albanian language: <http://dialogplus.ch/vuciqi-dhe-epoka-e-rrenave-totale-123629>

¹³³ Robelli, 2017 “Die Zauberlehrlinge zündeln,” 16 January 2017. <http://www.tagesanzeiger.ch/ausland/europa/die-zauberlehrlinge-zuendeln/story/18789751>

charged politically and ideologically. The hourglass model, that I have added below, states that only after the structural peacebuilding (normalization) there comes the time for cultural peacebuilding (reconciliation). In the case of Kosova and Serbia, beside the political dialogue there has been efforts through the engagement of cultural institutes of both countries, the state institutions and also international cultural institutions (such as the German Goethe Institute) to create moments of rapprochement among the two states, nations, and cultures through cultural diplomacy activities. This is the case in two areas of cultural diplomacy, namely the arts and the exchange of people. In order to understand the relevance of these activities we have to reflect on the cultural relations influenced also by the political relations among both in the last one hundred years. This will be the aim of my next subchapter of the analysis.

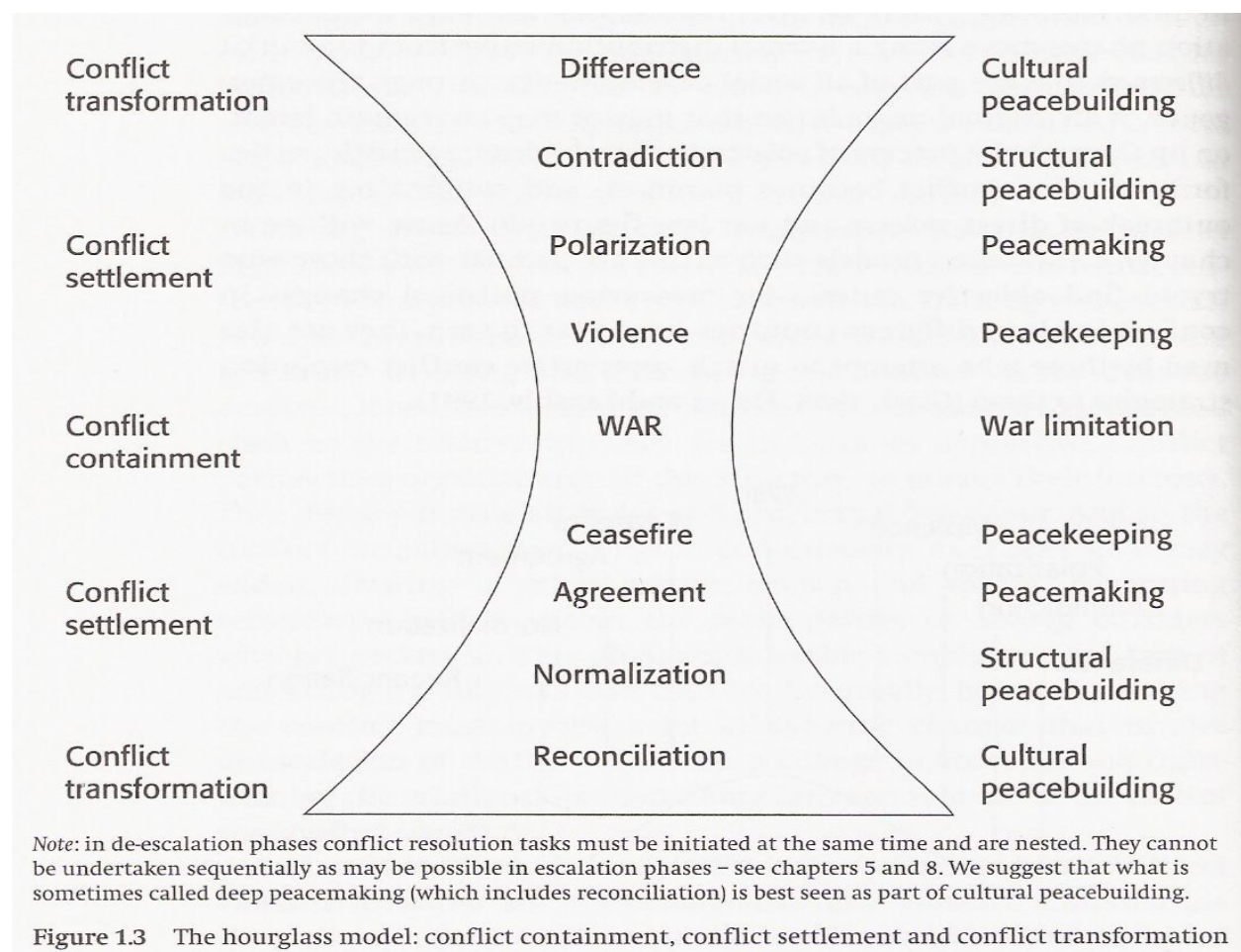


Fig. 1 The hourglass model: conflict containment, conflict settlement and conflict transformation¹³⁴

¹³⁴ Metropolitan University Prague, MUP in Prague. Winter semester 2014/2015. The hourglass model. From the lectures Military Intervention in International Politics. Concepts of military interventions.

4.2. Reflections and analysis on the cultural relations among Kosova and Serbia and the nation-building process as the context for cultural diplomacy among them

After brief analysis on the political dialogue between Kosova and Serbia and its consequences on both societies, I will now reflect on the cultural relations among Kosova and Serbia and analyse the recent cultural diplomacy among the two states based on the two concepts of Universalism and Particularism.

The area of activity of arts has been probably the most active one among all other scopes of activities of culture in the relations of the societies of Serbia and Kosova. At this point I see it necessary to make a couple of remarks on the geographical, historical and political notions that I am going to use based on the modern historiography. Because the actual borders of the Republic of Kosova were drawn in 1945, it is a difficult task methodologically to use the recent map and talk about Kosova in every perspective. Right until the end of the Ottoman Empire, the notion Kosova included the territory *Sanxhak of Novi Pazari* (now Southwestern Serbia and Eastern Montenegro), as well as the *city of Skopje* (in Albanian: Shkup) as it's administrative and commercial center, as well as the territory surrounding it.¹³⁵ In the period of the strategic realignment of Serbia (expansion policy towards the south in the end of the 19th century)¹³⁶, towards Kosovo and Macedonia, due to the new ideological interpretation of the historical and religious importance of Kosovo for the Serbian national identity, the name "Stara Srbija" (translated from Serbian: "Old Serbia") was used. This was a clear invention from the Serbian state, because the very first map that used that terminology was printed and financed by it.¹³⁷

From the occupation by Serbia in 1913, it was incorporated within its border and only with the new Constitution of the 2nd Yugoslavia, Kosova improved its administrative and political status, but still the Serbs referred to it as "Kosovo i Metohija" whereas the Albanians in Kosova refuse that name and simply call it Kosova. This slight deviation was intentional by me to show that in the matter of cultural diplomacy, and *its building blocks: the nation, the state, the culture and the international relations*, the terminology that was and is being used remains charged ideologically and even with the recent agreement, deriving from the direct talks between Prishtina and Serbia, it remains highly relevant. For the sake of simplicity, I will use the term Kosova in my further elaborations in this subchapter and the next one.

¹³⁵ Schmitt 2012, page 20-21.

¹³⁶ Sundhaussen 2007, page 115-120. Compare also Schmitt 2012, page 124-125. The secret program "Načertanije" drafted by interior minister Ilija Garašanin in 1844, did not really have a big role for Kosova. Only after the Austro-Hungarian took Bosnia and Hercegovina, Serbia had to relign its foreign policy towards the South, towards Kosova and Macedonia.

¹³⁷ Schmitt 2012, page 129.

While the Albanian population in Kosova had no proper intellectual power or institutions that could interpret and construct the national identity, right until the 60s in the 20th century, the Serbs, on the contrary, were much more advanced and superior. The Serbian state was working as the main actor and coordinated with the other powerful non-state actors, such as the Orthodox Church as well as the education system, which would spread throughout Kosova in time.¹³⁸ The aim, especially with the change of the focus of the Serbian foreign policy was not only to reinterpret the history and cultural heritage of the territory of Kosova but also to engineer its bond to the national identity of Serbia. The fight for the narrative is a fight that precedes and also follows the political and military engagement of one state towards the other. This was the case with the “creative engineers” of Serbia that were shaping up a new image of Kosova, not only within the Serbian society, but especially within the Slavic speaking orthodox community in Kosova as well as the foreign (especially in German language publications but also in other European countries) through the numerous publication in foreign languages.¹³⁹ One of the strongest and most enduring narratives remains the one about the Kosova-Myth. Even though it represents the interpretation and aestheticization of something that did not happen as such, it triggered not only a number of publication of poems, prosa and dramas, but also a number of paintings, lithographies and wall paintings and even sculptures and one of them received even a gold medal at the world exhibition in Paris in 1900.¹⁴⁰ One could think now of the concept of the *invention of tradition*, reflecting on how the Kosovo-myth was supported through arts and how it was used as a political tool.¹⁴¹ But to view it as an invention would be wrong. The building blocks of this myth were known for a long time among the population. The new element about this, was the fact that it is “a new composition” where it was crucial that the protagonist the son of the King Marko was Serbian (while it became less important that there were songs about this from the Serbs, the Albanians and the Croats). There was a duality in this new coding”, while on the one hand there was the religious worship of the Saint Lazar and his “holy empire,” on the other hand there was the image of the “earthly” knightly hero of Miloš Obilić, the son of the King Marko and the nine Jugovići.¹⁴²

Both the Serbian and the Kosovar “engineers” of the construction process of their national identity, have constructed their culture both by selection and invention, based on their needs internally but also to differentiate them from “the other” or to project the claim over territory, some cultural products or events. This occurs and is present in all modern nations as Hobsbawm asserts: “We should not be misled by a curious, but understandable, paradox: modern nations and all their impedimenta generally claim to be the opposite of novel, namely

¹³⁸ Schmitt 2012, page 126-127.

¹³⁹ Sundhaussen 2007, page 82-97 and 97-115. Compare Schmitt 2012, page 126-130. Malcolm 1998, Introduction xxxi – xxxii on the Serbian memorandum sent to the Great powers in early 1913.

