

Routledge Studies in Modern European History

CULTURAL DIPLOMACY IN SOUTHERN EUROPE

**SPAIN, PORTUGAL AND GREECE IN THE
TWENTIETH CENTURY**

Edited by

Marició Janué i Miret, Eva March,
José-Miguel Pacheco Castelao and
Albert Presas i Puig



Cultural Diplomacy in Southern Europe

This book offers a comprehensive overview of how culture, science, technology and academic activity functioned as instruments of cultural diplomacy and soft power in Spain, Portugal and Greece during the interwar and Cold War periods.

Cultural Diplomacy in Southern Europe is particularly timely due to the growing academic focus on the role of culture and science as relevant actors in countries' diplomatic strategies, even as the current geopolitical climate appears to be altering the roles of traditional international actors. The idea of a common Europe as an area of freedom and progress has been founded on Europe's reputation as a centre of culture and knowledge. At a time when social tensions are fuelling attempts to redefine the European identity, this book explores the potential at both the national and international levels for science and culture to serve as political tools, drivers of economic and social modernisation and sources of power.

This volume will interest scholars and students of the History of Cultural and Scientific Diplomacy, 20th-Century European History and International Relations.

Marició Janué i Miret is Professor of Contemporary History in the Department of Humanities at the Universitat Pompeu Fabra in Barcelona. Her areas of current research interests focus on the role of culture in Spanish-German relations in the period of National Socialism and on the re-establishment of Spanish-German cultural diplomacy in the postwar period.

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Introduction

*Marició Janué i Miret, Eva March,
José-Miguel Pacheco Castelao
and Albert Presas i Puig*

This book offers a comprehensive overview of how culture, science, technology and academic activity functioned as instruments of cultural diplomacy and soft power in Spain, Portugal and Greece during the interwar and Cold War periods. Adopting an interdisciplinary lens, it treats science and culture together because both generate knowledge and share a commitment to its diffusion. The discussion spans the natural and formal sciences, technology, the social sciences, the humanities and the arts, as well as the channels—publishing, exhibitions, teaching—through which they are promoted. In doing so, this book advances the study of cultural diplomacy and soft power by showing how states, as well as sub-state and quasi-state actors, have mobilised culture and science as political resources in international relations.

The term ‘cultural diplomacy’ was first used as an analytical concept by Frederick Barghoorn in his pioneering study of Soviet foreign cultural policy,¹ but it was not until the 1990s that the term came into wider use.² Cultural diplomacy is distinguished from traditional diplomacy by its reliance on attraction and persuasion as tools of influence, rather than economic or military coercion. Its aim is to position the country that uses it as a model of excellence, inspiring admiration through its values and achievements in the various fields of knowledge with which it is associated.³ Cultural diplomacy has thus been identified as a form of ‘soft power’, a concept popularised by political scientist Joseph Nye, who defined it as ‘the ability to achieve goals through attraction rather than coercion or payments’.⁴ According to Nye, ‘a country’s soft power rests primarily on three resources: its culture, its political values, and its foreign policies’.⁵ Because culture and knowledge can be communicated across borders, states can use them to advance their interests and strengthen political ties with other countries—through cultural diplomacy. In this way, the core values embedded in cultural traditions rooted in particular world-views can be shared through a process of cultural transmission.⁶ Intellectuals, historians, artists and scientists can thus serve as transmitters of a national identity through its traditions, values and cultural expressions.⁷ Because science and culture are perceived as neutral and apolitical, they can be more readily instrumentalised as agents of political representation, serving as key means of showcasing state achievements and, in turn, of advancing national interests on the international stage. Nevertheless, in line with Ash,⁸ we maintain that science and culture are not essentially apolitical and therefore cannot be regarded as neutral instruments.

2 *Cultural Diplomacy in Southern Europe*

Through cultural diplomacy, states project an image of their community to the outside world.⁹ Owing to their high symbolic potential, academic culture and science become sought-after instruments in political strategies of legitimation. From this, it follows that it is impossible to consider science and culture independent of politics—nor politics independent of them. On the one hand, scientists, by virtue of their elite status and expert knowledge, are able to mobilise resources from the political sphere (funding, political endorsement, etc.) in pursuit of their goals. On the other hand, politicians turn to scientists to serve their own aims (expert advice, symbolic capital, or the strategic use of technocratic language, etc.).

