

PUBLIC DIPLOMACY OF SMALL STATES: THE CASE OF KOSOVO

SUMMARY OF THE DISSERTATION

The concept of public diplomacy was used for the first time in 1965 by U.S. diplomat Edmund Gullion, and ever since, different views and theories have elaborated it from different perspectives on how public diplomacy should be defined. However, although many debates emerged, this field got attention only recently by theorists and scholars and became attractive for policymakers and implementors. Among the reasons behind the factorization of public diplomacy in recent decades is also the development and revolution in information technology, the rise of media and its importance, as well as its power and impact on public opinion, which has shaped foreign policy and determined international agenda. There are many examples of how media, both traditional and social media, has changed international politics and foreign policies of states, becoming a trend in diplomacy and international relations. Public diplomacy started to become popular among states as a remarkably effective instrument and a suitable way to push forward the interests of the country and society and advance foreign policy goals. Some of the most important debates about public diplomacy are those on in which field it should be placed, what it should define, what are its scope and limitations if the term referred to the efforts of the state and non-state actors to promote their economic, political, cultural or religious interests, and advance their interests through soft power. Nevertheless, public diplomacy is a tool used by governments to attract the foreign public, to organize and activate the resources of soft power in favor of their states.

This research is focused on the public diplomacy of small states, having in its main attention in the efforts and struggle of small states and the manners they use to gain visibility in the international arena. To accomplish the overall objectives, initially, the research focuses on the history and progression and advancement of soft power and public diplomacy in international politics, the concept and theories and scholar debates on public diplomacy, the role of public diplomacy in international relations and international politics and how countries are utilizing these tools in the pursuit of their foreign policies. To have a clear picture of the development of public diplomacy, among small states, this research puts focus on big countries like the USA, where public diplomacy has been coined in the first place and developed in its initial stages and shapes. Considering that the U.S. public diplomacy has

resulted successful in promoting and spreading democracy and human rights values around the world through its soft power, cross-cultural cooperation and exchange study programs such as Fulbright, International Visitor Leader Program exchanges, support for civil societies, media, human rights activists all around the world, then the Hollywood film industry, multinational corporations like McDonalds and Coca Cola, through which American and western values are promoted. Nevertheless, this research focuses on public diplomacy of small states, however, it is important to establish a correlation between big and small state's cooperation, which brings me to the argument that big states have helped the development of small states, and which assumption I develop further in this dissertation.

To accomplish the research objectives, initially, the research focuses on the history and progression and advancement of soft power and public diplomacy in international politics, the concept of public diplomacy, the role of public diplomacy in international relations and international politics and how countries are utilizing these tools in the pursuit of their foreign policies. To be more pragmatic, I have focused my research on the public diplomacy of Kosovo. Through Kosovo as a case study, this research aims to bring forward the importance of public diplomacy as a tool in the hands of small states, who struggle to become current and survive in the international arena, where they are disadvantaged exactly because they are small. Moreover, Kosovo, in the last decade, has faced challenges to convince the international community about its legitimacy, sovereignty, statehood capacity, and be a full member of the international democratic community. And in the case of Kosovo, the responsibility of improving the image of the state and changing perceptions is not only a matter that belongs only to politics or media. Image as a capital issue, it is tightly related to the international reputation of a country, which belongs equally to all state and non-state actors, starting from individuals, NGOs, schools, universities, cultural centers, academia, the business community, etc. These actors are inevitably contributors and beneficiaries of the positive image of the country, as much as they are responsible and affected by the negative one.

As for the attempts to improve the image of Kosovo, among most distinguished is the one realized by an Israeli company Saatchi& Saatchi, called "Kosovo-The Young Europeans," sponsored by the institutions of Kosovo, launched in 2009. The slogan presents the Republic of Kosovo as both one of the youngest countries in the world and home to the youngest population in Europe. The T.V. commercial has been aired on six major international T.V. channels, namely BBC World News, CNN, and CNN Turk, Bloomberg, Euronews, and Eurosport. Therefore, Kosovo as a small state, developing economy, young

population with high potential yet still not remarkably ambitious standards, has public diplomacy as one of the instruments in approaching skeptical countries and its public, and improve neighboring relations. However, due to political barriers, Kosovo is facing many obstacles in the consolidation of its position in international relations, the creation of new relations with countries around the world, as well as with their societies. After the independence of Kosovo, the 17th of February 2008, Kosovo's foreign policy initially took the steps of advancement of the position of Kosovo, especially in deepening the relations with the countries that had supported the independence of Kosovo. Bringing new recognition remains one of the key objectives of foreign policy. Therefore, this research investigates public diplomacy as a valuable tool for the creation of the image, survival of small states in the international system, and as a tool for creating long-lasting relationships between states and people.

Based on the philosophical and scholarly debates that have treated and defined soft power and diplomacy, especially implying their assumptions about public diplomacy, this research is situated in the field of liberal theory, that states are rational actors, with emphasis on the value of free trade, and prevention of conflicts between nations and enhance of cooperation. However, this research is not only limited to the liberal approach, considering that when public diplomacy emerged in other forms of its existence, the world had bipolar system and small states highly depended and were under the influence of the politics of great powers. However, considering that relations between states intensified particularly after World War II, based on the liberal approach, public diplomacy can be considered as a tool of implementation of interdependence and cooperation among states. Therefore, Neo-Liberalism focused more in the field of soft power and public diplomacy, and within it, Liberal Institutionalism, developed by Joseph Nye and Robert Keohane, as the main scholars that developed the concept of soft power in international relations. The main concepts of institutional liberalism claim that international institutions and organizations such as the U.N, NATO, and E.U, can increase and aid cooperation between states. Notwithstanding, this research also argues that public diplomacy, even with moderate involvement of international organizations, is a path of cooperation between countries, where classic diplomacy has not been able to succeed. In parallel to the soft power in a more generalized scope, David Vital was one of the first to concentrate on small states. He argues that a small state is small concerning a greater power it is interacting with, while Robert Keohane, considers that small states are those that are system ineffectual and that they are unable to influence the international system. Robert Rothstein defines small states as weak within the international

system that require external security. In addition to existing theories related to soft power and public diplomacy of small states, this research aims to provide theoretical and practical arguments, which I consider that are lacking in the arena of public diplomacy. Therefore, through Foreign Policy Analysis theory, I have investigated the establishment and development of the foreign policy of Kosovo. In my research in the field of public diplomacy itself, but also related specifically to the case study of small states, I have found that there are a considerable literature gap and lack of researches concentrated in this field. Based on the research area and problem described above, but also taking into consideration that existing researches and literature are insufficiently argumentative, especially related to new emerging countries as Kosovo, I raise the question:

RESEARCH QUESTION: What is the importance of public diplomacy in improving the position of Kosovo in international relations? To specify and provide more relevance to the research area, I will raise the supporting questions on what strategies should small states apply concerning the dominant regional and global powers? The aiding questions in this research are placed to provide a deeper insight into what path should small states pursue to become visible in the international system and create a positive image.

HYPOTHESIS: Public diplomacy is a chance for small states like Kosovo to expand their influence and advance their agenda in manners that go past their military capabilities and economic powers. Kosovo has to promote its unique assets, such as tourism, religious harmony, sports, arts, culture, education, its geographic position as stabilizing factor in the region, using new diplomatic alternatives, respectively using public diplomacy as a new and easier and more effective approach, in promoting international cooperation and insisting in interdependence, and to the new realities in I.R.

To answer my research question and test my hypothesis, I have used a mixed-methods approach, which includes tools of qualitative and quantitative research methods. The desk research includes investigation of legal documents, archives, regulations, and literature that are related to soft power, public diplomacy, foreign policy strategies, small states, from both historical perspective and contemporary studies. Initially, I have investigated the literature and debates on the main concepts, such as public diplomacy, propaganda, small states, soft power, etc. In academic literature, it is important to investigate the connection between the concepts and the real impact on international politics, for the small states. The primary source of this information is mainly acquired from books, journals, reports, websites, and statistical analyses produced by reliable sources. Also, these sources have aided in determining different approaches regarding small states and public diplomacy, particularly because the attention

had been given mainly to the big states and great powers and their behavior throughout history. Moreover, the literature review I have found a theoretical base for the development of the dissertation and further exploration of the case study of Kosovo and its public diplomacy, with correlation of the details that have helped to complete the bigger picture of the entire dissertation. Any progresses with the built or development of theories will be affected by more constraints from the problems that arise from within existing theoretical frameworks. To overcome the obstacles, the methodology is divided into parts that will help its detailed development.

The research focuses on small states and the relation of military capabilities, economic development, and other factors, with the ability to influence international politics. This dissertation includes a deep study of empirical evidence of the public diplomacy efforts of Kosovo and other small states. Moreover, this dissertation has developed and combined the research tools to establish a correlation between core concepts, theories, and data through an analytical approach. A cross-state comparative study in any discipline is not an easy task because of the overwhelming logistical barriers, among other things. Meanwhile, I have also conducted historical research to provide more clear approach regarding small states and public diplomacy, especially connected to the comparative research, where I have compared the foreign policy of specific small countries with the foreign policy of Kosovo. Also, I have investigated sources of international law, treaties, and agreements related to diplomatic activities, as well as conducted interviews with experts in Kosovo who have had a hand in the development and evolution of the state of Kosovo, as well as part of Foreign Policy of Kosovo. Additional to qualitative research, to investigate the role of non-formal education in public diplomacy, I have conducted a survey with participants of Kosovo International Summer Academy, which is an international summer academy in Kosovo held for international participants who come to Kosovo to learn about peacebuilding in post-conflict areas. This program aims to change the perception of youngsters around the world about Kosovo and aim to invest in education as a tool of public diplomacy, which will have a long-lasting effect. I have conducted an online survey, comprised of 10 questions, which was distributed to the KSA participants through online channels. In total, 115 KSA alumni have responded to this survey. Participants in this survey are between 18-32 years old. The respondents of this survey comprise 29.11% of the entire number of participants in Kosovo International Summer Academy between 2015-2019 editions. Through this survey, I will be able to provide an insight on the role of non-formal education, exchange programs, extra-curricular school activities concerning studies abroad, on public diplomacy of small states,

with significant focus on the case of Kosovo, and the impact it has in the present and the future, in changing its image among world youngsters.

Overview of the Dissertation Structure:

This research plan of this dissertation is divided into five chapters.

In the **first chapter**, I have presented the history of appearance and evolution of public diplomacy and how the word public diplomacy has initially appeared during World War I, where it initially represented the openness and transparency of the governmental debates and agreements. The world had started to become very intensive, while the governments to World War II, where the battle for hearts and minds started along with the war of missals. During this phase until the end of the Cold War, the tools of public diplomacy had been developed, including educational programs and cultural and youth exchanges, however all under the name of propaganda. A particular focus in this chapter is given to the United States public diplomacy as, throughout the history of its evolution, it was a primary channel of persuasion of hearts and minds, broadcasting messages and planting mutual understanding. This chapter provides a narrative of the propaganda or contemporary public diplomacy of the U.S, throughout all the phases of the history which have been significantly more advanced compared to other states like the Soviet Union, Germany, Britain, France, and Italy, as the major powers of that time. Therefore, the genesis of the historical and theoretical part of Public Diplomacy leads us directly to the United States, a country whose public diplomacy, especially in the 21st century, has been a guide and, in most cases, even a sponsor for small states and their public diplomacy. In this chapter I have presented the manners of implementation of propaganda, used as a tool to win hearts and minds, especially during the World War I period, highlighting the role of the former U.S. President Woodrow Wilson and the establishment of the Committee on Public Information as an independent bureau of the U.S. government, which was created to influence the public opinion and increase the public support for the participation of the U.S. in the World War I. Except for Woodrow Wilson, Franklin Roosevelt was another U.S. president that plays an important figure during this time. It was under his command that the Office of War Information was established, which provided the American public through newspapers, films, photographs, posters, and other media, information about activities of the World War II counterparts, Axis and Allies. Office for War Information moreover, expanded in many branches, which launched large-scale propaganda campaigns around the world, with a focus on the Voice of America (VOA),

which also today operates as the official government service broadcasting for the United States of America. As it will be presented in this research, the U.S. was not the only country to use propaganda to cover up facts, influence the public, or even change the course of events. Likewise, in this operation happened to be as active as they could, the Axis Powers, with a particular focus on German propaganda that used films and newspapers and documentaries as well to spread Hitler's propaganda, justify their means of war and keep the public restrained from the foreign propaganda as well. Therefore, it appears that the war was opened on two levels, where propaganda was a particularly useful tool, especially radio, for the dissemination of information in particular countries. Unlike First and World War II, during the Cold War, public diplomacy was far more advanced, dynamic, and all-inclusive. It certainly played a significant role as it emerged from the initial years after a devastating war. The Cold War shaped domestic and foreign policies for many decades worldwide. With the United States and the Soviet Union as the main protagonists of the bipolar world created, using international broadcasting shaped the attitudes of the countries in favorable stance for the two superpowers, complying with the competing ideologies. In this chapter, the role of the United States Information Agency, British Public Service broadcaster, BBC, Radio Free Europe, and Radio Liberty is specified, where the CIA founded the latest. Meanwhile, in 1957 the launch of first space satellite Sputnik by the Soviet Union made people believe that the Soviet Union had advanced technologically and in space ahead of the United States and European Countries, and that science had found a better place in the Soviet Union's culture than the American one! Nevertheless, except for broadcasts, educational and cultural programs launched by the U.S. and Soviet Union during the Cold War characterize this era as well.

