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“SOFT POWER” AS A PHENOMENON OF MODERN WORLD POLITICS

Abstract

The article is devoted to the analysis of the conceptual framework of “soft power” in modern world politics. Also considered is the relationship between the concepts of “hard” and “soft power”, which was proposed by Prof. J. Nye. Great attention is paid to the purpose, resources and manifestations of “soft power” in world politics on concrete examples. The author analyzes the results of the implementation of the policy of “soft power” in modern relations. The development of the concept of “soft power” in the XXI century has gained a new impetus and its practical filling with new content, which implies the complexity of using the arsenal of all the forces and means at its disposal, including the so-called “hard power” tools.

Key words: “soft power”, “hard power”, politics, instruments and resources of “soft power”, conception, US foreign policy.

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«МЯГКАЯ СИЛА» КАК ФЕНОМЕН В СОВРЕМЕННОЙ МИРОВОЙ ПОЛИТИКЕ

Аннотация

Статья посвящена анализу концептуальной основы “мягкой силы” в современной мировой политике. Также рассматривается соотношение понятий “жесткая” и “мягкая сила”, которая была предложена проф. Дж.Наем. Отводится большое внимание цели, ресурсам и проявлениям “мягкой силы” в мировой политике на конкретных примерах. Автор анализирует результаты реализации политики “мягкой силы” в современных отношениях. Развитие понятия “мягкая сила” в XXI веке получило новый импульс и его практическое наполнение новым содержанием, что подразумевает сложность использования арсенала всех имеющихся у него сил и средств, в том числе так называемых инструментов “жесткой силы”.

Ключевые слова: “мягкая сила”, “жесткая сила”, политика, инструменты и ресурсы “мягкой силы”, концепция, внешняя политика США.

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«ЖҰМСАҚ КҮШ» ҚАЗІРГІ ӘЛЕМДЕГІ САЯСАТ ФЕНОМЕНІ РЕТІНДЕ

Аңдатпа

Мақала қазіргі әлемдік саясаттағы “жұмсақ күш” концептуалды негізін талдауға арналған. Профессор Дж. Най ұсынған “қатты/қатаң” және “жұмсақ күш” ұғымдарының арасындағы байланыс қарастырылады. Әлемдік саясаттағы “жұмсақ күш” мақсаттарына, ресурстарына және көріністеріне нақты мысалдарда үлкен көңіл бөлінеді. Автор қазіргі қатынастардағы “жұмсақ күш” саясатын іске асыру нәтижелерін талдайды. XXI ғасырда “жұмсақ күш” тұжырымдамасының

дамуы жаңа күшке ие болды және оны практикалық тұрғыда жаңа мазмұнмен толықтырды, бұл оған қол жетімді барлық күштер мен құралдарды, соның ішінде “қатты күш” деп аталатын құралдарды қолдану қиындықтарын білдіреді.

Түйін сөздер: “жұмсақ күш”, “қатты/қатаң күш”, саясат, “жұмсақ күш” құралдары мен ресурстары, тұжырымдама, АҚШ сыртқы саясаты.

1. INTRODUCTION

The most important essential characteristic of modern world political processes is to increase the influence of “soft” instruments of influence on them. Formulated by an American political scientist and US national security expert, Harvard University Professor J. Nye in 1990 in his book “Obligated to Lead. A Change in the Nature of American Power” and developed in subsequent works, the provisions of the concept of “soft power” have become largely determinative in the evolution of modern international relations.