From a historical perspective, cultural diplomacy merits scholarly attention for two main reasons. First, it serves as a valuable indicator of the level of development of the various European states and the position each held in the international order throughout the upheavals of the twentieth century.¹⁰ Second, it has the potential to capture the multidimensional political significance of culture and knowledge and illustrate how science and culture facilitate transnational communication, particularly at times of political and ideological confrontation. Historically, the relationship between culture and science, on the one hand, and the state, on the other, has grown ever closer. Each has sought to mobilise the other in pursuit of its interests, whether private or shared.

With the end of the Cold War and the ensuing changes in the international arena, most Western countries reoriented their foreign policy strategies. There began a phase of transition towards modern cultural cooperation, as intercultural communication became the preferred means of gaining influence in global politics.¹¹ Against this background, the historical study of cultural diplomacy started to receive greater academic attention. Taken as a whole, the contributions that have appeared since then have raised fundamental questions about both historical and contemporary aspects of the role of culture in international relations, contributing to a renewed appreciation of cultural diplomacy and its significance in international politics. Historical reflection draws attention to the complexity and diversity of the entities—state and quasi-state institutions, private organisations, individuals, commercial enterprises and so on—that have participated in scientific and cultural diplomacy.

Current scholarship on cultural diplomacy remains limited in three key respects. Most studies focus on the United States and the major European powers, especially during the Cold War.¹² Smaller or less influential states receive far less attention. Studies of Swedish, Irish, Danish, Lithuanian and Austrian cultural diplomacy¹³ are vastly outnumbered by works on the American, French, British and German cases. The historiographical gap is wider still for countries of the European South often labelled peripheral or semi-peripheral—Spain, Portugal and Greece. And yet recent research shows that countries with limited capacity to project political or economic power have considered cultural diplomacy an accessible—and therefore important—resource within their strategic arsenal.¹⁴ For states lacking powerful diplomatic connections or occupying a secondary position in the international geopolitical order, activities promoting a positive national image can become a particularly significant tool. This book explores the two main incentives

for medium-sized and smaller powers to give priority to cultural relations with other countries: the prospect of gaining recognition of their national identity and the wish to influence and intervene in decision-making through participation in international organisations.¹⁵

Building on earlier work by the editors,¹⁶ this volume makes an original contribution by highlighting both the significance and the outcomes of the scientific and cultural diplomacy strategies pursued by Spain, Portugal and Greece. Despite their specific differences, the three countries shared a set of structural conditions during the period examined: persistent economic underdevelopment, political instability, dictatorial regimes and chronic underinvestment and lack of planning in the cultural, scientific, academic and technological sectors. These factors shaped—but did not prevent—the deployment of scientific and cultural diplomacy in each case. The present work has four main objectives—first, to examine the scientific and cultural diplomacy strategies developed by these southern European countries in response to the far-reaching geopolitical transformations that took place during the chosen time period; second, to analyse the value each country placed on scientific and cultural diplomacy during the mid-twentieth century; third, to assess how these diplomatic strategies contributed to shaping each country's subsequent position—not only within the Western bloc but also in the broader international order; fourth, to demonstrate the relevance of scientific and cultural diplomacy and the projection of soft power in international relations during the study period by incorporating the perspective of countries on Europe's southern periphery.

Cultural diplomacy does not follow a uniform model.¹⁷ States adapt their strategies to their own institutional structures, national priorities and evolving challenges.¹⁸ Because each country designs its cultural institutions according to specific goals and constraints, no single framework applies universally.¹⁹ This book sheds light on the diversity of approaches to cultural diplomacy. The contributing authors examine how each country presents itself abroad and the mechanisms it employs to attract foreign attention. They also analyse which foreign models are emulated or rejected and the underlying reasons for alignment or opposition in each national context.