¹⁴⁰ Sundhaussen 2007, page 111-112.

¹⁴¹ Hobsbawm and Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* 1983.

¹⁴² Sundhausen 2008, page 114, on the creation of a memory – “the empire in heaven as on earth”.

rooted in the remotest antiquity, and the opposite of constructed, namely human communities so 'natural' as to require no definition other than self-assertion.”¹⁴³

The handicap that the Albanians in Kosova had, facing this narrative, also because of their inability that they had to create an alternative narrative to counter it, created the opportunity for this narrative of the Serbs for Kosova to predominate the scene for a very long time and to uphold its cultural and political claim over it.

At this point it is worth reflecting on what Edward Said says on the power to narrate: “As one critic has suggested, nations themselves are narrations. The power to narrate, or to block other narratives from forming and emerging, is very important to culture and imperialism, and constitutes one of the main connections between them. Most important, the grand narratives of emancipation and enlightenment mobilized people in the colonial world to rise up and throw off imperial subjection; in the process, many Europeans and Americans were also stirred by these stories and their protagonists, and they too fought for new narratives of equality and human community.”¹⁴⁴

While the Serbian elites and the Serbian state were deeply engaged with Kosova, they were not really interested in the Albanians, the biggest community within that territory, its culture and history. The enduring ignorance and false knowledge of the Serbian politicians and the Serbian society towards the majority in Kosova, is because of the scientists and people from the field of culture were not competent in their works on the Albanians. Scientists, who dared to work on the culture and history of the Albanians were assassinated with the assistance or directly by the agents of the Serbian state, as in the case of the franciscan priest Shtjefën Gjeçovi who codified the *Kanun, an mediaeval cannon on customary law of Albanians*, or the renowned historian Milan von Šufflay, who was researching and publishing on the mediaeval history. The logics behind these hideous deeds was to hinder any attempt to create an alternative narrative of Kosova, so the Serbian version would not only remain intact within its new boundaries but would also prevail as the only option in the Great Powers in Europe.¹⁴⁵

I have noticed that most of the (foreign) scholars that I have relied on, whose work focuses on Serbia and Kosovo – lack any elaboration on the cultural relations among the two societies. It is my understanding that this is due to the poor interaction in the area of culture, because the political establishment as well as the cultural and scientific community on both sides were not interested nor committed to work on deconstructing the negative image of the other, creating the necessary institutional foundations that would enable the understanding of each others culture and as derivative of it also create the image of the friend.¹⁴⁶

In an interview with the Kosovar Composer Rafet Rudi, he explained how the Festival of Contemporary Music in Former Yugoslavia was used as a platform to create a modern image of

¹⁴³ Hobsbawm and Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* 1983, Introduction, page 14.

¹⁴⁴ Said 1994, Introduction xiii

¹⁴⁵ Schmitt 2012, page 163.

¹⁴⁶ Compare Schmitt 2012. Page 163.

cultural life in Yugoslavia, by performances of its contemporary musicians and their works. As he recalled, it was also used to create or support the image of the Kosovars as the less modern culture. He based his claim on the fact that while there were performances of the very best musicians from all over Yugoslavia, the audience was also shown traditional dances of Kosovar Dance ensembles dressed in their costumes. Rudi assumed that while the participation of these ensembles were seen as a sign of honor and appreciation for the Kosovar culture from the point of view of many Kosovars, in fact it was used by the organizers of this festival to show that “beside the modern and fine arts in the multicultural Yugoslavia, there was also a primitive community, like the Kosovars and their culture.” He continued that, in fact, “there were Kosovar composers and musicians who could have performed at this Festival and who were competitive, but that they were deliberately not invited”.¹⁴⁷

The cultural and scientific community was rather part of the political establishment's actions to not only promote a negative “image of the other” (in this case the Albanians in Kosova) but also to eradicate their cultural heritage and their physical presence in the occupied Kosova. Even though Ivo Andrić enjoyed the status of the most prominent (Serbian) writer of Yugoslavia, and was even awarded the Nobel Prize of Literature in 1961, making his work a reference point for the narrative of Yugoslavia, there was a much darker part of his personality and his activities regarding the Albanians in Kosova. Although the communist state was hiding his past, in 1988 the literary critic Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, from the University of Prishtina, requested from the Nobel Prize Committee that it should withdraw the Nobel Prize from Andrić, because of his fascist elaboration against Albanians.¹⁴⁸

My analysis will focus now on the nation-building process of Kosova as a dynamic process that I see as a continuous process marked also by uncertainties, precarities and the temporary character, and putting the emphasis not on the description or outline of the term nation, but rather putting this process of interpretative and cultural construction at the heart of the analysis. Despite the negative impact of the scientific and cultural community in Serbia regarding the relations with Kosovars and the narrative it helped to create about them and Kosova, there is reason for cautious optimism based on the recent statements and the positioning of high ranking intellectuals and even heads of institutions within the cultural and scientific community in Serbia regarding the relations to Kosova and the narrative on Kosova. Vladimir Kostić, the head of the Serbian Academy of Science and Arts (SANU), has recently drawn the public attention in Serbia as well as in Kosova with his statement that Serbia should withdraw from the claim over Kosova

¹⁴⁷ Interview with Rafet Rudi, Kosovar Musician and Composer, 2011. The Interview was part of field research conducted for the Kosovar NGO “Foreign Policy Club” in Prishtina, Kosova.

¹⁴⁸ Matoshi 2016, “Nga Garashanini te Dobrica Qosiqi: Si të nënshtrohet Kosova?”. <http://koha.net/?id=31&o=1531>
Compare: Andrić, Ivo. Draft on Albania, 1939, page 131-147. In: Elsie, Robert. (2012): Gathering Clouds: The roots of ethnic cleansing in Kosova and Macedonia. Early twentieth-century documents, compiled, translated and edited. Peja; Schmitt 2012, page 161, The Serb discourse on Albanians.

in a dignified way. Even though he was harshly criticized by all ranks in his country there were also prominent voices in support of Kostić of the likes of the intellectual Latinka Perović. She has offered her support, claiming that the head of SANU, was acting as a responsible and independent intellectual and she even referred to his positioning as the continuation of the very best traditions of SANU and its first president, who said that it is necessary for the academics to stay out of politics.¹⁴⁹

In her lecture on the image of Albanians as an enemy constructed by the Serbian national ideology, Olivera Milosavljević, Professor at the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Belgrade writes that “In the 1980s the Albanian name came to be linked exclusively with words such as genocide, terror, banditry, rape – every mention of this population in both political and private exchange carried a negative connotation.”¹⁵⁰

These are important voices that need to be heard in both the Serbian and the Kosovar societies, for they are reinterpreting the narrative of “the enemy” which has predominated the public and private discourse and that preceded the conflict that would culminate with the war. Hence it represents a significant potential that ought to be supported not only within the cultural and scientific community but also by the international cultural institutions and its sponsors (the states that are involved actively in this region) and even more so by the governments and its foreign and cultural ministries of Kosova and Serbia. An alternative definition of “institution,” is offered by Jönsson and Hall. They see “diplomacy as an institution of international societies, not of individual states.” To me, their approach has served of abandoning the state-centric perspective has had a crucial impact on the way I tried to create my analysis of cultural diplomacy in which Kosova and Serbia were and are engaged in together. They continue by saying that “... Instead we conceive of diplomacy as an institution structuring relations among *polities*.”¹⁵¹

Beside that, the opportunities for communication and even cooperation among the members of the community have become even more tangible, as I have personally witnessed in the workshop in 2015 organized by the University of Prishtina and the The Group for Social Engagement Studies, a research unit of the Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory,

¹⁴⁹ Koha.net (2015): Latinka Perović: Kryetari i Akademisë serbe e tha të vërtetën për Kosovën. 20 October 2015. <http://koha.net/?id=27&l=80298> (20.02.2017). Compare: Bosanski Defter (2015): Akademik Kostić (SANU) - Kosovo faktički i formalno izgubljeno za Srbiju. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w7h6QfytpBE> (20.02.2017).

¹⁵⁰ Milosavljević, Olivera (2015): Skanderbeg was a Serb - Or how Serb national ideology constructed the image of the Albanian as an enemy. <http://pescanik.net/skanderbeg-was-a-serb/> (20.02.2017).Page 2-4.

¹⁵¹ Jönsson, Christer, and Martin Hall, *Essence of Diplomacy* 2005, p.25 – Diplomacy as an Institution; Compare additionally

Onuf, Nicholas. 22 December 2015, ISN-ETHZ_ on the Evolution of Social Constructivism, Turns in IR, and a Discipline of Our Making; Berger/Luckmann; Ringman, Eric; Brown,Chris/Ainley, Kirsten 2005.Understanding International Relations.

University of Belgrade.¹⁵² In this joint meeting Kosovar and Serbian scientist have discussed ways in which they can tackle and reinterpret the “image of the enemy” which is still very much present in the literature among others. This project aims to publish papers and even books on the joint activities. Being aware of the fact that a considerable amount of the narrative power that enabled the use of arguments against one another, has its sources from this scientific and cultural community, these recent events and moves towards each other could trigger a moment of rapprochement. As I have argued before in my previous chapters, cultural diplomacy can constitute culture, nations, states and even the international politics. An alternative definition of “institution,” is offered by Jönsson and Hall. They see “diplomacy as an institution of international societies, not of individual states.” To me, their approach has served of abandoning the state-centric perspective has had a crucial impact on the way I tried to create my analysis of cultural diplomacy in which Kosova and Serbia were and are engaged in together. They continue by saying that “... Instead we conceive of diplomacy as an institution structuring relations among *polities*.”¹⁵³

The differentiation process that has taken place in the 80’s up until today, having the negative outcome of worsening the relations among the two societies to the point of no return, must not be the course for the present and the future. It may now be reconfigured as a joint process of differentiating from the negative narrative of the past and creating the common ground of reevaluating these damaging narratives and making use of universal values such as human rights, modern scientific methodology in sciences such as historiography, nationalism, literature sciences and others.