At its core, “soft power” technology involves the exclusion of military pressure by applying and using political ideals and methods of persuasion, the level of culture, the use of intangible resources to provide the necessary pressure or impact on citizens of foreign countries. It is these forms and methods of unarmed influence that were used in US policy towards the USSR and its allies in the second half of the 80s of the XX century. The processes of democratization that have begun, both in the USSR itself and in the Warsaw Treaty countries against the backdrop of a systemic crisis in the economy, politics and ideology, and the attractiveness of the model Western “consumer society” determined their rejection confrontation with the West. As a result, the velvet revolutions of 1989-1990 first brought political forces opposing the ruling communist regimes to power in Eastern and Central Europe, and then the dissolution of the Warsaw Treaty Organization [1]. In fact, this marked a reorientation of the countries of Eastern Europe in foreign policy from the USSR (Russia) to the United States and its allies.

After the collapse of the USSR, the policy of abandoning the political and political confrontation and building a strategic partnership with the United States was elected by the leadership of Russia. Already in January 1992, President of Russia B.N. Yeltsin stated that Russian nuclear warhead missiles are no longer aimed at the United States and Western countries, and on February 1, 1992, the US-Russian Declaration on the end of the Cold War was signed at Camp David [2 p.85]. Thus, the Cold War and the bipolar confrontation between the USSR and the USA were actually completed, which for almost half a century have determined the nature and content of world political processes.

The United States emerged from the global bipolar confrontation as winners, largely due to the use of a comprehensive strategy of political, economic, informational and other unarmed methods [1]. In fact, the well-known formula of the ancient Chinese thinker Sun Tzu was realized that the best war is one in which victory is achieved not by the use of force, but by using all other means to force the enemy to abandon his political goals and thereby make him more compliant, “conquer someone else’s army without fighting” [3].

Thus, the effectiveness of these technologies was confirmed in practice and suggested the need for further study and use in the practical field. As a result, the understanding of the technologies of unarmed warfare in the USA has taken on the character of priority research and development, and their introduction directly into practice, primarily international relations, has become a priority of US foreign policy. This determined the specifics of the concept of “soft power” itself, which was created for the specific goals of American foreign policy and, as a result, was perceived by American experts not as a scientific discipline, but, first of all, as an applied tool for implementing tasks in the field of interstate relations.

The main purpose of this concept was the development of ways to influence public opinion in the countries of the former Warsaw bloc and post-Soviet republics. The main success in this regard was the development of technologies for influencing the public consciousness of the population of these countries in order to purposefully form a positive perception of the United States and its policies. All this was reflected in real politics, especially the beginning of the 1990s, in the process of transformation of the world political system. This is undoubtedly the merit of J. Nye, whose ideas actually formed the basis of the US foreign policy.

2. DISCUSSION

The main goals and manifestations of the concept of “soft power”. J. Nye was who managed to systematize and describe the basic principles and approaches associated with the concept of “soft power”. The most important innovation of J. Nye was also his proposed new vision of the ratio of “soft” and “hard” power. Introducing the image of the “soft - hard power” continuum, he defined new aspects of their manifestation that were not previously considered by international researchers. The main achievement of J. Nye was not only a concentrated and capacious description the nature and significance of “soft power”, which played an important role in the Cold War, as well as at the stage of asserting US leadership within the framework of the proclaimed

George W. Bush “New World Order” and the definition of its capabilities in the twenty-first century as the most effective technology for providing American interests in key regions of the world.

According to J. Nye, the power of modern states breaks down into three components: 1) military force; 2) economic power; 3) “soft power”.

In turn, “soft power” is characterized by three main elements: 1) culture (a set of values significant for society that are not reducible to mass culture - Hollywood products and fast food); 2) political ideology; 3) foreign policy (diplomacy).

The first two elements are the historical legacy of the nation, the third is the subjective factor introduced by the current politicians.

Based on this approach, J. Nye in various works gave the following definitions of the term “soft power”:

- the ability of a country to structure the situation in such a way that other countries form their preferences or determine their interests in a direction favorable to that country [4 p.180];

- the ability to make your partner want the same as you [5 p.82];

- the ability to obtain the desired results in relations with other states due to the attractiveness of their own culture, values and foreign policy, rather than coercion or financial resources [6 p.64];

- the ability to influence other states in order to realize their own goals through cooperation in certain areas, aimed at persuading and shaping a positive perception [7 p.227].