The methodological approach of this volume rests on the assumption that focused studies—examining the arts, academic and scientific practices and technological initiatives in selected cases—can yield valuable insight into how culture and science function as political resources in international relations. The contributions centre on individuals, communities, institutions and material artefacts (such as paintings, sculptures, exhibitions and research expeditions), either at specific moments or over an extended period. They examine the interactions among the actors involved and the strategic, cultural and sociopolitical frameworks in which they operated.

The case studies are not meant to provide a full conceptual framework, nor do they trace a single, linear account of how science-diplomacy initiatives were conceived and implemented. Their diversity—in situations, risks, objectives and timescales—illustrates the many forms that scientific and cultural diplomacy can assume in practice. Together, the chapters offer a cross-cutting view of the political,

4 *Cultural Diplomacy in Southern Europe*

economic, cultural, scientific and technological shifts—and, of course, the wars—that shaped the period examined. The authors hope their analyses will inform today's debates on Europe's shared future.

The volume is divided into four parts. The first three correspond to distinct historical periods, each marked by profound shifts in international relations: the interwar years; the rise and fall of Fascism and National Socialism; and the early stages of the Cold War. These transformations were accompanied by growing state interest in science and culture—not only in their content, but in how they were produced—and by the increasing attention paid to scientific and cultural diplomacy. The fourth and final part of this book, which serves in many ways as a conclusion, brings together cross-cutting analyses that span the entire period covered by the volume.

*

The first part of this book addresses the participation of Spain and Portugal in the transnational scientific networks that developed during the interwar years. In the five chapters comprising this section, Spain features prominently. This is partly because the period covered allows an exploration not only of Spanish state diplomacy, but also of sub-state diplomacy—in this case, that of Catalonia. This is not the case in the rest of this book, as the only diplomacy permitted under the Franco regime (1939–1977) was state diplomacy. Spain had already experienced a dictatorship in the twentieth century before Franco—that of Primo de Rivera (1923–1930). The decisive role played by expatriates in projecting Spanish national culture abroad, particularly in Latin America, during Primo's dictatorship and the subsequent Spanish Second Republic is the subject of this book's opening contribution, by Luis G. Martínez. In the second chapter, also set during the Primo de Rivera dictatorship, Francisco Javier Martínez analyses a Spanish medical mission to Germany in 1925 from the perspective of science diplomacy. Supported financially by major pharmaceutical companies, the mission aimed not only to lay the groundwork for the testing and manufacture of Bayer's new antimalarial drug, Plasmochin, in Spain, but also to foster Spanish-German relations. The next two chapters focus on Catalan sub-state diplomacy. Eva March situates her analysis (Chapter 3) in the early 1920s, when, in the face of obstruction from the Spanish government, the Catalan political authorities took steps to internationalise the Catalan cause. One of their stratagems was to organise exhibitions of Catalan art in other countries. March examines how a stateless nation such as Catalonia was able to use the instruments of cultural diplomacy to gain visibility abroad, shift external perceptions and promote its national interests. Catalan cultural diplomacy is also the subject of Chapter 4, in which Lucila Mallart shows—through the example of the Catalan architect, politician and art historian Josep Puig i Cadafalch—how art historians from the European periphery played a leading role in epistemological debates in interwar Europe. They were aided in this by the fact that, during this period, art historians, while continuing to advance national narratives of the evolution of artistic styles, were also advocating broader, transnational perspectives within their discipline. It was in this context that Puig i Cadafalch proposed a truly

innovative conception of art history, based on supranational geographies—a view of artistic developments across the boundaries of the nation-state.

The fifth and final chapter of this first section shifts the focus from Spain to Portugal. Its authors, Quintino Lopes, Elisabete Pereira and Ângela Salgueiro, examine the support provided by the Junta de Educação Nacional (JEN)—Portugal's main state institution for the promotion of science and research, established in 1929—to the archaeologist António Augusto Esteves Mendes Correia and the Institute of Anthropology at the University of Porto. With this case study, the authors demonstrate that, contrary to the dominant historiographical view, the JEN fostered the participation of Portuguese scientists in international networks, thereby enhancing the role of science in Portuguese diplomacy during the interwar period.