Educational and Cultural programs played an especially influential role in the superpower's strategies and agendas during the Cold War. Among the distinguished are Fulbright Program, International Visitors Program, "Peace Corps," "People to people" initiative, and many other projects that intended to attract people to the life of the other side. During this time, the Soviet Union even used radio jamming to prevent its citizens from listening to the BBC and Voice of America, trying to prevent their seduction from the western life. In this chapter, a special attention will be given to the agreement achieved between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, and particularly on the role of Mikhail Gorbachev, as a person that understood the deepest importance of public diplomacy and the "glasnost" and his decision to make huge steps towards the end the Cold War.

After presenting a clear historical narrative on how public diplomacy came to its full name and meaning that it has today, how it was born and transformed into what it is used in

the contemporary politics, the historical phases in which it went through that shaped and marketed its transformation, the **second chapter** presents the theoretical framework of public diplomacy.

The second chapter, likewise, presents the theoretical discussion related to the evolution of the concept and notion of public diplomacy. The reason of this division is not founded on the idea that historical and theoretical debate over the history is separated processes, however, due to the large importance that both of these narratives have in parallel, I have decided that the theoretical debate should be divided from the practical evolution during the history. Thus, this chapter will present the theoretical discussion related to public diplomacy and scholars that have attempted throughout history to define public diplomacy, so that there could be one definition of what public diplomacy is, and this way, they would also know what it is not. These efforts raised a fruitful discussion among scholars, practitioners, diplomats, and politicians, in their attempt to show the similarities and differences of many related concepts with public diplomacy. Edmund Gullion, Hans N. Tuch, Nicholas Cull, Gyorgy Szondi, Mark Leonard, Carnes Lord, Nancy Snow, Josef Batora, Jan Melissen, Gifford Malone, and many other scholars have deeply investigated this field, attempting to provide definitions on the related concepts as well, which I have also mentioned in the previous chapter. Thus, the concern in the debate is focused on separating public diplomacy from traditional diplomacy, propaganda, nation branding, public relations, and while it is already detached from all these concepts, what does it remain. In the meantime, public diplomacy scholars do not attempt to estrange public diplomacy from other concepts but argue and stand on the ground of facts that public diplomacy is inclusive, however, it is a separate field, concept, and area as well. Each of the subchapters will present one related concept and the relation or difference between them and public diplomacy. In this chapter, I will first present basic distinctions between public diplomacy and traditional diplomacy, then some of the concepts that deserve attention to analyses and discuss differences, relations, and similarities between public diplomacy and traditional diplomacy, public diplomacy and public relations, public diplomacy and propaganda, public diplomacy and nation branding, which various scholars and practitioners often use in the same context, but the relationship between these concepts remains vague. This chapter elaborates on the theoretical aspect of public diplomacy, by initially introducing the definitions of public diplomacy as a concept and assessing the developments and evolution of the theories of public diplomacy. Secondly, this chapter evaluates the significance of public diplomacy in the changing environment of international politics and provides the characteristics of good practices where public

diplomacy has been applied. Third, this chapter presents the debate that gives an insight on the differences and similarities of public diplomacy with traditional diplomacy, propaganda, public relations, and all other concepts, providing also a distinction between public diplomacy the old and new, what it is and what is its future according to the scholars.

In the **third chapter**, based on the focus of this research and the importance that public diplomacy has for small states, I have presented theoretical and empirical definitions of small states. One of the main definitions of small states is given by the World Bank and the Commonwealth, which tend to use a threshold of 1.5 million people to count nations as small states. However, there are different views on what small states are and what makes them small. Therefore, I present the discussion and characteristics presented by scholars, such as Baldur Thorhallson, who defines small states as actors with limited capabilities and influence. Also, I will present the factors that minimize or to enhance these capabilities. In parallel, other scholars such as David Vital, uses parameters such as population, size, GDP, and GNP, as elements of power and capability, which further define small states. This chapter presents the challenges of small states in international politics, besides what makes them small states, and how public diplomacy has challenged this traditional view of the “position, place and importance” of these small states. However, in academia, yet there is no exact definition of small states, no agreement on how to define a small state, what similarities we would expect to find in their foreign policies, or how they influence international relations. Further, this chapter also presents the role of public diplomacy of small states and how they become visible in international relations. Nevertheless, except of the opportunities and benefits that small states have from public diplomacy, another challenge that remains is the commitment of these states develop a clear and professional public diplomacy, which appears more challenging due to the limited economic resources that they have in comparison to middle size and large states, which is the exact situation with the case of the state of Kosovo. To have a clear overview, I will present empirical studies of middle and small states power diplomacy, known as “Niche diplomacy,” that is associated with small states that don’t have enough political and military power to impose their position to the decision-making process on the world stage but have significant political influence in many cases. However, “niche diplomacy” is probably the best known of the types of approaches followed by small states to get their voice heard in the international arena. Further, I will also portray the role of the United States and the European Union’s public diplomacy in the Balkans, in general, and particularly since the 1990s and on starting from the beginning of the end for the former Yugoslav Federation. The role of the U.S. and the E.U. has been determining for the Balkan region, which has scored

tremendous progress from the wartime, during the transition phase, disintegration process and implementation and consolidation of democracy, a market economy, defense, and security reforms, and the path opened for integration in the Euro-Atlantic structures. In the last part of this chapter, I elaborate on the foreign policy of the small states, chiefly in the 21st century, mainly focusing on the progresses and initiatives that were started to initiate the cooperation between small wealth states since, since the end of the 20th century, as several small states felt that if they cooperate more closely with each other, they can have a real influence in world affairs. Examples of this are the establishment of the Forum of Small States (FOSS) in 1992, which is an informal grouping of states at the United Nations with populations under 10 million.

In the **fourth chapter**, the case of Kosovo is analyzed, starting from the historical perspective starting Kosovo in 1999-2008, particularly the beginning of the war in Kosovo and the process of the dissolution of Yugoslavia, coercive diplomacy concerning the War in Kosovo which led to NATO intervention. The situation was followed by the establishment of the U.N. Interim Mission in Kosovo under resolution 1244 of the U.N. Security Council. This chapter presents the developments step by step, until the path that Kosovo's foreign policy has used to gain international recognition by countries individually, to strengthen the legitimacy of Kosovo's sovereignty and statehood. This chapter also includes the post-independence period in Kosovo, formation, and development of the foreign policy of Kosovo, diplomatic missions and all the challenges that Kosovo has faced, as a new and small state, both accepted and unlikable, which was reflected and continues to be in its development even today. I also present in this chapter the process of integration in international organizations, and how public diplomacy plays a role in this regard. The **fifth chapter** elaborates on public diplomacy, nation branding, and the image of Kosovo in the international arena. This research presents the actions that have been undertaken so far from government, international organizations, civil society as well as individuals. Here I analyze the importance of individual successes and how they contribute to the national interests in the case of small states. Moreover, I elaborate on the nation branding campaigns undertaken by the Kosovo government as well as the promotion of the state of Kosovo through individual successes. Finally, it presents the main findings of this research, from the survey conducted with participants of Kosovo International Summer Academy, who have been taken as a sample to investigate the role of non-formal education in the public diplomacy of small states. In the field of public diplomacy, most of the studies are focused on the historical part and the U.S. experiences and operations during the cold war. Historical background is useful in research,

having a substantial impact and contribution on the development of theory and methodologies, however, in public diplomacy, both parts have been quite limited. After the end of the Cold War, especially from 1992 until 2003, there has been estimated that there were less than 30 books written on public diplomacy. In 11 years, this number of publications is significantly low, and the concern lies in the attention to the field as well. Existing researches in the field of public diplomacy show some severe flaws, and the debate on this field was particularly triggered after the 9/11 attacks, having increased attention in this field, with growth also in researches and publications. However, most of the publications of the last decades are summaries of reviews and edited books about communication and information, which time to time include public diplomacy as well. Besides, the existing literature is focused chiefly on the public diplomacy of great powers and Anglo-Saxon countries, with a special focus on the United States. Another shortfall in the literature of public diplomacy is the elaboration on programs and initiatives of the third sector, such as NGOs, CSOs, groups, and individuals. While, regarding the academic field, the studies are mostly focused on bibliographical researches, interactions, and differences of the concepts, such as propaganda, public relations, nation branding, etc. Thus, one of the main limitations in the field of academia stands that this field is not rich and abundant with researches as well as the fact that scholars have not been able to agree in one single definition on public diplomacy.

The second limitation in this field, regarding the field research in Kosovo and small states, is that the main materials are related to experiences of great powers, and thus small states do not have a rich background in this field. Therefore, this is also one of the main contributions that this research will make in the field of academia. Nevertheless, Kosovo, as a young country, has been able to develop foreign policy as well as public diplomacy strategies in parallel. In this regard, I consider the limitations of the country as the ones that will have an impact in this research as well, considering that additional examples will have to be taken from other small states to explain occurring phenomena regarding modern and contemporary public diplomacy.

Taking into account that this topic is of high importance in several fields, including academia, institutional, civil society, education, as well as an excellent resource for diplomatic strategies of Kosovo on the first instance, then other small states, I consider that this research will become a great foundation for future researches, however, for such importance, time stands one of the limitations, considering that this is a field which is always

in development and transformation together with global trends.

In terms of literature, in general, there is a noticeable deficiency in this field. Therefore, most of the literature is published by several authors after 2001, referring mainly to Allen C. Hansen (1984), Hans Tuch (1990). Jan Melissen, Director of Research at the Netherlands Institute of International Relations, in edited book "The New Public Diplomacy Soft Power in International Relations", argues that "so far there has been remarkably little academic literature on post-Cold War public diplomacy." Joseph Nye, with the concept of soft power, Jan Melissen, Nicholas Cull, Nancy Snow, Mark Leonard, Eytan Gilboa, Josef Batora, which are the dominating authors with their publications, focused mainly in theoretical explanations of public diplomacy, therefore they are found mainly in the discourse and theoretical analysis in the first chapters of my research.

In the meantime, the primary sources of this research lie on the documents which exist online or are retrieved from the archives, regarding the evolution of public diplomacy, as well as the development of the notion from propaganda until contemporary times, including dictionaries from international libraries, strategies and important agreements which have marked particular states of public diplomacy, as well as institutional publications with reliable statistics which will be used for this research. Books that are important for this research are and will be retrieved from Libraries in Poland but also the ones in the region of the Balkans, mainly regarding the chapters where the propaganda during Yugoslav Federation is necessary to be deeply elaborated. Meanwhile, articles and publications, reports, and interviews are a significant source of information. In the chapters where the individual obtained information are necessary in order to validate the assumptions and main hypothesis, I hereby declare that the accessibility and convenience of these data have already been taken into account before presenting them as a reliable and abundant source. This study is relevant initially because there is a literature gap in the field of public diplomacy, and there is a gap in the field of public diplomacy of small states and their position in international relations. Moreover, as small states have no visibility they need by the foreign public, Kosovo has no diplomatic power in the international arena, no influence, with the baggage of unsolved issues from the past, lack of diplomatic experience, and other issued related to young statehood and its legitimacy. In parallel, except for the struggle with internal statehood issued, Kosovo also faces the unsolved problems with Serbia, who is a powerful opponent, and relatively stronger power and influence in the international arena, a network that is inherited from the past, in economic, political and other aspects. In comparison to Serbia, Kosovo's diplomacy efforts

are still at the beginning. Thus, in a realistic ground, the diplomatic efforts of Kosovo compared to its opponents are not a hope-giving source, regarding the future support for the statehood of Kosovo. In this regard, Kosovo needs to use the tools and instruments that can penetrate those areas where classic diplomacy has it impossible.

As a second argument on the relevance of this research, I also consider the other issue being the interdependence. Thus, public diplomacy, except for being a tool of opportunity, has also to be a tool of survival and necessary connections, considering that international interdependence is crucial for the development of the state. Thus, through public diplomacy, Kosovo can ensure the support of its partners and manage to open new ways of reconciliation and cooperation, in addition to the ongoing diplomatic disputes. Based on the content of the research, the reflection of some factual elements proves that public diplomacy has resulted quite successful in foreign affairs, especially in those fields where classic diplomacy has found it impossible to breakthrough. Although the country is a newcomer in public diplomacy, efforts to promote its image to the international public opinion where skepticism still prevails, using forms of public diplomacy in cooperation and coordination with international allies, through promotion and support, have opened the gates for Kosovo. Kosovo, as the youngest country in Europe, with the help of its allies, continues lobbying to receive as much recognition as possible from U.N. members, but as well as to disseminate in the international arena, the new reality created in Kosovo, as well as in the Balkans.