One of the lessons that one can learn from the past is that, it takes joint efforts of not only government institutions but cultural and scientific institutions as well as foreign institutions to interpret and construct a narrative that will have an impact on the policies of the states and attitudes of people towards “the other” – representing the other nation, culture, and state. In the process of nation building in Serbia as well as in Kosova, the scientific and cultural community and its institutions were actively involved in the “engineering” of the negative and enemy image of the other and also the process of construction by interpretation of different historical events in the past and the present in order to achieve different goals, in the favor of Serbia or Kosova. While Serbia had a huge advantage, with its state structures and institutions that would create the national identity of Serbians in Serbia and with the occupation of Kosova the unification of all Slavic speaking people under a Serbian identity, through the Orthodox Churches and later on

¹⁵² The Group for Social Engagement Studies is a research unit of the Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, University of Belgrade. <http://www.instifdt.bg.ac.rs/the-group-for-social-engagement-studies/?lang=en> (20.02.2017).

¹⁵³ Jönsson, Christer, and Martin Hall, *Essence of Diplomacy* 2005, p.25 – Diplomacy as an Institution; Compare additionally

Onuf, Nicholas. 22 December 2015, ISN-ETHZ _on the Evolution of Social Constructivism, Turns in IR, and a Discipline of Our Making; Berger/Luckmann; Ringman, Eric; Brown,Chris/Ainley, Kirsten 2005.Understanding International Relations.

also through schools (the education system). These institutions were also able to recreate the “place of memory” in Kosova, reinterpreting historical facts and religious beliefs in favor of Serbia and also creating a “mental map” which preceded the expansionist policies of Serbia and Yugoslavia towards Kosova. It has also served for the Serbian public audience as a powerful and creative narrative not only for the exclusion of the Albanians of Kosova from this picture and growing Serbian and Yugoslavian state but also its interpretation as inherently dangerous and hostile towards the Serbian people and culture.

These activities of various institutions in Serbia and Yugoslavia aiming to mobilize the Serbian masses in support for the expansionist policies and later on in order to protect “the Serbian interests” within the Federal state where Serbia had been “divided” into three pieces, with an autonomous Kosova and Vojvodina, and the prospect of the unstoppable socio-economic crisis in the 80s, did not only serve for the animosities of Serbians towards Kosovars, they also triggered nationalism and a growing desire for a separate path of Kosovars.

A new day was dawning over the horizon in Yugoslavia and a group of Intellectuals in Belgrade were laying the fundamentals for what was about to be known as the policy of ethnic cleansing and even genocide in the process of the dissolution of this state. The warnings of the Serbian Party chief Stambolić, that “a group of high-level intellectuals in Belgrade” were stirring up things that would allow for nationalism to reemerge, were turning out to be truthful. Not only were there a number of books and articles with a nationalist motive, the biggest shock and impact came from the draft Memorandum by the Serbian Academy of Science and Arts (SANU) of 1986. It was asking for the “restoration of the Serbian national and cultural integrity” and it was describing how the Serbian people were suffering and were victims of the nationalism of the others (nations within the federal state) and unfavorable narrative towards the Serbians. With the second part of the Memorandum the SANU became “a place of pseudoscientific canonization of the Serbian narrative of the victim and anti-serbian conspiracy theories”. Boveri speaks of the “century of betrayal”,¹⁵⁴ and indeed the 20th century was the century of betrayals - the century of ideologies. In the case of many Serbian intellectuals as well as intellectuals in other parts of Yugoslavia in the last part of the 20th century, they opted for “political and nationalist indoctrination” instead of reason and science and with the Memorandum which resurged in the 90s; they played a crucial role in creating the arguments on which the ethnic cleansing could be based.¹⁵⁵

This stream of nationalism and cry for injustice and the image of the victim continued in Serbia, while only a few were noticing that it was not a cry for justice but rather the call for destruction. Only a few were swimming against the stream in these times, as was the renowned architect and mayor of Belgrade, Bogdan Bogdanović who stated in his letter to the Serbian

¹⁵⁴ Boveri, Margret: Verrat im 20. Jahrhundert. Reinbeck b. Hamburg 1956. In: Sundhaussen 2007. Page 397.

¹⁵⁵ Clark 2000, page 17-18; Compare: Matoshi 2016. Nga Garashanini te Dobrica Qosiqi: Si të nënshtrohet Kosova? Sundhaussen 2007, page 392-397. The Memorandum of the Serbian Academy of Science and Arts of 1986 as an academical support of anti-albanian resentments and the source for the arguments of an ethnic cleansing.

central committee (1987) that: “it is not a deconstruction, but the irrevertable selfdistruction, a selfdistruction through fear from the differences and the hate towards all new.”¹⁵⁶ The reappearance of these ideas were based on the beliefs of these elites in primordial communities, based not only on ethnicity and language but also on the need for a continuation of a history and connection of ethnicity and nationality. The concept of the nation as something that needs a distant past in order to have a meaning in modern times, was predominant not only within Serbia but also among the cultural and scientific elites in Kosova.

While the Constitution of 1974 was clearly an improvement of the position of the Albanians within the system of Yugoslavia, making Kosova a ‘constituent element’ of the federation it also was a hint for how the Albanians were perceived as a nationality (in Serbian: narodnost) and providing for the “theoretical justification” that because of this, they could not have the right of secesion, as the other six republics, that were made up of nations (in Serbian: narodi). Not only were the Albanians within Yugoslavia not accepted as a nation, they were also perceived as outsiders having another homeland then Yugoslavia. Every attempt of the Albanians to demand for more, in this case “republic”, was seen by the others as an attempt to secede, and in the meantime the fact that they were denied the right to become a republic, was a sign that their full integration within Yugoslavia would not happen.

In fact this constitution represented the failure of integration of the Albanian majority within the Republic of Serbia, which was fostering its national identity especially in the period of 1945 till 1966 (the period of repressions against Albanians by the notorious Interior Minister of Yugoslavia Ranković). The Yugoslav leadership sought to support the idea of constructing an identity of Albanians with a different history and language, differentiating them from Albania. They had succeeded with this policy in the case of the Macedonian people, but only because it was widely accepted within the predominant Slavic speaking population there in a process that was going on for a long time now. While the official media were using a Gheg dialect spoken in Kosova, in order to separate it from the language used in Albania, even in the use of notions the Yugoslav authorities were attempting to differentiate between the “šiptari” (bearing a negative connotation in the Serbian language) which referred to the Albanians in Kosova, and “Albanci” referring to the Albanians in Albania. In a period of 16 years commissions on the usage of language were discussing the and stating that a version of the Gheg dialect should be the norm in Kosova, differing of course from the other Gheg dialects in Albania. But these policies failed all together, because of the nationalist reorientation of the elites in Kosova who were moving away from the attempts of integration within Yugoslavia. The acceptance of the “standard language”

¹⁵⁶ Bogdanović 2002, page 255, 262-264. In: Sundhaussen 2007, page 406-407.

from the Republic of Albania in '68 represented a moment of unity and a powerful element of the interpretation of a single Albanian nation.¹⁵⁷

An impact on this reorientation of the Kosovar cultural and scientific community, beside the failed policies of Yugoslav authorities, had also the propaganda and exchange of university staff and literature coming from Communist Albania. This was made possible due to the 'normalization' of relations of Tirana with Belgrade in 1971. While the Albanians were denied to participate in the education system in the first Yugoslavia, they were part of it in the second Yugoslavia, but the attempt to integrate them failed and the process of differentiation was supported through the influence of Albania. During this time Kosovar historians were copying the theses from the official Albanian historiography, and part of this imported model of education was also the claim of the continuation of Albanian presence as descendents of the Illyrians and a focus on the "cult of the historic figure of Skanderbeg". The autonomy of the education system in Kosova did not serve to the understanding among the different ethnicities, on the contrary it created the narrative to divide them even further. Schmitt claims (compare Guy) that this interpretation of the history that was charged with nationalism, and saw the Serbians as invaders, was very similar to what Serbian scientists and their argumentation on Kosova. Somehow there was a "mirroring" of the mindset of Serbians in the ethno-national thinking of the Albanians in Kosova. Again this primordial interpretation of the notion of nation and identity among the Serbians and Albanians would create a handicap for the future, and different narratives supported by the separate education systems and until today there is no common approach to history of Kosova, making it difficult for younger generations of ethnic Albanians and Serbians in Kosova to look at their history, culture and their nations from another and less politically and nationalistically charged point of view.¹⁵⁸

I have mentioned the Nonviolence attempts of the Kosovars in the 90s before in this subchapter. While this practice was also constituting the more modern identity of Kosovars, seeking for a new and progressive position of women in a patriarchal society, the campaign to reconcile blood feuds and demanding universal human rights, it was not what many in Kosova claim to be the Gandian concept of nonviolence. While this Kosovar version of nonviolence served their needs of "self-worth" it could not be associated with other elements of nonviolence as practiced by Ghandi, because it was not an inclusive policy. While Ghandi saw the process of the recreation of the national identity as a step to self-determination that would lead to a broader concept of identity, which would entail the respect and inclusion of the "others", in the opinion

¹⁵⁷ Clark 2000, *Everything but a Republic*, page 39-41. Compare: Schmitt 2012, page 181-183; page 187-189; page 189-193.

¹⁵⁸ Clark 2000, *Everything but a Republic*, page 39-41. Compare: Schmitt 2012, page 187-189; Gay 2012, *Nacionalizmi Etnik dhe shtetet e vogla në Evropën Juglindore*. Page 12-17.

of Clark, the Kosovar movement was not aiming openness towards the “others”. By that he means that there was no clear answer on their position to the common Yugoslav past, the neighboring Serbian state and society and most importantly towards the Serbian citizens of what would become the future state of Kosova. The Ghandian concept differs by refusing to cooperate with the “evil” but in the meantime seeks “truth with the other”.¹⁵⁹

There is a fierce debate on the Kosovar nation and the different concepts of nations, based whether on primordial, modern or post-classical theories of nationalism, among the “regid” institutions (as a number of researchers of history and journalists claim) and established Kosovar scientists still under the influence of the interpretation of history through the nationalist ideology (based on the model of the historiography in Albania), a number of younger scientists and researchers and public intellectuals seeking for a reinterpretation of the concepts of history and identity based on more recent theories and scientific methodology. They are also being supported by a growing number of publications of scientists from different institutions coming from Europe and other parts of the World. While the Ahtisaari Plan which has been accepted by the Kosovar elites and has become part not only of the constitution of the Kosovar state but also an interesting building block of the narrative on the Kosovar identity, there is still a confusion among the citizens in Kosova regarding their identity, the history, the culture. A report published recently shows that up to 75% still identify themselves as Kosova-Albanians, whereas 25% identify themselves as Kosovars and only 5% of them as Albanians, most of them view the Kosovar state as a multiethnic and multicultural state (73.4%) while only 25% view Kosova as a state only of Albanians. In addition it is also interesting to mention that while most of the Kosovars are not in favor of the official flag of their Republic, they are the most loyal citizens towards their state compared to other states in the region.¹⁶⁰

We come to the conclusion in this brief analysis of nation-building process of Kosovars through the Serbian/Yugoslavian state and actors, the Kosovars as well as the influence of the Albanian state, by getting back to the assumptions of Brubaker and his critique on the classical-modernists of nationalism theories. He pointed out that there is no focus on the process of how nations come to exist, and that he disagreed with the approach ethnical, racial and national groups are real existing entities. He continues by arguing that the nation should be seen a category of praxis, being an interpretative part of the construction and reconstruction of nationalism. Accepting this assumptions may bring us closer to the reinterpretation of the nation-building process in the case of Kosova, understanding that part of the construction of nations are also the uncertainties, precarities and the temporary character.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁹ Clark 2000, *The Turn to Nonviolence*, page 46-69.

¹⁶⁰ Matoshi 2013. Compare: Qendra për Hulumtime dhe Politikë gjinore (2013): *Kombformimi simbolik në Europën Juglindore*; University of Oslo /University of Rijeka 2011. *Nation-Building. Kosovo*.

¹⁶¹ My elaboration on Brubaker and his critique on classical-modernists in the subchapter 2.2.1; Compare: Schaller 2013, *Lecture of this professor of history from the University of Heidelberg on nation-building* (See the

4.3 The Arts

4.3.1 Introductory points

The important role of the arts in the engineering of the idea of a nation and the formation of the collective sense, becomes even more visible with the fact that through their products they convey the imagination/ idea to the larger audience (the people), that they are capable to create great and sublime art, and that the national identity is not only “cursed” to feed or does not have to rely itself on simple (and primitive) icons. Holzinger elaborates on this task of the arts, claiming that “arts can provide exceptional reasons and causes with contents that go beyond the everyday and banal national symbolism (such as the anthem, the national flag, and the national currency) offering the collective consciousness something to identify with and to see the own nation and its aesthetic achievements, as something that ought to be respected, that is creative and that should be adored, instead of just the mere existence of it.”¹⁶²

The connection of the nationalist imagination for the production and reception of arts as well as the importance (relevance) to the imagination of the the autonomy and intrinsic value of the arts includes the “pop arts” as well as “fine arts”, art of painting, literature, music, dance, theatre, as well as installation art.¹⁶³

My focus on the *arena of museums and exhibitions* in this part of my work, is based on the simple reason that, in the sum of all arts institutions, and especially in Europe, that the arena of museums and exhibitions were the first institutions to serve for the national representation and were autotelic as well. Schreiner claims that the “nationalist useability is not as obvious or does not get as much attention as in the case of literature.”¹⁶⁴

The museums that represent the new understanding of arts as well as the new modern development of the public, show how the development of the history of ideas is connected with the social history. Arts were in need of the new gained autonomy and intrinsic value (their own value), before and especially after the Renaissance, in order to explore the possibilities, thus they were not any longer bound to laws and any kind of functions, that they had while they were still in hand of the aristocracy and the religious institutions. It became a *norm* for the arts to develop and

daily Kosovar newspaper “Koha Ditore”: 17 September 2013). He was raising the eyebrows of many attending students and professors, stating that in two or three generations a Kosovar nation will emerge. In: Matoshi 2013.

¹⁶² Holzinger 1997, S.64

¹⁶³ Schreiner 2011, page 264

¹⁶⁴ Schöning 2000, page 11-13, Compare Schreiner 2011, page 264.

have this imagination of autonomy, in order to achieve an artistic quality. Arts became this “relatively autonomous intellectual force field.”¹⁶⁵

With the ideas of Nationalism and the nation-building processes, came also the attempt of nationalist allocation of the arts, which could also be named as the particularist principle or idea of the national state. This was connected also to the consciousness which created the supposedly differentiations of cultural heritage among the various nations. This logic of *formal divergence*, which assumes that the art production of one particular nation is different from the art production of another nation, stands behind the concept of the acts of nationalist differentiations of arts.¹⁶⁶

On the other hand there was the *Universalist idea of the allocation of arts*. This concept is described at best by the notion of “the cultural heritage of humanity”, which represents the thousands year old history of all humankind, and for which arts cannot be allocated to nations, but rather transcend them.¹⁶⁷ It is exactly this dichotomy, between the Universalist intrinsic value that one imagines of arts and the nationalist location, that makes the arts so relevant in the relations among states and their societies.

While the exchange of art products has happened for thousands of years, going back to the ancient times, the concept of this kind of exchange is completely different in the modern times. The crucial points of difference are, that it addresses the public, it has its autonomy and those nations and their contexts are their basic sources. Those criterias differentiate the exchange of arts among states in present days, from the previous periods in human history.¹⁶⁸

There are various intentions of the exchange of arts in the international arena. It is possible to enforce the inner construction of the nation and the national identity through arts, through the “moments of differentiation from the other nation,” which for him are the moments of reapproachment and distancing.¹⁶⁹

Cohesion and distinction are related to the collective self-perception of a nation when it reflects on the way it wants to be seen by the others. It is because of this reflection on what the nation is to itself and how and what it chooses to represent itself with in the world, that causes

¹⁶⁵ Bourdieu 1994, page 162; Bourdieu 1994, page 162. Compare also Bourdieu 1969, page 90-91; Habermas 1990, page 97-107; Schreiner 2011, page 262.

¹⁶⁶ Holzinger 1997, page 66-70; Werckmeister 1971, page 72-74. Compare Schreiner 2011, page 271.

¹⁶⁷ Jenschke 2005, page 301-305. Compare Schreiner 2011, page 271.

¹⁶⁸ Compare Schreiner 2011, page 273.

¹⁶⁹ Seeger 1949, page 42; Compare Schreiner 2011, page 273, who thinks that both moments, namely the moments of reapproachments and distancing, are both moments that are being usage of arts in the foreign policy.

the national identity and unity to be constructed as an inward process and the outward representation of it.¹⁷⁰

During the cold war period, the exchange of arts in the international arena and with it the *artistic self-portrayal* was used as a tool on the one hand to achieve acceptance of its own political system abroad and through that acceptance to legitimize it in the interior affairs in the socialist countries. This was and still remains a typical “game” for many non-democratic states.¹⁷¹ On the other hand the arts and its exchange was used also as a tool to support the integration of discriminated communities within a state. The US for example used the export Jazz Music around the world not only to show “the others” that they are a great nation capable of quality artistic products like Jazz, but also to make a statement for its own society, that it this product that improves the image, that comes from the African American community.¹⁷²

We come now to another purpose or intention of the arts as a tool in the international arena. The arts can be used to create understanding among the states whose relations are not good or are worsening. It is a tool that offers an alternative path from the political and diplomatic ones, and that can create new, relax or improve the relations among states. What makes them valuable in these times of crisis and tensions is that they are able to navigate and reach out public audiences but also the power structures, by bypassing the risks that other activities or initiatives could not. A contemporary example that illustrates this kind of purpose is the British Museum’s 2005 exhibition “*Forgotten Empire: The world of ancient Persia.*” The relevance of this cultural event, is that it happened in a period of tensions and strained relations of Great Britain (and the Western Powers) and Iran, triggered also by the election of the new Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad. It created a much needed opportunity to offer a common ground, the appreciation of arts and cultural heritage, where senior politicians could meet (at that event it was the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Jack Straw, with the Iranian vice president). As a former UK Diplomat, who served in Iran, put it, ‘Our cultural institutions almost certainly have more access to the wheels of power than the UK’s ambassador does at the moment.’ This brief elaboration, on this recent event shows that cultural events like these, may keep the door open for debate, in a time of political turmoils or upheaval where other diplomatic attempts fail to uphold old channels or create new channels of communication.¹⁷³

I will write now on the *educational functions of the arena of museums and exhibitions* that they have gained in the period when the arts lost their religious and aristocratic patronage and when the public, representing the entire society, became the new focus.¹⁷⁴ It was twofold, on

¹⁷⁰ Wallis 2000, page 265-269 and 274.

¹⁷¹ On the Soviet Union Gould-Davies 2003.

¹⁷² Eschen 2004, page 250-260; Compare also Prevots 1998, page 93-110 and Schreiner 2011, page 274.

¹⁷³ Demos 2008, page 54-55.

¹⁷⁴ Bourdieu 1969, page 92-93.

the one hand it should serve the education of the self in a person (it's own character). Through arts, a person should receive Universalist ideals and humanity.¹⁷⁵

On the other hand there is an educational function which is in clash with the first one mentioned above. One plausible reason why museums, arts institutions and such are created, is the intention to imagine and construct the cultural heritage, through the objects that are being exposed. The *area of tension but also the connection* of this educational function with the first one is one from which cultural diplomacy, issues of arts in the context of international law, gains. This is what can be called as the nationalist moments of the educational function of arts.¹⁷⁶

4.3.2 Theoretical considerations

It is not possible to show the universalism in the arts based on the assumptions of the theory of *Czech Strukturalist Jan Mukařovský*. As Schreiner points out the “The Universalism and instability of the usage context of the signifier and significate precede the work of art” Thus, a work of art is by default instable, universal and ambiguous. But as Schreiner emphasizes rightly, in order for the universalism and autonomy to be attributed to the work of art, there is a need for it (the work of art) to be *constituted by interpretation*. It implies that, these are components and not preexisting properties, that rather become part of them (the work of arts) because of certain *social and historical circumstances (historische Situation)* and *patterns of interpretation*. Hence, these “become part of their precarious significance, because of the encyclopedias that are a result of historical developments and the pattern of interpretation.”¹⁷⁷

In the efforts of states to initiate and support the exchange of arts among each other, because of the political and cultural elites, there is not much of dispute on what a work of art is. This kind of understanding, views the universal values of the arts, the autoreferential interpretation of the signs as well as the national allocation of cultural products as essential features of the work of arts.

Concluding on the limitations of the theory of Mukarovský, Schreiner points out that it is possible to show the necessity of a common pattern of interpretation for the interpretative allocation of the status of work of arts of artifacts, it is not possible to show the dependence of the interpretation of them as autoreferential signs, on the social and more precisely the international patterns of interpretation.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁵ Tenbruck 1986, page 274

¹⁷⁶ Prösler 1996, page 35. Schreiner 2011, page 269. Compare also Assmann 1993, page 27-40 where he explains the notion of the education for citizens and page 57-66 for the arts.

¹⁷⁷ Schreiner 2011, page 284.

¹⁷⁸ Mukarovský, Jan (1967): Kapitel aus der Poetik. Frankfurt am Main;
Mukarovský, Jan (1970): Kapitel aus der Ästhetik. Frankfurt am Main;
Mukarovský, Jan (1974): Studien zur strukturalistischen Ästhetik und Poetik. München;

Felix Vodička, understands the history of literature more as a history of reception not only as the history of the creation of literary works.¹⁷⁹ This concept relies on the notion of “*concretization*”, which stands for the understanding, that literary works get their meaning through a variety of different reflection, of those who perceive them. The history of literature is only the history of the chronological sequence of concretizations of works in the eyes of Vodička.¹⁸⁰

The reception aesthetics according to *Hans-Robert Jauß und Wolfgang Iser* focuses more on the impact that the reader has or the crucial role that the reader plays. The theoretical concept of Jauß stands for the related group of expectations which which a work of art will be confronted when it is produced. This knowledge allows specifying or identifying the *artistic character of the artefacts*.¹⁸¹

Jauß elaborates his views of historicity of the work of arts through two notions, namely the “*aesthetic implication*” and the “*historic implication*”. While the first stands for the comparence by the reader, of the aesthetic value of the work of art, through previously gained experiences of reading, the other term stands for the understanding of the reader that continues and refines over generations and also sets the aesthetic value and it’s historical value.¹⁸²

Because of the combination of the *diachronic and synchronic literary research*, Jauß approach goes beyond that of Iser, while it also includes the social factors of the reception in the *horizon of the expectation*. For Iser on the other hand, it is the structure of literary texts that are crucial, describing texts as a combination of a diversity of »schematic views«. ¹⁸³

While these thoughts of Jauß und Iser are more related to Mukařovský and the problems that he creates with the *usage context between the signifier and the significate* of the work of art. The aesthetic experience of both of the authors means that the status of the work or art is not constituted by the interpretative attribution that creates the patterns of interpretation, but by it’s *unclear meaning*.

While Jauß and Iser believe also in the “wrong” and “right” understanding (of texts), beside the assumption of the openness of them, they do not specifically see the interpretative

Mukařovský, Jan (1989): *Kunst, Poetik, Semiotik*. Frankfurt am Main; Compare Schreiner 2011, page 280-284, 284-285.

¹⁷⁹ Vodička 1976, page 87-91. Beside Mukařovský, he is one of most important authors of the reception aesthetic.

¹⁸⁰ Ingarden, 1997, page 61-70; Compare also Warning 1975, page 10-12. Vodička 1976, page 30-63, 94-96 and 103-106. Warning 1975, page 13-15; Jauß 1973, page 206. For Mukařovský there is a historical changeability in the reception of artefacts of arts too.

¹⁸¹ Jauß came up with the notion of »horizon of expectation« while his reception theory focused more on literary studies, in Schreiner 2011 page 285-287.

¹⁸² Jauß 1969, page 27-28.

¹⁸³ Iser 1970, page 5-16.

constitution of the work of art, and it is therefor that Schreiner sees them closer to *traditional hermeneutics* than Mukarovský.¹⁸⁴

The reception aesthetics can not bring us any further in our attempt to analyse the arts and their exchange in the international arena, because it's focus lies not on the link between the universal ideas of the arts and the autoreferential interpretation of the work of arts.

In my attempt to find a concept that goes further than relying only on the inherent meaning of work of arts, and with it also closer to the analysis of the cultural diplomacy, I'm going to explore the works of Pierre Bourdieu. The *central point* of his *sociology of art*, is the notion of the "*field*".¹⁸⁵ It stands for the "*battlefield*" where different powers compete with one another, in this social constellation that change through processes. The notion "*capital*" that Bourdieu uses for the power that the different actors have, is being used in this constellation to improve their positioning.¹⁸⁶ This happens by imposing of the definition (by the actors) of the *legitimate and the relevant*.¹⁸⁷

These processes result in a relative *autonomy* of the field that is different throughout the historical development.¹⁸⁸ Bourdieu understands the status of the work of art as well as the autonomy of the artistic and the literary field as constructed by interpretation. Even though there is an interpretation of the work of arts in the modern times as autoreferential, autotelic and without functions, it cannot be deviated from the social and historical developments that precede these patterns of interpretation.¹⁸⁹

There are two ways in which Bourdieu thinks of the Universalist ideas: First, he explains the *universalism* of the arts as an ideology that has been developed throughout history. The work of art has no universal value itself, it only is equipped with the "*appearance of universalism*" because of the interpretation, while in the meantime it is also not unique, although it is given a "*sense of uniqueness*".¹⁹⁰ Second, he believes in the *factual autonomy of the field*. The ideas of autonomy is seen as a feature of the arts and literature (that are fields), and not only as the inherent ideology and pattern

¹⁸⁴ Iser 1970, page 7-8; Warning 1975 page 24; Hohendahl 1985, page 18. The *reception aesthetics starts where the Semiotics ends, namely with the concretization of text*. The focus of the reception aesthetics of Jauß and Iser is on the question of the inherent meaning, the concretization that is historically changeable. Jauß 1973, page 207-209.

¹⁸⁵ Bourdieu uses different words for it, emphasizes that the logic behind all the fields of cultural products is the same, Bourdieu 1997, page 34-35.

¹⁸⁶ Bourdieu 1992, page 155-158; Bourdieu 1969, page 89; Bourdieu 1997, page 34-35; Jurt 1995, page 81-84.

¹⁸⁷ Bourdieu/ Boltanski 1983, 105-109; Bourdieu 1987, page 60-92.

¹⁸⁸ Bourdieu 1969, page 88-91; Bourdieu 1992, page 161; Bourdieu 1997, page 36-39 and 56-60; Bourdieu 1987, page 81-95; Compare also Bourdieu 2001, page 41: "A field is a autonomous microcosmos within the social microcosmos."

¹⁸⁹ Bourdieu 2001, page 453-454. Compare Albertsen/Diken 2004, page 36-39 and Schreiner 2011, page 288-289.

¹⁹⁰ Bourdieu 1993, page 968-969. Compare Schreiner 2011 page 288.

of interpretation. The processes of differentiation in the society create the socio-historical ground for the theoretical consideration of the field which views itself as “objective”.¹⁹¹

He continues with the assumption that the arts are seen as universal because of the oblivion of the contrary interpretations of the work of arts as well as the nonexistence of a basic contingency of the artistic field.¹⁹²

What Bourdieu describes as the “*field*” could be seen as a part of the *semiotic context*, to which the interpretation of the sign refers. Nevertheless the social and interpretative attribution of meaning to specific objects, that only become work of arts in that process as well as the concept of universalism, deriving from the oblivion of the historicity of the social, are both ideas that need to be considered in the interpretative analysis of the arts.

The universalism according to Bourdieu is close to the “feeling of uniqueness” for every work of art. What seems to be a natural process, which is part of the object, is in fact the result or doing of interpretations that allocates meaning.¹⁹³

This type of universalism falls into the trap that Brubaker has described as the mix-up of the *catagories of praxis* with the *categories of analysis*,¹⁹⁴ in two ways:

On the one hand, works of art are seen as specifics (features) that are beyond the historical and social (suprasocial) of the human lifes. On the other hand, universalism can be the norm that can make the pattern of interpretation look natural.¹⁹⁵

It is the human creativity on which the universalism (in the area of arts) is based upon. The paradox (incongruity or dichotomy) is present in the allocation of it (the creativity) in the personality of the artist or the nation as an important context of artistic production, distribution and interpretation.¹⁹⁶

This type of interpretation that claims generality, views them as facts, while it allows to see the works of art as specific areas, where it is possible to have common measures and critieries, which will allow the comparison of artistic comparison.

This constnstruction of the arts based on the ideology, proposes that it is possible to compare the artistic products among each other, based on criterias and measures that apply for all of them supposedly.

The competitiveness among works of art is not really interesting and necessary and even more so bearing in mind that it is hard to agree on common measures and rules which would be applicable to all the works of art in a suprasocial, suprahistorical and timeless manner.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹¹ Bourdieu 1969, page 95; Bourdieu 1993, page 972-973. Compare Bourdieu 1992, page 161 and Schreiner 2011, page 290.

¹⁹² Bourdieu 1993, page 968-969.

¹⁹³ Bourdieu 1993, page 968. Compare Schreiner 2011, page 292

¹⁹⁴ See my explanation of Brubaker’s concept of the category of praxis with the category of analysis, in subchapter 2.2 Theories of Nationalism.

¹⁹⁵ Compare also Schreiner 2011, page 293.

¹⁹⁶ Compare Michell 1986, page 178, Schreiner 2011, page 293. Compare also with the assumptions of Schreiner 2011, subchapter 3.1 Nationalstate and the culture, page 99 – 114.

¹⁹⁷ Compare Grimm 1979; Grimm 1984; Schreiner 2011, page 294.