As we see, in almost all works in one interpretation or other definitions are reflected. The main point of the implementation of “soft power” is the formation of attractive power, i.e. ability to influence the behavior of people, indirectly forcing them to do what otherwise they would never have done. As a result of this, the “soft power” strategy is called upon to influence the consciousness of both the bulk of the population and the political and economic elite of the respective state. The result of the implementation of the “soft power” strategy should be the formation of a favorable foreign policy environment for the state concerned.

Cultural-value attraction as a resource of “soft power” is based on the spread of mass culture. The tools of its promotion are:

- Creation of retail chains of fast food (McDonald's, KFC, Burger King, etc.) in the territory of other states;

- Distribution of film and show industry products in the world, which is most clearly manifested in the activity of the “dream factory” - Hollywood for decades, which forms a positive perception of the American way of life (Hollywood produces every fifth picture of world cinema, the share of exports of American audiovisual products among the 15 most of the developed countries of the world exceeds 50%);

- The promotion of certain national goods (Coca-cola, Pepsi-cola, jeans, brands of cars, household appliances, smartphones, tablets, etc.) to foreign markets.

An important tool for using the resource of cultural value is the promotion of the national language outside. In particular, it is about the approval in the territory of other states as a means of information and communication of the English language, which has acquired the character of linguistic expansion, as a result of which the national languages are being washed away. The very same English language purposefully acquires the status of not only an international, but also a global means of communication [8 p.105].

Large sports events organized by the state, such as the Olympic Games, the world championships in football, hockey and other popular sports, various kinds of festivals, competitions and awards (Oscar, Grammy), etc., can also serve as a tool for promoting cultural value. All this in aggregate forms a positive image of the state among the population of other countries and determines the possibilities for influencing its mass consciousness, especially in the youth environment.

The resource of the national-state economic model of development can be used by the state through:

- implementation of major infrastructure projects, including beyond their state borders;

- active financing of international financial institutions (IMF, World Bank, etc.);

- lending and manipulation of loans;

- providing economic assistance to countries in need (development assistance policies, fighting hunger, disease, etc.).

Of particular importance is the introduction of the US national currency as a means of mutual settlements in financial and banking operations, both in domestic national markets and globally. But perhaps the most important resource of the attractiveness of the economic development model is the formation of the image of a “successful country in which everyone can honestly provide a comfortable existence to himself and his family”. Until recently, the US used this tool very effectively to attract high-quality specialists and the most talented students from other countries, which provided them with constant reproduction and renewal of human capital.

The attractiveness of the political model, as a rule, is realized through:

- Official and public diplomacy;

- Radio and television broadcasting;

- Exchange programs;
- Various kinds of humanitarian operations involving the elimination of the consequences of natural disasters, wars and armed conflicts, etc.

In the framework of official diplomacy, soft power technologies are implemented in the course of the activities of international organizations, including economic (NAFTA), military-political (NATO), multilateral interstate negotiating platforms (G-7, G-20 summits, international forums (Davos), clubs (Roman, Bilderberg), etc. Public diplomacy works through radio and television broadcasting, the Internet, the export of cultural products, and exchanges. A special role in this regard is played by American and Western European multinational corporations in the field of the media, such as the American CNN and the Associated Press, the British BBC and Reuters, the French France Press, etc., whose unofficial rule is to create a positive the image of the leadership of the government of their countries and the policies they implement.

One of the most effective forms of communication in the XXI century is personal communication. Therefore, by defining the nature of “soft power” in relation to the United States, J. Nye emphasizes the role of American educational centers, which are points of attraction for students from different countries. During the existence of official exchange programs, over 700,000 participants joined in the alumni community through them. A significant number of graduates of American universities now constitute the political and financial elite of other countries, thus forming an extremely important resource of a benevolent attitude to America beyond its borders. Of particular importance is the fact that more than 200 former and current leaders of states and their governments (A. Sadat, M. Thatcher, M. Saakashvili, etc.) have been trained in some form in the United States and are (were) essentially guides American national interests in their countries.