The second part of this book (Chapters 6–8) is devoted to the cultural diplomacy pursued by Spain and Greece from the rise of authoritarian, fascist and National Socialist regimes during the interwar period to the end of the Second World War. The main focus is on these two countries' interactions and entanglements with these regimes. Chapter 6, by Marició Janué, examines Francoist Spain's cultural diplomacy towards Nazi Germany, with a particular focus on the humanities and social sciences. While the National Socialists' extensive use of soft power to win Francoist Spain's favour is well documented, the Franco regime's efforts to promote cultural relations with Nazi Germany have received relatively little attention in the literature. Janué's contribution explores how the Franco regime mobilised culture as a political resource in its dealings with Nazi Germany. It analyses the regime's objectives and strategies in cultural diplomacy through the lens of the three main categories of resources typically mobilised in such efforts—human, institutional and discursive—and their interrelations. More broadly, the chapter contributes to our understanding of the soft power strategies deployed by fascist regimes during their period of ascendancy. In the following chapter (Chapter 7), Josep L. Barona turns to another facet of Francoist Spain's scientific and cultural diplomacy: the regime's diplomatic strategies in health policy from the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in 1936 to Spain's accession to the World Health Organisation (WHO) in 1952. Barona first examines Spain's involvement in health initiatives promoted by Nazi Germany within the broader context of collaboration among the Axis powers. Spain's international isolation was mitigated by the renewal of cooperation and aid programmes led by the Rockefeller Foundation's International Health Division and, later, by the onset of the Cold War, which paved the way for bilateral agreements with the United States and eventual membership of the WHO. A central figure in this narrative is José Alberto Palanca, who played a key role in shaping the regime's health policies and international engagements. The final chapter of this second section (Chapter 8), by Vassilios A. Bogiatzis, shifts the focus to Greece and analyses how the Metaxas dictatorship (1936–1941) used science and technology as instruments of cultural diplomacy to align itself with authoritarian and fascist models—especially that of Nazi Germany. The 1922 Asia Minor Catastrophe, which followed Greece's defeat in the Greco-Turkish War (1919–1922), left the country in deep crisis. Prominent figures placed science and technology—and their practical applications—at the heart of their projects to foster

national reconstruction and a redefinition of Greece's cultural identity. Metaxas himself openly admired German technological prowess. In this context, the chapter traces how a range of actors, especially during the Metaxas regime, aligned their appropriation of science and technology with specific cultural and political agendas. It shows how their flirtation with autocracy and fascism, driven by perceptions of Germany as a model of technological progress, shaped successive attempts to craft a science- and technology-centred form of cultural diplomacy.

The third part of this book focuses on the efforts made by the countries under study to integrate into the Western bloc during the Cold War. Given their differing circumstances, the pace of integration naturally varied. Portugal was 1 of the 12 founding members of NATO in 1949; Greece joined in 1952; and Spain did not become a member until 1982. The role played by scientific and cultural diplomacy in fostering closer ties with the United States also differed depending on the country, the period and the direction of the diplomatic efforts. This diversity is well illustrated in the five contributions (Chapters 9–13) that make up this section. In Chapter 9, José-Miguel Pacheco Castelao examines how, in Spain, despite attempts in the late 1940s to show that the country had significant scientific capability in fields such as modern physics that could be used for diplomatic purposes, this potential was not exploited. The Madrid Pacts of 1953 marked a turning point, opening the door to more substantial US diplomatic engagement with Spain, including a strong scientific dimension tied to the incipient space race. Chapter 10, by Lorenzo Delgado and Óscar Martín, focuses on this new phase. The authors trace the early foundations of the Spanish-American alliance from the late 1940s, highlighting the personal, scientific and military connections that shaped it. They then explore the development of bilateral space cooperation from the early 1960s, culminating in key achievements such as the establishment of satellite tracking stations, the training of scientific and technical personnel, the development of satellites and the launch of rockets. Turning to neighbouring Portugal, the early 1960s marked a turning point with the establishment of the Fulbright Program, signalling the country's gradual integration into the sphere of influence of the United States—a development explored by Luis Nuno Rodrigues in Chapter 11. As Portugal was already a NATO member, the organisation served as a conduit for many of the United States' diplomatic initiatives in the country. In the final years of the Cold War, the direction of diplomatic engagement began to reverse, with Portugal increasingly projecting itself outwards—particularly towards the United States. This shift is the focus of the following chapter, by Carlos Vargas, who analyses how Portuguese and European cultural heritage were used to project an image of Portugal finally freed from the legacy of its long dictatorship. In Greece, the Civil War of 1946–1949 delayed the development of sustained diplomatic engagement. However, the country's early entry into NATO and participation in the Marshall Plan enabled the rapid establishment of cultural diplomatic exchanges, both inbound and outbound, as Areti Adamopoulou explains in Chapter 13. The final chapter in this third section, by Yannis Fotopoulos and Stathis Arapostathis, examines Greece's diplomatic efforts in the cultural, economic and technical spheres to support the reconstruction of the country's telephone network, which had been severely damaged and looted during successive foreign occupations in and after the Second World War.

The fourth and final part of this book comprises three chapters (Chapters 15–17) that adopt a cross-period perspective and focus on science diplomacy. Chapter 15, by Albert Presas Puig, examines Spain's use of science diplomacy as a form of soft power throughout the twentieth century. He shows that, at key moments, when Spain sought to present itself as a modern nation on a par with its European neighbours, successive governments and elites briefly instrumentalised science and technology rhetoric, but the promotion and preservation of knowledge never became core priorities for Spanish society. Science diplomacy in Spain therefore took the form of isolated initiatives tied to specific individuals and historical junctures rather than a political tool that was used consistently or systematically. Presas Puig concludes that Spain has, for the most part, lacked a sustained international science-diplomacy strategy.

The following chapter, by Fernanda Rollo, examines Portuguese scientific and cultural diplomacy, with particular attention to the role of state institutions responsible for knowledge production. Though generally operating under close state oversight, these institutions have at times enjoyed relative autonomy, enabling initiatives that occasionally generated tensions among competing interest groups. By framing her analysis over a longer period, Rollo is able to show how one such institution, the JEN, evolved in response to shifting social and political contexts. From its foundation in 1929, the JEN changed not only in name but also in function and responsibility, as it adapted to successive political landscapes, both international and domestic, in the transition from authoritarianism to democracy.

This book closes with a chapter by Kostas Gavroglu and Grigoris Panoutsopoulos, who shift the focus to the present day to consider science diplomacy's political implications. A defining feature of the twenty-first century has been the growing interest in the role of science diplomacy across various international contexts. All diplomatic strategies are shaped by political agendas and the interests of the parties involved. In the case of science diplomacy, efforts ostensibly aimed at cooperation and mutual benefit can, in practice, reflect and reinforce underlying power asymmetries. Gavroglu and Panoutsopoulos focus their analysis on this underexplored dimension. They examine educational policies aimed at the harmonisation of university programmes across EU member states, taking the Bologna Process and the EU's research funding programmes as illustrative cases. They argue that these programmes serve as arenas for diplomatic engagement. In this context, science diplomacy, while fostering cooperation, also contributes to establishing global academic and scientific hierarchies. In doing so, it reinforces power relations and political influence and contributes to shaping patterns of institutional development and access to knowledge-based resources.

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To conclude, we believe that this book is particularly timely for two interrelated reasons. First, because of the growing academic focus on the role of culture and science as relevant actors in countries' diplomatic strategies. Although the current geopolitical climate (Summer 2025) appears to be redefining the role of traditional international actors, cultural diplomacy in a broad sense continues to command academic attention, accompanied by a growing interest in science diplomacy. This

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book offers a broader perspective on these themes. Second, because the idea of a common Europe as an area of freedom and progress has been founded on Europe's reputation as a centre of culture and knowledge. At a time when social tensions are fuelling attempts to redefine the European identity, the potential for science and culture to serve as political tools, at both the national and international levels, deserves special attention. Our book aims to contribute from a southern European perspective to a better understanding of contemporary Europe and the world, considering scientific and cultural development as a driver of economic and social modernisation and thus as a source of power.

Notes

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