The Arts in the international scene (arena) are a social and interpretative construction and the possible disagreement among them is based on the assumption of a common point of start. There are two consequences deriving from this assumption. First, this type of universalism addresses all the possible interpreters of the objects. Second, it claims to cover all the objects which according to the pattern of interpretation are part of the arts. This shows that this claim projects the arts as something overarching and transcending even state borders. The relevance of arts in the exchange among states, its ability to grasp and touch on different topics that were and are important in the relations among states and societies, the positive and affirmative overarching significance of its transcending character, is what makes up the crucial argument, that different ideologies use when they label the arts as something that does not belong or is allocated to a specific nation but rather is standing above all nations (transcends them).

4.3.3 The Analysis of the Arts

While Serbia and Kosova have engaged in a political dialog from 2011 to the present days, aiming for the full normalization among the two states, a handful of cultural events are being organized. The overarching goal of them is to create a new communication channel through the arts and the work of arts or products of arts, in order to initiate and support the debate on understanding each other and to tackle the negative *“image of the other”*. While I initially planned to focus merely on the role of the different actors that were and are involved in these projects, I must confess that I have changed the scope of my analysis, aiming at the relevance of such cultural activities and products, for the relations among Serbia and Kosova to improve. I have therefor based my analysis on the concept of Umberto Eco’s *Semiotics* and his notions of *social and collective encyclopedia* that I will elaborate on later. Looking at the various building blocks that make up Cultural Diplomacy, I have previously tried to explain why the *state, the nation, the culture and the international relations* are all not only important for the understanding of this type of Diplomacy, but are also part of the constructive imagination that we all engage in, when contemplating and writing on it. I myself therefor am part of this construction, when I deliberately choose to write on Cultural diplomacy between these two societies and states, focusing on the relevance of their cultural exchange.

In two of the recent cultural events, two theater plays that are the result of the cooperation of the non-governmental organizations “Qendra Multimedia” in Prishtina and the “Centar za kulturnu dekontaminaciju” in Belgrad, namely the plays “Romeo and Juliet” and “Encyclopedia of the living”, these *cultural inventors* (the writers, the producers, the actors and the art critics and historians and philosophers engaged in the projects) were aiming to touch on the issue of the “image of the enemy”, prejudice, hate and the consequences to them. They were able to draw upon the knowledge and experiences of the past 100 years of the Serbian Kosovar cultural as well as political relations. The play “Romeo and Juliet”, takes not only the name from the famous equally named play by British playwright Shakespeare, it does also use the problems that this play embodies. That problem is not love between two young people coming

from two families that are in a feud, but rather the relevance of language, the names and their meanings. Both lovers want to get rid of their family names, and negotiate a new identity. The reason for that is that “the identification by the family names brings with it emotional and cultural baggage.”¹⁹⁸ There is a connection, of this problematics of language and its relevance to identity, to the play “Romeo and Juliet” where actors both Serbians and Kosovars were performing in the Serbian and Albanian language.¹⁹⁹ It is my opinion, that it needs for a new constructive interpretation of the “image of the other” that has been constructed in the past, in order for the relations to improve among both societies. In order to get to a common ground, where Universalist values may be accepted by both sides, the play shows that language can be a powerful media in order to rewrite the processes of differentiation of one culture and nation from the other. In that way that differentiation does not lead anymore to distancing but rather to a process of reapproachment. As I have stated before in this subchapter, there are various intentions of the exchange of arts in the international arena. It is possible to enforce the inner construction of the nation and the national identity through arts, through the “moments of differentiation from the other nation,” which represent both moments of reapproachment and distancing.²⁰⁰

In the play “Encyclopedia of the living” there was a reading of different excerpts from the books of “Srbija i Arbanija” (in English: Serbia and Albania) from Dimitrije Tucović, as well as the Zenun Çelaj’s book “Ditët e fundit të Fehmi Aganit” (in English: The last days of Fehmi Agani), as well as a choreography.²⁰¹ This play was again a product coming from the cooperation of the NGOs mentioned above, and it was financially supported not only by the European Commission but also the Governments of Serbia and Kosova. There are several reasons why the governments in Serbia and Kosova are engaged in Cultural Diplomacy. On the

¹⁹⁸ Maguire, Laurie E. Studying Shakespeare, 2004. Page 22-23, Private life: Shakespeare and Selfhood, Romeo and Juliet.

¹⁹⁹ Kultplus, “Romeo e Xhuljeta, me 15 maj me premierë në Kosovë,” 15 May 2015

<http://kultplus.com/?id=2&l=8280> (accessed: 4 May 2015)

Tota, Elton. “Serb-Kosovar Romeo and Juliet as an effort of reconciliation in the Balkan “ 07/04/2015.

<http://www.balkan.eu.com/50171/>

Gillet, Kit, “Borrowing Cupid’s wings: Romeo and Juliet helps heal the scars of Kosovo war,” 5 April 2015

<https://www.theguardian.com/stage/2015/apr/05/romeo-and-juliet-kosovo-war-shakespeare-serbia>

Koha.net, “Romeo dhe Xhuljeta serbo-shqiptare më 5 prill në Teatrin e Beogradit,” 1 April 2015.

<http://koha.net/?id=4&l=51078>

DialogPlus.ch, “Romeo dhe Xhuljeta” April 2015. <http://dialogplus.ch/?s=Romeo+dhe+Xhuljeta>

²⁰⁰ Seeger 1949, page 42; Compare Schreiner 2011, page 273, who thinks that both moments, namely the moments of reapproachments and distancing, are both moments that are being usage of arts in the foreign policy.

²⁰¹ Kultplus - “Enciklopedia e të gjallëve”, bashkëpunimi tjetër teatror mes Kosovës e Serbisë. 21 August 2015.

<http://kultplus.com/?id=2&l=10052>

Koha.net - “Enciklopedia e të gjallëve” për raportet njëshekullore shqiptaro-serbe. 13 August 2015.

<http://koha.net/?id=4&l=70486>

one hand I am convinced that both states are supporting these cultural events, in the mode of the *arms length*, which symbolizes the support of cultural institutions and there projects in a way that is not so visible.²⁰² The support from the states as important actors in this endeavour, comes to my understanding also as part of their intention to improve their statuses in the European Integration process. On the other hand it is the *cultural institutions in both countries* as well as the *international cultural institutions* (e.g. Goethe Intitute, the German cultural institute, Alleance Francais and the Austrian Development Agency) that are playing the main role in shaping up the cultural diplomacy initiatives. The reason why Tucović's book is relevant (again) is that it represents an important moment where this famous Social Democrat, criticized the expansionist foreign policy of Serbia towards the territories where Albanians where the predominant community and he even argued agains other prominent thinkers and Serbian politicians against there negative view on the Albanians and their culture. The reason for the republication of Tucović's book by the state funded publication house "Rilindja" in the Albanian language in 1968,²⁰³ shows that the publishers wanted to use the moment of political relaxation among Serbs and Serbia and the Albanians in Kosova, to also give an incentive of rapprochement through the arts, in this case through literature. It was in this period, when the political status of the Albanians in Kosova and Yugoslavia improved drastically for the better, because of the removal of the nationalist Interior Minister Ranković (1966)²⁰⁴, who had been sacked just two year earlier by Tito and the new Constitution of 1974. Even though the figure of Tucović has regained a new popularity and his pledge for a rewriting of the "image of the other", just last year his statue has been removed from the square where it used to be in Belgrade,²⁰⁵ leaving a big question mark, to what extend this action is related to the official repositioning of Serbia's foreign policy, and also the cultural inventors and the cultural institutions, or if it is just an populist impulse.

Such moments that can seem to come up and repeat themselves, moments of differentiation, could serve both Serbia and Kosova to choose it as a moment of rapprochement and through it to construct its national identity, by taking into account not only the critical voice that have been there (and not listend to) but also the common values that would serve the understanding among both socities.

The common values which are included in the knowledge horizon that Eco has named as the *collective or social encyclopedia*, are themselves part of what Brubaker has called the *confusion of the category of praxis with the category of analysis*, because culture itself is part of

²⁰² Demos 2008.

²⁰³ Tucović, Dimitrije. *Serbija e Shqipnija*, (in Eglish: Tucovic, Dimitrije. Serbia and Albania), Page 94 – 95. Prishtina: Rilindja 1968;

²⁰⁴ Schmitt 2012, page 179. The repressive policies towards the Albanians ended with the removal of Interior Minister Ranković and Yugoslavia moved away from the centralist model of government to a federal and Kosova became an federal unit with the new constitution in 1974.

²⁰⁵ Koha.net, November 2016.

the praxis of interpretation. While Eco differentiates between the *global and the social encyclopedia*, this bears consequences for our analysis of cultural diplomacy, because “culture itself in the sense of the category of praxis is a building block of the encyclopedic knowledge, which is constructed by interpretation.”²⁰⁶

These collective and social encyclopedias relevant to Cultural Foreign Policy/ Cultural Diplomacy do not merely serve the “members of a group” that have the same culture/ that are shaped by the same culture, but constitute the scope of knowledge of the group comprised of those members that engage in Cultural Diplomacy. They constitute the notions – concepts of Culture, Nation and State by thinking together about the variety and diversity/disparity of Cultures, their nationalistic/nationalist placing and their mutual differentiation.²⁰⁷

On the other hand Kosovar intellectuals, where constructing a new Kosovar identity which was not only to differentiate them from the Serbian state but also would create a cohesion within a it’s society in these troublesome times, based on a couple of elements from the cultural heritage, the connection of it’s roman catholic clergy with the Western world, their literary works and other works of arts as well as the ancient roots of it’s people and the call for human rights, democracy and independence, that should align them with Europe and the free world. The crucial point here was to create this image of the Kosovars as completely different from the Serbs, “in the process of structuring of an identity in contrast to ‘the other’, in this case a rival and enemy nation...The Albanians have, therefore, asserted themselves by emphasizing their difference from Serbs, proving themselves before and against them...”²⁰⁸

Problematic with this new identity was what is known as the tendency to “return” to a certain way of understanding culture and also to tradition, that could lead to hate and various sorts of fundamentalism, as Said says: “Culture in this sense is a source of identity, and a rather combative one at that, as we see in recent “returns” to culture and tradition. These “returns” accompany rigorous codes of intellectual and moral behavior that are opposed to the permissiveness associated with such relatively liberal philosophies as multiculturalism and hybridity. In the the formerly colonized world, these “returns” have produced varieties of religious and nationalist fundamentalism.”²⁰⁹

While the Kosovars were learning their lessons of political activism from the nonviolent moments from Eastern Europe, their new identity that was aiming for democracy and independence, it was not constructed based on openness towards its future Serbian citizens, its Serbian neighbor state. It was the contrary of the nonviolence concept of Ghandi and other opponents of colonialism, which saw the reconstruction of national identity as well as the self-determination only as a step towards a wider identity, which embraces inclusive values.²¹⁰

²⁰⁶ Eco. Compare also Schreiner 2011, page 173-174.

²⁰⁷ Schreiner 2011, page.175. Außenkulturpolitik – Internationale Beziehungen und kultureller Austausch.

²⁰⁸ Maliqi, Shkelzen. Separate Worlds, page 101-4.

²⁰⁹ Said 1994, Introduction xiii.

²¹⁰ Clark 2000, page 68. Compare Thompson. A paper house, page 139.

4.4 Exchange programs

4.4.1 Introductory points

After the explanations on the area of arts in the international arena, I will now devote my attention on the scope of activity which has become more and more significant with the passing of time in the last one hundred years in the attempts to improve the relations among people of different states. The *exchange of people* comes in different forms and is being different from one another in its political legitimacy, the financial means that it has, its target group as well as the degree it is charged with nationalistically. Still it is worth mentioning that even within other scopes of activities, like arts, sports and science, one can speak of exchange of people, as in exchange of artists, sportmen and sportswomen and scientists.

While there are cases of such exchanges even after the First World War, as in the case between Germany and France, the focus of such programmes was not on the understanding of one another, but rather on the nationalistic pattern of thoughts that had to be beefed up or strengthened. In difference to the modern exchange programmes, that would see this as a contradiction in itself of such activities, the ideators of the programme back then, would aim to enforce the sense of the “self” through the contact with the nationalist “other”.²¹¹

With the end of the Second World War, the exchange programmes increased rapidly and became a crucial part in the areas of culture and foreign policy among many states. I will name only two famous ones, the exchange programmes between Germany and France, “the Franco-German youth office” established in the course of the Elysée agreement in 1963, as well as the “German-Polish youth office” that was set up after the cold war in 1991.²¹² The expectation here was that through this youth exchange program, with time these young people who were not historically burdened, would turn into valuable assets to create viable foreign policy structures.

²¹³

4.4.2 Theoretical considerations

When it comes to the ideological constitution, there are two points that have to be taken into consideration: first, the idea of a universalism of science as well as a modern concept of the human as a person or individual. In order to get closer to this concept of the individual, one has to take into account the *nationalist pattern of thoughts* and in the case of exchange programmes also the relation of the individual to the collective (the state).

²¹¹ Iriye 1997, page 73-74 and 101-102, explaining the period of time of the League of Nations and bilateral exchange activities among different states in the 20s and 30s; Krüger-Potratz 1996, on the schools exchange programs in the interwar period; Tiemann 1989, page 152-164.

²¹² Thomas 2007, page 658; A. Baumann 2005, page 162-165; Kuntz/Womela 2004; Kloock 2008, page 132-133; Bock 2007.

²¹³ Schreiner 2011, page 357.

While on the one hand this modern process of the development of the individual was closely related to the *processes of functional differentiations* in the society, with time and the refinement and idealization of the idea of freedom, it became a necessity for the individual to make his or her own choices, thus people differentiated themselves too. It became socially not only acceptable but was also supported by it, whereas the opposite attitudes were seen as deviations.²¹⁴

It became a value of modern times to differentiate oneself as a human from one another, altogether with the unique nature and the seclusion, and his or her social and functional relations.²¹⁵ I will not go any further into the social and ideological aftermath or consequences of such thoughts, but it appears that two aspects are highly relevant in the construction of modern states and the conception of the individual, and therefore deserve to be mentioned. These are the *individual human rights* and the *personal identity*. These, in turn, are linked to the two concepts that I have been speaking of in length in my chapter of methodology, the *universalism* that refer to individuals as persons as well as the *autoreferential signs*, as in the interpretation of signs that refer to persons in the international relations. Consequently, on the one hand the modern concepts of human, civil and fundamental rights are interlinked to the concept of the individual as an *entity that is endowed with rights* and these rights are perceived or seen as something universal and presocial, even though thinkers view them as socially allocated.²¹⁶

On the other hand, as a consequence, from the 18th century onwards, the reflections and explanation of one self was not anymore dependent on the position or the belonging to the society, but on the person itself. This means that the individual was conceptualized as self-reflexive and autotelic.²¹⁷

I will now turn my attention to the modern concept of the state. According to the definition of Max Weber, the state is characterized by a legitimizing, monopolizing and recognizing power, the people and by a geographically limited territory.²¹⁸ Especially the power is relevant to an analysis of cultural diplomacy, but rather in the sense of a socially attributed and interpreted *decision-making ability* and *ability to act*, that claims legitimacy and whose legitimacy is recognized and who has no competition in its territory.²¹⁹

But this rather incomplete understanding of the notion state as equal among other states, might be completed with the additional concept of sovereignty. While in the traditional international relations theories and the state theories as a given fact of the social and political

²¹⁴ Schreiner 2011, page 345-346.

²¹⁵ Schreiner points out on the thoughts of Immanuel Kant 1996, page 61; McCormick 1979, for the individual concepts of the individual.

²¹⁶ Arendt 2000, page 601-604. Engelhart 2003, page 41-43; Schmale 2005; Kuenhardt 1991; Brubaker 1994, page 62-78; Mayall 1990, page 27-28. See also Schreiner 2011, subchapter 2.2.1 Universalism and particularism.

²¹⁷ Luhmann 1989, page 215-228; Giddens 1991, page 74; Elias 2001, page 247-250; Straub 1998, page 83-94. Compare also Schreiner 2011, subchapter 2.2.1 Universalism and particularism.

²¹⁸ Weber 1980, page 822. Biersteker 2002, page 158-159, on the influences this definition has had on international relations.

²¹⁹ Schreiner 2011, page 348.

reality, in the modern interpretative and constructive assumptions the state is seen as a pattern of interpretation in the construction of it as a social entity.²²⁰

As a result of these assumptions, one realizes that the state cannot be defined only by its people and territory, or sovereignty alone, but other factors have to be included as well.²²¹

On the other hand the individual is dependent on the modern state, first because it depends on the state's structures as an *entity with rights* and the enforcement and the protection of those rights as well as the interpretative construction of those in the international arena.²²²

Second, the belonging to a state is a very important part of the individual's identity as a *reflexive individual*. His or her citizenship is probably the most important factor of his or her social and territorial allocation.²²³

Still it takes more to get to a more detailed analysis of citizenship, and that is why I will turn now to the nationalist aspects of it, a point that is made also by Smith: "[Citizenship] was, of course, far more than a matter of passports, oaths and legal identity, far more even than common rights and duties vis-à-vis government and administration. That was just the outer shell of citizenship, what was conveyed by (until recently) English term "nationality". It was also more than a question of residence, or even parents' residence, though here we are approaching the nub of the matter. Essentially, "citizenship" conveyed the sense of solidarity and fraternity through active social and political participation."²²⁴

In connection with this, it is the German philosopher Jürgen Habermas who differentiates between the notion of *ethnicity* and the *republican nations- and citizenship*. He also does not see the national identity and the citizenship as directly interlinked.²²⁵

Dividing the ethnicity and republican nations-and citizenship is being questioned not only by Anderson but also by Brubaker. Even without the ethnicity element as a ideological building block, narratives that include areas such as culture, sports and the sciences, are also responsible for the "*nationalist cohesion*" as is the "*interpretative construction of material symbols*". Therefore it is unthinkable to have the modern concept of citizenship without the imagination of nationalist communities and the belonging to a nation.²²⁶

It is worth mentioning what Gellner had to say about the need of the individual for the nation: "The individual is in need of a nation, as he has to have a nose and two ears. ... The fact, that he has a nation (ality), is not an inherent attribute of humanity, but it seems or appears that way."²²⁷

²²⁰ Werner/Wilde 2001, page 283-285; Osiander 2001; Bartelson 2006, page 463-465.

²²¹ Biersteker 2002, page 162-164.

²²² Arendt 2000, page 611-625, according to Schreiner she (Hannah Arendt) points out to this dependency relation when she writes about "the right, to have rights".

²²³ Elias 2001, page 274-279; Breuilly 1982, page 356; Kedourie 1993, page 2-5; Brubaker 2000; Brubaker 1994.

²²⁴ Smith 1986, page 135-136.

²²⁵ Habermas 1994, page 21-23.

²²⁶ Anderson 1993, page 18; Brubaker 2000, citizenship or nationality is selective.

²²⁷ Gellner 1991, page 15-16. Schreiner points out that one should compare also Geertz 1965, page 108-109; Anderson 1993, page 14; Brubaker 2000, page 79.

As a consequence of this assumption, the concept of the individual is not to be devided from the national ideological building blocks, and therefore it (the individual) is constructed in two ways: One, the perspective as a *self-serving, reflexive and individual with rights* and two, the perspective as a citizen or subject of a state, linked to a nation, and placed in the international system in the cultural and administrative way.²²⁸

Out of these considerations, where there is a link between the nation and the individual, four dimensions arise and according to Schreiner, the forth one, where the individual is seen as a “carrier” or “representative” of a culture that is bound by a nation, has remained underinvestigated or underresearched. The execption here is the work done by disciplines that are interested in the sociological research on stereotypes and intercultural pedagogy. It is this *national placing*, that makes it possible for us to understand the individual as the “carrier” of a culture in the cross-border communication as well as the intepreted “representative”. At the same time the individual is also self-serving, autonomous and universal. In the case of the exchange programmes (of people) among states, this *universalism* is *autoreferential*, because the individual earns respect and esteem or regard not because of his or her contextual or national placing, but because of his or her existence as an individual.²²⁹

The Individuals involved in the exchange of people are interpreted as semiotically autoreferential. They only seem to be apolitical, eventhough the programs of which they are part, have a political character, these individuals are attributed with an autonomy and intrinsic quality.²³⁰ Thus the exchange of people becomes important as a tool in Foreign Policy. It is namely this doubling (or duplication) that makes it possible to create the political relevance.

Autoreferentiality and poltical relevance constitute each other in this case. The exchange of people is unique phenomena, for it would not be possible to think of it, if it weren’t incorporated in the international relations. Both autoreferentiality and political relevance depend on each other. “Autoreferentiality needs the political, the instrumental, the utilization by the third party, to constitute itself semiotically, whereas political relevance constitutes itself as a derivative and secondary.”²³¹

Accepting the Individual, in the meaning accepting his/her national identity and characteristics/ features, results also in accepting the Nation state and his/her political as well as cultural entity. Thus the Individual’s role becomes important in the International Relations, because of the interpretation of it as a representative of a nation. In this sense the individuals constitute the floor where the diferentiations between Nation states is carried. It is because of this

²²⁸ Kalberg 1993.

²²⁹ Schreiner 2011, page 354-355; Estel 2001, page 182. Kühnhardt 1991, on Unversal human rights.

²³⁰ Scott-Smith 2009, page 51.

²³¹ Schreiner 2011, page 363.

that Nationalism is the most important form of Particularism. The Individual is thus constructed as a social entity, bearing/ with specific nationalist elements as well as universal ones.²³²

4.4.3 The Analysis of exchange programs

The exchange programme that I will focus on, in my attempts to elaborate on its relevance as a cultural diplomacy tool that tends to relax, improve and upgrade the relations of the Kosovar and the Serbian societies, is the “Youth Initiative of Human Rights”. This program is supported by the organization that the Serbian human rights activist Natasa Kandic has set up, as well as many foreign (mostly western European) foundations. The aim of the program of this regional organization, is to not only inform the participating young Kosovars and Serbs about the central state institutions (the parliaments and the judicial system) but also the way in which the memory for the past, to be more precise the wars is being dealt with in both respective countries. This program intends to enhance the human capability of empathy, for one another, as well as to effectively fight the predominant negative “image of the other” that has been enforced especially in the 90s when the Balkan Wars were happening.

Being aware of the contrary *narratives* that both states have imposed on both societies after the conflict in Kosova, in the official history books as well as the media (mostly the media associated with the ruling political class), this program becomes highly relevant in the deconstruction of the “miseducation”. As I have pointed out, the exchange programmes between France and Germany as well as the one between Germany and Poland, aimed to create valuable foreign policy assets by bringing the youth that is not historically charged together and also remove the negative “image of the other”. Unfortunately in the Western Balkans this has not been the case, at least it was not the official policy neither in Serbia nor in Kosova. Erhard Busek, the former president of the European Stability Initiative, made it his mission and succeeded (partially) to organize the editing of an alternative history reader for the Western Balkans, with a group of historians from this region and the Western European centers of study specialized in the Western Balkans. This represents a significant step towards the change of perceptions, and images that are still effecting the younger generations in this region. In Serbia for instance, though this alternative history book has not become the official one, it has been accepted as the (second) alternative history reader (book) in schools. It represents a small but surely significant step, that will create the necessary tools for the Serbian society to deal with its past. Unfortunately one cannot say the same about Kosova, because the official history book (or reader) is still highly politicized and written with a nationalist interpretation according to liberal intellectuals of Kosova. In this highly intense climate among the two states, that are in a deadlock in their political relations, because of the blockade the talks between Prishtina and Belgrade have witnessed since 2015, and because of the narrow-mindedness of the official institutes of history in both countries, a program like the “Youth Initiative for human rights”

²³² Schreiner 2011, page 363-364.

becomes even more important. The *local encyclopedia* of which I was talking in my elaboration of the thinking of Umberto Eco, which represents the scope of horizon that both states and nations (actors) need to have in order to develop these interaction of cultural diplomacy, is based on a universalism that is auto-referential in this case. It is universal because the value, upon which this exchange programme is based, is the universal human rights. These human rights were undermined during the war period but also in the after war period. A very sensitive part of this program is also to talk about the war crimes committed in this time and the missing persons. Every year a group of young people (activists of this regional organization) remembers the missing persons with actions in the capital cities through different events. The fact that these events are openly supported by foreign embassies in the respective countries but not really by the governments shows that the political will among the political elites is still missing or not in the level that would be sufficient. The relevance of the exchange program in this case comes also from the fact that, while these young people are “carriers” or “representatives” of their supposedly national cultures, it is this imagination based on universalism that eventually also means that these young people recognize the country of origin and the culture of one another as something different. This cultural object is also a auto-referential sign because it refers to the Universalism of human rights and therefore distances itself from a clearly political sign. In the meantime it has a significant political role to play, bringing both states and nations closer to a common ground, and serving also as an alternative communication channel among people and institutions. While the political dialogue between Kosovo and Serbia is facing a lot of obstacles and the people in both societies turn out more and more skeptical about its outcomes, this cultural diplomacy events that focus mostly on the education of the youth, can create strong ties among this younger generation of decision makers that are less or not ideologically charged and therefore might also be able to bring new and much needed impulses to the rapprochement among both nations and states.

The Council of Europe Commissioner for Human Rights has stated recently in his visit to Kosovo that the war victims “should be placed at the centre of the political dialogue”. While there is a human aspect to this call, regarding the displaced persons, families of missing persons and victims of wartime sexual violence, that are still trying to rebuilt their lives, it also shows why the initiative like the Youth Initiative of Human Rights should be put into the spotlight not only by the political actors but also by the media and the relevant international actors like Brussels and the US.²³³

This is obviously only a case where Universalism and the self-referential property of a sign work, and it doesn't imply that it does work on every case, which can be influenced by different contextual factors. But still, studying the case of the “Youth Initiative of Human Rights” program could show the future researchers and their analysis of cultural diplomacy that it should focus on these cases. This analysis of the cultural diplomacy among Kosovo and Serbia focuses not on the questions of whether these cultural events have been successful in the

²³³ BIRN 2017, “Council of Europe Says Kosovo War Victims ‘Ignored’,”
<http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/council-of-europe-says-kosovo-war-victims-ignored--02-09-2017>

respective societies, but rather on the why and when these cultural events or cultural products become relevant for the cultural diplomacy as effective tools in their aim to ease, to improve or upgrade the relations among the societies.²³⁴

²³⁴ Schreiner 2011, Autoreferential as the property of the sign that is constructed by interpretation that belongs to a specific societal complex and refers to it, page 198-202;
Compare Hoxha 2016, “How well do young Albanians and Serbs know each other,” <http://www.recom.link/koliko-se-mladi-albanci-i-srbi-medusobno-poznaju/> (20.02.2017).

Conclusions

Cultural diplomacy and its events and products are based upon the mutual or reciprocal cultural (but not only cultural) recognition of states or the showing of goodwill or benevolence.

States and nations may also construct each other as states and nations by recognizing the culture of the other. This seems possible because of the modern way of conceptualizing phenomena like the arts, science, persons or languages, understand them as universal, while on the other hand they can be nationally placed. The contradiction of universalism and particularism becomes also due to cultural diplomacy a constructed contradiction through interpretation.

Universalism as well as the self-referential property of a sign are both the linking points for this analysis of cultural diplomacy among Kosova and Serbia. To further explain these two patterns of interpretations I have relied on the interpretative semiotics of Eco and his concepts of local encyclopedia.

Based on the assumptions of Eco and Schreiner, the universalism represents a pattern of interpretation that allows interpreting cultural diplomacy signs and in the mean time they constitute ideas of societal complexes, that seem to be closed and to whom signs can be assigned.

The dependency on interpretation of the social is the basic assumption of Eco's thinking and the foundation for the interpretative semiotics. It should be considered or included when one studies nationalism, culture and cultural diplomacy in connection with universalism. As I have mentioned earlier, universalism is described as an ideology which is constructed by interpretation, by the modernist nationalism theories as well as the critique of Walker on the theories of international relations.

While culture becomes the umbrella under which the differentiation from the other (state and nation) as well as the unifier in the internal affairs of a nation, in other words its alter ego, I have also included the post-classical theories of nationalism in my analytical framework. They helped me well in understanding the process of nation-building in Serbia and Kosova, as a process of imagination and interpretation. As a result I was able to include these post-classical concepts of nationalism studies in the explanation of the relevance of cultural diplomacy events and products among these two states. To the benefit of my analysis was the assumption that there are no given constants and that even cultures and nations are themselves part of the continuing interpretation processes.

Universalism creates the necessary infrastructure for the differentiation processes among states; they provide the standards and the criteria. Cultural differentiation and through it the differentiation among states is possible because culture itself depends on the universal ideas, and this makes it possible to compare and to create relevance even beyond its own borders. Further it makes it possible to create interest, benevolence or goodwill and friendship or at least acceptance from the other (state). While these interpretations are not binding, as many empirical cases show, they can still be at the center of the analysis of cultural diplomacy. By offering criteria and features, these universalisms create the opportunity for states and nations to use them, when they are claiming particulars. These universalisms have two common aspects: First, their factual

statements claim to cover a particular area of a phenomenon and second, through their normative proposition they claim the overall validity and acceptance from a particular focus group.

The self-referential property of a sign (autoreferentiality) like culture, state, nation and International relations is constructed by interpretation. This is how one can circumvent or bypass categories of praxis and categories of analysis. It represents the supposedly independent property of a sign, which is actually constructed by interpretation and belongs to a particular social complex.

The combination of the self-referential property of a sign (autoreferentiality) and universalism as the combination of two patterns of interpretation may be the key to a central problem of cultural diplomacy as well as in particular in understanding the cultural diplomacy relevance among Kosova and Serbia.

Focusing on two particular areas of cultural diplomacy, namely the arts and the exchange of people among Kosova and Serbia, and taking into consideration the common horizon of knowledge conceptualized as local encyclopedia by Eco, I have concluded that the cultural diplomacy among the two states and nations constitutes them as states, nations, cultures and that the cultural products and events that are part of their activities are historically contingent.

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