It should be noted that during the development of the concept of “soft power” J. Nye was already very famous in the field of international relations. He is a co-author of the theory of interdependence, political regimes, and other neoliberal theories. Perhaps this was the reason that his work, published in 1990, aroused great interest both in academic and in political circles, contributing to its success.

The concept of “soft power”, presented by J. Nye, generally fits into the liberal theory of international relations, although there is no contradiction between the theories of realism and the concept of “soft power”. The concept of “soft power” is also interconnected with such liberal theories of international relations as:

1. The theory of democratic peace;
2. The theory of commercial liberalism;
3. Theory of international organizations;

According to the liberal theory of democratic peace, democratic regimes do not fight with each other. Democrats are more likely to use “soft power” than “hard”. Moreover, Nye argues that even in difficult situations, a democratic state does not lose its “soft power”. For example, propaganda and self-criticism of democracy are very useful; they increase confidence in the country’s reports. That is, when the policy is criticized, it can acquire a certain “soft power”, as this can be proof of the truth and expression of freedom of expression for the target countries.

Another important liberal theory of international relations is commercial liberalism, according to which the path of peace is to promote free trade and economic interdependence. Economic globalization “forces” the state to cooperate with others, which, in fact, is coercion, and closer to “hard power” than “soft power”. A state with significant economic resources can put pressure on economically weak countries. However, economic resources can create not only “hard power”, but also “soft one”, and apply not only for coercion, but also to enhance the attractiveness of the state. In the context of modern economic interdependence, the state can become attractive to others with a free market economy, and its model of a liberal economy can become an example for imitation.

3. RESULTS

The application of the policy of “soft power” in world politics. The concept of soft power is also based on the theory of international organizations. International structures - as a unifying format for different states or as separate entities – play a decisive role in the context of regulation of international relations. International organizations, which are regarded in neoliberal theory as a means of mitigating the effects of anarchy, promote cooperation among states through common rules and norms.

The concept of “soft power” recognizes the important role of international structures, treating it as a means of applying “soft power”. According to J. Nye, the creation of institutions has already provided them a long existence, since “the integrity of networks, norms and institutions is very difficult to eradicate or radically change”. At the same time, international organizations are a good platform for realizing the

“soft power” of the country. The state has the right to disseminate its ideas, values and policies within the organization, among other member states, and through this organization in non-member states.

If the state succeeds in establishing international rules in accordance with its interests and values, it is likely that its actions will be acceptable and legitimate for many. For example, the United States uses institutions such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Trade Organization and other structures to spread its liberal and democratic values.

Although the concept of “soft power” as a whole is consistent with liberal theory, in particular, with the principles of neoliberalism, it also contains some approaches that contradict the principles of neo-liberalism. For example, J. Nye accepts the existence of anarchy (anarchy) in international relations. “The context of international politics is often perceived as an anarchic world of nations seeking security, where the main (but not the only) tool is the use of military force” [9 p.25].

Despite the fact that the author of the concept of “soft power” agrees with the neoliberal approach, according to which the power of states in international relations is diminishing due to globalization and non-state actors, nevertheless he is inclined to the fact that the state still remains an important player. Developing the idea of “soft power”, Nye tried to find ways by which “the United States will continue to be the leading force of world politics in the XXI century”. To solve this problem, J. Nye did not confine himself to the principles of liberal theory.

In other words, the specificity of the current stage of comprehension and development of the theoretical foundations of the concept of “soft power” is the filling of its so-called “soft power” by “hard” components. In particular, they are about such forms of interaction as military-technical, military-educational cooperation, military diplomacy, transfer of national armed forces to integrated NATO standards, demonstration of military power in the form of military exercises, etc. All this was a consequence of the analysis of the development of the military and political situation in the world, as well as the processes directly involved in the United States (the Iraq campaign, the events of the “Arab spring”, the political crisis in Ukraine, confrontation with Russia, etc.) and awareness of the need to adjust the policy in the light of the changing geopolitical situation in the world caused by the escalation of tension in a number of regions, as well as the growth of anti-American sentiments.

The result of the development of the theoretical foundations of the “soft power” was the development of a new concept – “smart power”. The essence of this concept, according to J. Nye, is determined by the fact that the power itself is an opportunity to influence in order to achieve the desired results. “Soft power” does this through persuasion, attraction and cooperation, “hard power” - through coercion and reward. The most important meaning of “smart power” is characterized by the ability to coordinate and combine the capabilities and resources of “soft” and “hard” forces.

It should still be reported and that there are risks associated with the reassessment of “soft power” and its significance. Researchers of the problem pay attention to the fact that “soft power” can not only help the state, but also harm it. Especially if its build-up pushes back to the second plan the increase in the required “hard power”. In addition, “soft power” can instill in the leadership of the country a false sense of security. Respect from other powers can help alleviate some of the problems, but sometimes leads to excessive self-confidence.

CONCLUSION

Thus, the development of the concept of “soft power” in the XXI century has gained a new impetus and its practical filling with new content, which implies the complexity of using the arsenal of all the forces and means at its disposal, including the so-called “hard power” tools. The result of the implementation of the “soft power” strategy should be the formation of a favorable foreign and domestic political environment for a particular subject of international conflict. At the same time, the strategy of “soft power” does not make clear accents in determining allies. There is a common attitude - to influence the behavior of those subjects of international conflicts, support groups and allies on which it is possible to exert at least some kind of influence, inducing them to take one or another step in the interests of achieving victory in conflict interaction.

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ОБЩЕСТВЕННОЕ МНЕНИЕ И ЭФФЕКТИВНОСТЬ ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОГО УПРАВЛЕНИЯ

Аннотация

В статье рассматривается понятие общественного мнения, его значимость для эффективного взаимодействия государства и различных структур гражданского общества. Приводятся зарубежные методологии, научные теории и исследования, развитие феномена «общественное мнение» зарубежными исследователями, а также анализ эффектов СМК на общество. Также предпринята попытка оценить опыт правительства Республики Казахстан по оптимизации государственного управления путем внедрения системы оценки эффективности деятельности государственных органов.

Ключевые слова: общественное мнение, функции общественного мнения, государственное управление, управление общественным мнением, массовые коммуникации, СМИ (средства массовой информации).

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ҚОҒАМДЫҚ ПІКІР ЖӘНЕ МЕМЛЕКЕТТІК БАСҚАРУДЫҢ ТИІМДІЛІГІ

Аннотация

Бұл мақалада қоғамдық пікірдің түсінігі, оның мемлекет пен азаматтық қоғамның әртүрлі құрылымдарының тиімді, өзара әрекеттесуі үшін маңызы қаралады. Шетелдік әдіснамалар, ғылыми теориялар мен зерттеулер, шетелдік зерттеушілердің «қоғамдық пікір» феноменін дамыту, және СМЖ-нің қоғамға әсерін талдауы берілген. Сонымен қатар, мемлекеттік органдардың тиімділігін бағалау жүйесін енгізу арқылы мемлекеттік басқаруды онтайландыру бойынша Қазақстан Республикасы Үкіметінің тәжірибесін бағалауға әрекет жасалды.

Түйін сөздер: қоғамдық пікір, қоғамдық пікірдің атқарымы, мемлекеттік басқару, қоғамдық пікірді басқару, бұқаралық ақпарат құралдары, бұқаралық ақпарат құралдары (БАҚ).

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PUBLIC OPINION AND EFFICIENCY OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION