



DOI: <https://doi.org/10.15688/jvolsu4.2022.2.21>

UDC 327.83(470+571)

LBC 66.4(2Рос),0

Submitted: 20.03.2021

Accepted: 20.07.2021

## “SOFT POWER” TOOLS IN THE USA AND THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION<sup>1</sup>

**Elena F. Parubochaya**

Volgograd State University, Volgograd, Russian Federation

**Kenneth Julius Kovach**

Notre Dame College, South Euclid, USA; Cuyahoga Community College, Highland Hills, USA

**Abstract.** *Introduction.* In this article, Russian Federation’s public diplomacy (hereinafter – the RF) and the public diplomacy of the United States of America (hereinafter – the USA) are considered as one of the main tools for implementing the principles of modern “soft power”. Today, the importance of implementing certain areas of public diplomacy of the RF is significantly increasing, which is primarily determined by the current contradictory international situation. It is necessary to emphasize that public diplomacy’s certain areas are in the process of formation, however, a comprehensive study of these areas will reveal the weaknesses and strengths of public diplomacy as an effective tool for the implementation of Russian and American “soft power”. It is important to refer to the American experience of building public diplomacy, as a country with advanced experience in this area, as the public diplomacy has become a key tool of U.S. foreign policy in recent years. *Methods.* The comparative method makes it possible to compare the practices of implementing public diplomacy, the demonstration of “soft power” of the RF and the USA, and also helps to identify the mechanisms of public diplomacy’s influence on international processes in the formation of “soft power” strategies. This method allowed us to establish that the mechanisms for public diplomacy’s implementing and “soft power” realization are identical. Documents’ content analysis of the describing of the RF and the USA foreign policy peculiarities helped to determine the mechanisms and principles of the implementation of “soft power” under consideration by the states. *Analysis.* Public diplomacy’s activities analysis of the RF and the USA public diplomacy, its relationship with the principles of “soft power” is connected with the search for common and distinctive features of the considered types of diplomacy, comparing it with the “soft power” concept. Attention is drawn to the fact that many public diplomacy’ functions intersect with the tasks of “soft power”, identifying the characteristic features of a joint vector in the “soft power” implementation in the context of the RF and the USA diplomacy. *Results.* As the study’s result, it was found out that public diplomacy is one of the most important tools of the “soft power” demonstration of the RF and the USA soft power demonstration. Such definitions as “public diplomacy” and “soft power” were distinguished in the article. The approaches of domestic and foreign researchers for understanding public diplomacy from the points of the RF and the USA, as well as directions of its activities, were also determined. In this article, Elena F. Parubochaya identified the characteristic differences Russian interpretation of the terms “public diplomacy”. The author revealed the connection between public diplomacy of the RF and its “soft power”. Kenneth J. Kovach paid attention to the instruments of the USA modern public diplomacy.

**Key words:** public diplomacy of the RF, public diplomacy of the USA, “soft power”, foreign policy of the RF, foreign policy of the USA.

**Citation.** Parubochaya E.F., Kovach K.J. “Soft Power” Tools in the USA and the Russian Federation. *Vestnik Volgogradskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Seriya 4. Istoriya. Regionovedenie. Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniya* [Science Journal of Volgograd State University. History. Area Studies. International Relations], 2022, vol. 27, no. 2, pp. 245-254. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.15688/jvolsu4.2022.2.21>

**ИНСТРУМЕНТЫ РЕАЛИЗАЦИИ «МЯГКОЙ СИЛЫ» В США И РФ<sup>1</sup>****Елена Федоровна Парубочая**

Волгоградский государственный университет, г. Волгоград, Российская Федерация

**Кеннет Джулиус Ковач**Колледж Нотр-Дам (Огайо), г. Саут-Эуклид, США;  
Муниципальный колледж Кайяхога, г. Хайланд Хиллс, США

**Аннотация.** В данной статье публичная дипломатия Российской Федерации и Соединенных Штатов Америки рассматривается как один из основных инструментов реализации принципов современной «мягкой силы». Важно сослаться на американский опыт построения публичной дипломатии как страны с передовым опытом в этой области – публичная дипломатия стала ключевым инструментом внешней политики США в последние годы. Сравнительный метод позволяет сопоставить практики реализации публичной дипломатии, демонстрации «мягкой силы» РФ и США, а также помогает выявить механизмы влияния публичной дипломатии на международные процессы в формировании стратегии «мягкой силы». Обращается внимание на то, что многие функции публичной дипломатии пересекаются с задачами «мягкой силы», выявляя характерные черты совместного вектора реализации «мягкой силы» в контексте дипломатии обоих государств. В статье определены подходы отечественных и зарубежных исследователей к пониманию публичной дипломатии с позиций РФ и США, а также направления ее деятельности. *Вклад авторов.* Е.Ф. Парубочая определила характерные отличия российской трактовки термина «публичная дипломатия», раскрыла связь между публичной дипломатией РФ и ее «мягкой силой». К.Дж. Ковач обратил внимание на инструменты современной публичной дипломатии США.

**Ключевые слова:** публичная дипломатия РФ, публичная дипломатия США, «мягкая сила», внешняя политика РФ, внешняя политика США.

**Цитирование.** Парубочая Е. Ф., Ковач К. Дж. Инструменты реализации «мягкой силы» в США и РФ // Вестник Волгоградского государственного университета. Серия 4, История. Регионоведение. Международные отношения. – 2022. – Т. 27, № 2. – С. 245–254. – (На англ. яз.). – DOI: <https://doi.org/10.15688/jvolsu4.2022.2.21>

**Introduction.** At the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> – 21<sup>st</sup> centuries the public diplomacy issue has become highly significant, its possible role in the process of formation and further implementation of the country's foreign policy. This definition of “public diplomacy” has a broad interpretation in the Russian Federation. This causes a large number of discussions in the scientific community, and they are usually devoted to identifying their characteristic differences. In foreign literature, it is used to say that there is no one single interpretation of the “public diplomacy” term [16, p. 198]. Today because of the changing formats of interpersonal communication, the widespread implementation in our life information technologies and the Internet, the public diplomacy's role is also changing. The use of social media as a major platform for interpersonal communication raises many concerns about “misinformation”, outright “lies”, and “cancel culture” [28].

For a deeper understanding of its features, it is necessary to refer to the experience of our American colleagues. In the United States, the public diplomacy is given great importance at the state level. In these cases, an important reason is the emphasis on the consideration of public diplomacy as a tool for implementing the “soft power” of the Russian Federation, while the USA “soft power” can be implemented through public diplomacy. However, the mechanisms for implementing the “soft power” of the two countries are different.

Russian expert in the field of public and people's diplomacy A. Bobrov notes that “public diplomacy” is actually synonymous with the definition of “people's diplomacy” [2].

According to N.A. Tsvetkova, public diplomacy is a certain set of actions and measures aimed at promoting the interests of the state, protecting national interests, and ensuring national

security [21, p. 115; 22, p. 190]. A.I. Kubyshkyn and N.A. Tsvetkova note that in this context, the action of public diplomacy takes place through the study of various moods of public opinion in foreign countries, as well as through the influence on the people or state institutions that form certain opinions [10, p. 154].

According to A.V. Dolinsky, the main task of NGOs in the field of public diplomacy is directly related to the development of relations between public circles around the world to promote the ideas of mutual understanding and tolerance between different peoples [7]. In our opinion, this meets the tasks of people's diplomacy, rather than public diplomacy. Non-governmental organizations played the important role in "people's diplomacy" by connecting individuals interested in activism and advocacy with organizations established to promote mutual understanding and mutual respect. Sometimes "tolerance" is not enough to change relations. There is a continuum from tolerance, to acceptance, to understanding.

Namely Russian way of understanding, "public diplomacy" is the type of the foreign policy activity aimed to create non-traditional communication channels, as the special platform for the international dialogue's building. In our opinion public diplomacy can be revealed in the "soft power" context. The main institutions and mechanisms of public diplomacy create a solid foundation for the positive image's formation of the state in the international stage.

In the report of the president of the organization "Creative Diplomacy" Natalia Burlinova, presented within the framework of the Volgograd State University Center for Public Diplomacy's international project "The role of humanitarian interaction and youth diplomacy in the EU-Eurasian Economic Union" (November 5–6, 2020), it was noted that public diplomacy combines such types as "people's diplomacy", "scientific diplomacy", "digital diplomacy", "youth diplomacy", "parliamentary diplomacy", "sports diplomacy", "forum diplomacy", "business diplomacy", as well as other variants of diplomatic activity through the efforts of non-state or quasi-state structures. Such structures in the Russian Federation, according to N. Burlinova, are the Russian international affairs council, the Gorchakov Foundation, the Roscongress Foundation, the Center for International

Promotion, Rethinking Russia, and the World Alumni Association "Alumni Russia". Public diplomacy is a comprehensive concept that includes all kinds of efforts to create effective international communication at different levels beyond the pale of official channels, such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation and "Rossotrudnichestvo".

According to A. Bobrov, the following areas of activity of people's and public diplomacy can be distinguished, which consist in ensuring national security and protecting national interests, enhancing the impact on the audience of foreign countries, forming a positive opinion about the state policy [2]. This undoubtedly affects on the state positive image's formation in the international stage.

American researchers are also not united in offering their own interpretations of the definition. According to E. Gullion, public diplomacy goes beyond the boundaries of the spheres of official diplomacy, it is aimed at a broader coverage of events in the international relations field, and also contributes to the interaction's formation between civil society and state institutions, affects the formation of the state foreign policy agenda [36]. At the same time, if a particular state does not have a positive image, then public diplomacy does not have the ability to influence the foreign community [28]. The proposed interpretation largely reflects the Western approach to the definition and use of the public diplomacy's concept. J. Nye tried to characterize the "soft power" and to divide the definitions of the "soft power" and "public diplomacy" [32; 33]. Besides, he initially revealed three sources of the "soft power" as the political values, foreign policy and culture. The concept of the "soft power" was developed within the new conception, known as the "smart power". According to J. Nye and R. Armitage it is necessary to understand the "smart power" concept as the principal approach that underscores the necessity of a strong military, but it also invests heavily in alliances, partnerships, and institutions of all levels to expand one's influence and establish legitimacy of one's action [31]. J. Ernest in his work also paid attention on the differences between the categories of hard power, soft power and smart power, and he supposes these three types of power within the international relations are linked between each other [27; 35].

A. Sergunin and L. Karabeshkin revealed the principal points of the Russian Federation “soft power” strategy. In their opinion, Russian understanding of soft power seriously deviates from the “soft power” concept, offered by J. Nye [18, p. 359]. In another words, the Russian interpretation of “soft power” is more pragmatic, which the Russian Foreign Policy Concept (2013) demonstrates. Within the “soft power” practices’ realization in the Russian Federation it based on the resources of civil society institutions, communication interaction, which can help Moscow to defend its interests in foreign countries and to improve the international image of the Russian Federation [18, p. 359].

In this regard, the presented research purpose is to identify the mechanisms of public diplomacy of the RF and public diplomacy of the USA implementation in the context of their “soft power” demonstration in relation to other actors of the international relations.

**Research methods.** The comparative method helps to compare the features of people’s diplomacy, “soft power” and public diplomacy, which allows us to come to the conclusion these diplomacy types are tools fulfilling the tasks of the state’s “soft power”.

Foreign policy implementing strategies of the RF and the USA content analysis allows us to identify methods and directions for implementing the “soft power” of these states, to predict possible options for using their “soft power”.

**Analysis.** In the modern Russia, “soft power” is usually understood as a way of pressure on various actors in international relations, excluding the force options of influence. However, at the same time, quite often “soft power” in this regard is perceived as state propaganda.

According to M.M. Lebedeva, public diplomacy has the following fundamental characteristics: 1) does not allow imposition or stimulation; 2) within the framework of the theory of international relations neo-liberal concept, it allows to pay attention to the interests of another; 3) is focused on long-term interaction; 4) avoids manipulative strategies; 5) is focused on dialogue; 6) assumes trusting relationships of actors in international relations [11, p. 215]. In this regard, “soft power” seeks to protect national interests.

Today, in the format of incessant information wars, attempts are being made to “rewrite

history”, which is typical for events related to the contribution of the Soviet people to the Victory over Nazism. In this regard, people’s diplomacy, based on the principles of historical memory, seeks to protect domestic values from external negative encroachments and to bring to the community of the world the truth of the events that took place. This is done by holding commemorative events (for example, in the framework of the 75<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Victory in the Great Patriotic War celebration), which include numerous exhibitions, the traditional holding of the “Immortal Regiment” campaign, but already using the online broadcast of this event to Russian and foreign audiences [6].

Russian “soft power”, according to the Russian President Vladimir Putin, is a set of certain methods and the goals achievement of the state’s foreign policy, excluding the possibility of using weapons. At the same time, “soft power” relies mainly on the levers of influence of a media nature [17].

As media tools of influence, it is necessary to consider, first of all, the popularization of state culture, values, and language. It is closely related to the RF public diplomacy activities and functions. Examples can be numerous international competitions and events which are implemented by Rossotrudnichestvo [14]. They examples of this kind of events and international competitions are (“Year of Russian Cinema”, “Ambassador of Russian Cuisine”, etc.). However, nowadays are existing the systemic problems in the field of people’s and public diplomacy forced the leadership of the Russian Federation to reformat the activities of this agency. In mid-2020 a new head of Rossotrudnichestvo has been appointed, and there is a change in the internal structure and management, the areas of activity and the format of interaction with the Russian Center for Science and Culture, as well as the partners of the agency.

People’s diplomacy is defined by Rossotrudnichestvo as one of the main areas of activity. In this context, it is understood, in particular, as the interaction of state and non-state institutions aimed at expanding international and public relations of the country [14]. People’s diplomacy promotes the promotion of specific foreign policy interests of the state at the public and interpersonal levels [14]. At the same time, public diplomacy relies on numerous actors,

including private organizations, state institutions and bodies, as well as, those interested in improving the state image of the mass media [1, p. 134]. In this regard, the people's diplomacy of the Russian Federation pursues the following strategically important goals: the promotion of Russian national values and the expansion of partnership dialogue in the international space [13, p. 86].

In the understanding of the RF, public diplomacy is the example of Western European interaction of an interethnic nature, in which various media resources are used, forming a particular "image" of actors in international relations, influencing the formation or destruction of stereotypes. This, in general, has many common features with the terminological content of the concept "propaganda". People's diplomacy refers to the interaction of civil society in order to establish a dialogue within the country for the subsequent formation of mutually beneficial relations with foreign public circles, while public diplomacy can be understood as an important demonstration of "soft power" [24, p. 186].

Today, we can distinguish the following non-governmental organizations on the territory of the RF that are directly involved in the public diplomacy's development: 1) NGO "Scientific and Practical Center "People's Diplomacy"; 2) NGO "Center for Support and Development of Public Initiatives – "Creative Diplomacy"; 3) The Foundation for the Development of Civil Society Institutions "People's Diplomacy"; 4) The Regional Public Organization for the Promotion of International Cooperation of the Republic of Bashkortostan-Agency for International Cooperation "People's Diplomacy"; 5) Interregional Charitable Foundation "People's Diplomacy"; 6) NGO "Scientific and Practical Center" People's Diplomacy" [9]. The organizations under consideration are aimed at ensuring interaction between Russian and foreign experts in order to discuss problems of an international nature and build a positive dialogue at the interstate level [3, pp. 26–27].

Now, the RF public diplomacy has as one of its goals the development of interaction with many states of the former USSR, but in recent decades there has been a significant reduction in the role of the Russian language in the interstate relations implementation, and in this regard, it is important

for the RF to increase its humanitarian influence in the Post-Soviet space [12, p. 109]. Therefore, Rossotrudnichestvo has launched such projects as Eurasian Week, the International Business Forum within the Eurasian Economic Union, the "New Generation program", and numerous events to promote the Russian language [20].

The RF public diplomacy has 12 main areas of activity: 1) raising the status of the RF in the international space; 2) activating the civil society of the RF in foreign policy activities; 3) the modernization of the country; 4) developing the public diplomacy's humanitarian dimension; 5) intensifying work with compatriots abroad; 6) participating in the international relations system development; 7) improving the image of the RF abroad; 8) supporting the public diplomacy activities; 9) Participation of the RF in the projects of international integration; 10) interaction with religious organizations to maintain interreligious peace; 11) countering the history's falsification; 12) ensuring human rights and freedoms; 13) participation in solving the world globalization problems [25].

It's become essential to develop public diplomacy centers to promote public diplomacy's initiatives. Volgograd State University plays a special role in the public diplomacy of Volgograd, especially in sister's cities relations movement [15]. The development of sister's cities cooperation between Volgograd and Cleveland (Ohio, USA) has a particular importance. Representatives of Cleveland took part in the events of the Volgograd State University's Center for Public Diplomacy, dedicated to the celebration of the 75<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Victory in the Great Patriotic War of 1941–1945. In turn, Volgograd's representatives continued to participate in the Cleveland Sister Cities Conference. A significant event of sister's cities cooperation between the two cities was the opening of the exhibition "The way to a joint Victory over Nazism: from Stalingrad to Prague" at the Cleveland Public Library in October 2020 [5].

An important actor that implements public diplomacy is public organizations that interact with different foreign organizations or volunteers in order to promote a positive informative agenda. Their activities' support is provided by the Gorchakov Foundation, the Presidential Grants Fund, and the Russian World Foundation. The grants are allocated on a competitive basis, for a

certain period of time, the project and the possibility of achieving results in the long term period is rather questionable. In modern Russian conditions, it is difficult to encourage repeated grants on the same subject. The problem is that the centers that implement public diplomacy projects and work on the basis of universities, do not have the opportunity to submit grant applications to the above-mentioned funds. At the same time, these projects proposed by the centers set long-term goals, have the possibility of long term implementation with their partners, achieving the intended results, creating a solid basis for communication and a platform for building an international dialogue.

Countering the falsification of history is one of the most important areas of public diplomacy in the RF, which corresponds to the Russian state foreign policy tasks implementation. The desire to cooperate with foreign countries in this aspect was noted during the 39<sup>th</sup> meeting of the Organizing Committee "Victory" in April 2017 [8]. In his speech, Vladimir Putin stressed the importance of developing relations with compatriots abroad, and contacts between twin cities [8].

The RF foreign policy concept, approved by the President of the RF on November 30, 2016, in the part on the modern world and foreign policy of the RF, mentions "soft power" as an integral component of modern international policy for solving foreign policy problems, the civil society capabilities, communication and information, humanitarian and other methods and technologies, in addition to the methods of traditional diplomacy [19]. The document highlights international humanitarian cooperation as a subsection, where among its tasks, the Russian Federation sees the consolidation of compatriots living abroad in order to more effectively ensure their rights in the residence states, to promote the Russian diaspora identity preservation and its ties with the historical Homeland, the voluntary resettlement of compatriots in the RF, the dissemination of the Russian language as an integral part of world culture and international and interethnic communication instrument, supporting and developing of the Russian educational organizations system abroad, providing support to the different branches and representative offices of Russian educational organizations located on the

foreign countries territory. It is necessary to involve civil society institutions in solving of the international problems in order to improve the effectiveness of the Russian foreign policy, as well as developing of public diplomacy resources, international cultural and humanitarian cooperation as a means of establishing inter-civilization dialogue, reaching agreement and ensuring mutual understanding between different people, who are paying special attention to interreligious dialogue [19].

The document attaches great importance to the information support of the Russian foreign policy activities, bringing to the world public objective information about Russia's position on major international issues, its foreign policy actions and initiatives [19]. In order to achieve an objective perception of the RF in the world, it develops its own effective means of information influence on public opinion abroad, promotes the Russian positions strengthening and Russian-speaking mass media in the global information area providing them with the necessary state support, and participates in international cooperation within the information sphere [19].

Public diplomacy of the USA is aimed at implementing the objectives and goals of the American foreign policy through strengthening national security and promoting national interests. This is done through the deployment of a broad campaign of influence on the public in various world countries in order to approve the American foreign policy course [28]. Analysis of the U.S. National Security Strategy approved in December 2017 by U.S. President Donald Trump. It shows that the American political leadership seeks to use not "soft", but "smart power". It is a combination of elements of "soft" and "hard" force, as evidenced by the content of the chapter of this document "Preserving peace through force" [30]. In the United States, public diplomacy is defined as a set of strategic communications, and in the Russian Federation, this term means working with the expert community and socio-political circles, which meets the objectives of official diplomacy, which is designated by the term "frontline public diplomacy" [4]. American public diplomacy includes working with foreign audiences, promoting various research and educational grants, international academic exchange programs, and media mechanisms to counter terrorism and some of the United States'

geopolitical rivals. In the United States, one of the largest centers that implement public diplomacy is the University of Southern California's Center for Public Diplomacy, which holds various events devoted to intercultural interaction, current problems of international relations [36]. The analysis of the website of this Center showed that this structure is also a kind of a guide of interests of modern American foreign policy.

The structures responsible for planning and public diplomacy in the USA include the State Department, the Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy (the Advisory Commission on PD / ACPD), and the Broadcasting Board of Governors (the Broadcasting Board of Governors / BBG). The Bureau of Education and Cultural Affairs develops and works for implementing educational, professional, and cultural exchange programs designed to maintain mutual understanding with other countries in order to achieve U.S. foreign policy goals [25]. Within the leadership of the Assistant Secretary of State, the Bureau's programs foster interpersonal connections between current and future world leaders to create sustainable networking and interpersonal relationships that promote U.S. values and national security. The Bureau of Global Public Relations, which deals with internal communication with the U.S. audience, aims to effectively convey the priorities of the country's foreign policy [26].

The Global Engagement Center, as its primary mission, aims to guide, synchronize, integrate, and coordinate the federal government's efforts to identify and counter foreign propaganda and disinformation efforts by governmental and non-governmental actors aimed at undermining the influence or security and stability of the USA, its allies and partner countries [26; 29]. According to N.A. Tsvetkova, digital diplomacy is the actual direction of the USA public diplomacy, the new format of interaction within the digital diplomacy is "data diplomacy", which allows to the specialists to form the strategies of digital diplomacy, to make effective digital columns, messages and to identify the disinformation sources immediately [23, p. 45]. The Office of Public Diplomacy Policy, Planning, and Resources and Public Relations allows more effective task execution by focusing resources on urgent national security issues and providing a

realistic measurement of public diplomacy performance [34; 37].

Since 1948, the U.S. Public Diplomacy Advisory Commission has evaluated the activities of the country's government of aimed at understanding, informing and influencing the foreign public, to increase understanding and support for these actions. It conducts research and organizes symposia to identify the effectiveness of government efforts in the field of public diplomacy. The Commission reports to the President, the Secretary of State, and Congress [36].

The Major Exhibitions Division is responsible for U.S. participation in international exhibitions. Together with the Bureau of International Exhibitions, this division of the State Department mobilizes international support from the United States for candidates to host World Exhibitions [36].

**Results.** In general, public diplomacy implements "soft power" through the retransmission of cultural, linguistic, and ideological values of the RF, which contributes to the formation of positive ideas about Russia, as well as through the principles of respect, dialogue, and equality recognition. At the same time, public diplomacy of the RF in the resent moment at the stage of its formation, and the vectors of its further development are still being formed and it is still a day before the fair to talk about its institutionalization.

The American demonstration of "soft power" currently is closely interrelated with the presence of various cultural, educational and exchange programs, the distribution of scientific and educational literature, and the opening of many centers for learning English. It is necessary to say that this "soft power" is actively combined with the use of "hard power", in the case of ineffective action of the first. This confirms the thesis about the development and strengthening of the position of "smart power" in U.S. foreign policy. However, a certain "hegemony" of the American foreign policy course, the desire to maintain its leadership in the world gives the U.S. public diplomacy a peculiar, contradictory shade, the mechanisms for its implementation often acquire a hard, "pushing" character, which does not correspond to the principles of "soft power".

In general, the mechanisms for implementing the "soft power" in the USA and in the RF are

different in their component. If American public diplomacy seeks to combine efforts for influencing an international audience within the framework of “smart power”, then “soft power” of the RF is in its infancy, its development is limited by constrained by bureaucratic obstacles, the lack of a clear state vector in the context of public diplomacy development, the presence of a tendency to short-term implementation of many projects and programs, as well as the existence of obvious problems in the implementation of grant support to NGOs and public diplomacy centers in the implementation of their tasks.

#### NOTE

<sup>1</sup> This study was carried out as part of the activities of the center for American studies “Americana” of Volgograd State University.

#### REFERENCES

1. Bahriev B.H. Publichnaia diplomatiia v sovremennom issledovatel'skom diskurse [Public Diplomacy in the Modern Research Discourse]. *Vestnik Tadzhikskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta prava, biznesa i politiki. Seriya obshchestvennykh nauk* [Bulletin of the Tajik State University of Law, Business and Politics. Social Science Series], 2017, no. 1 (70), pp. 131-147.
2. Bobrov A. Diplomatiia publichnaia ili obshchestvennaia – vot v chem vopros [Public Diplomacy or Public – That’s the Question]. *Mezhdunarodnaia zhizn: zhurnal* [International Life], 2017. URL: <https://interaffairs.ru/jauthor/material/1865> (accessed 29 November 2020).
3. Borishpolets K.P. Publichnaia diplomatiia: pragmatichnyi vzgliad na raznoobrazie realnogo opyta [Public Diplomacy: A Pragmatic View of the Diversity of Real Experience]. *Mezhdunarodnaia analitika* [International Analytics], 2018, no. 1 (23), pp. 22-32.
4. Velikaya A. Publichnaia diplomatiia SShA v transformiruiushchemsia mirovom poriadke [Public Diplomacy of the United States in the Transforming World Order]. *Mezhdunarodnaia zhizn: zhurnal* [International Life]. URL: <https://interaffairs.ru/jauthor/material/1864> (accessed 29 November 2020).
5. *V publichnoi biblioteke Klivlenda pri uchastii Tsentra obshchestvennoi diplomatii VolGU otkrylas vystavka, posviashchennaia Vtoroi mirovoi voine* [An Exhibition Dedicated to the Second World War Was Opened at the Cleveland Public Library with the Participation of the Volgograd State University Center for Public Diplomacy]. URL: [https://volsu.ru/?ELEMENT\\_MAIN\\_ID=36721](https://volsu.ru/?ELEMENT_MAIN_ID=36721) (accessed 17 December 2020).
6. *God pamiati i slavy 2020* [Year of Memory and Glory 2020]. URL: [https://volsu.ru/year\\_of\\_memory\\_and\\_glory\\_2020](https://volsu.ru/year_of_memory_and_glory_2020) (accessed 12 December 2020).
7. Dolinsky A. Chto takoe obshchestvennaia diplomatiia i zchem ona nuzhna Rossii? [What is Public Diplomacy and Why Does Russia Need It?]. *Rossiiskii sovet po mezhdunarodnym delam* [Russian Council for International Affairs], 2012. URL: <http://russiancouncil.ru/analytics-and-comments/analytics/chto-takoe-obshchestvennaya-diplomatiya-i-zchem-ona-nuzhna-> (accessed 5 November 2020).
8. *Zasedanie orgkomiteta «Pobeda»* [Meeting of the Organizing Committee “Pobeda”]. URL: <http://kremlin.ru/events/president/news/54347> (accessed 10 November 2020).
9. *Informatsionnyi portal Ministerstva iustitsii Rossiiskoi Federatsii. Otchety nekommercheskikh organizatsii* [Information Portal of the Ministry of Justice of the Russian Federation. Reports of Non-Profit Organizations]. URL: [http://unro.minjust.ru/NKOReports.aspx?request\\_type=nko](http://unro.minjust.ru/NKOReports.aspx?request_type=nko) (accessed 19 December 2020).
10. Kubyshkin A.I., Tsvetkova N.A. *Obshchestvennaia diplomatiia SShA* [USA Public Diplomacy]. Moscow, Aspect Press Publ., 2013. 271 p.
11. Lebedeva M.M. «Miagkaia sila»: poniatie i podkhody [“Soft Power”: The Concept and Approaches]. *Vestnik MGIMO-Universiteta* [Bulletin of MGIMO University], 2017, no. 3, pp. 213-222.
12. Marchukov A.N. «Publichnaia diplomatiia 2.0» vo vneshnepoliticheskoi deiatelnosti RF: problemy i perspektivy razvitiia [“Public Diplomacy 2.0” in the Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation: Problems and Prospects of Development]. *Vestnik Moskovskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Ser. 25. Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniia i mirovaia politika* [Bulletin of the Moscow State University. Ser. 25. International Relations and World Politics], 2014, no. 3, pp. 95-114.
13. Mukhametov R.S. Spetsifika obshchestvennoi diplomatii kak instrumenta vneshnei politiki gosudarstva [Specificity of Public Diplomacy as an Instrument of Foreign Policy of the State]. *Izvestiia Uralskogo federalnogo universiteta. Ser. 3, Obshchestvennye nauki* [Bulletin of Ural Federal University. Vol. 3. Social Sciences], 2014, no. 2 (128), pp. 84-90.
14. Obshchestvennaia diplomatiia [Public Diplomacy]. *Rossotrudnichestvo*. URL: <https://rs.gov.ru/ru/activities/4> (accessed 29 November 2020).
15. Parubochaya E.F., Kiselev A.A. *Volgograd i Khirosima: obshchestvennaia diplomatiia gorodov-pobratimov v borbe za mir* [Volgograd and Hiroshima:



Public Diplomacy of Twin Cities in the Struggle for Peace]. URL: <http://www.welcomevolgogradcity.com/News.aspx?idn=496> (accessed 12 November 2020).

16. Parubochaya E.F., Piskunov N.V. Obshchestvennaia diplomatiia kak instrument realizatsii rossiiskoi «miagkoi sily» [Public Diplomacy As a Tool of the Russian Soft Power Implementation]. *Vestnik Volgogradskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Seriya 4, Istoriiya. Regionovedenie. Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniya* [Science Journal of Volgograd State University. History. Area Studies. International Relations], 2018, no. 6 (23), pp. 197-207. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.15688/jvolsu4.2018.6.16>.

17. Putin V.V. Rossiia i meniaiushchiisia mir [Russia and the Changing World]. *Rossiyskaya gazeta*, 2012. URL: <https://rg.ru/2012/02/27/putin-politika.html> (accessed 16 November 2020).

18. Sergunin A., Karabeshkin L. Understanding Russia's Soft Power Strategy. *Politics*, 2015, vol. 35 (3-4), pp. 347-363.

19. Ukaz Prezidenta Rossiiskoi Federatsii ot 30.11.2016 g. № 640 Ob utverzhdenii Kontseptsii vneshnei politiki Rossiiskoi Federatsii [The Decree of the President of the Russian Federation No. 640 Dated November 30, 2016 "On the Approval of the Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation"]. URL: <http://kremlin.ru/acts/bank/41451> (accessed 29 November 2020).

20. Ukreplenie pozitsiy russkogo yazyka [Strengthening of the Russian Language Position]. *Rossotrudnichestvo* [Russian Cooperation]. URL: <http://rs.gov.ru/ru/activities/9> (accessed 21 November 2020).

21. Tsvetkova N.A. Programmy Web 2.0. v publichnoi diplomatii SShA [Web-Programs 2.0. in Public Diplomacy of the USA]. *SShA i Kanada: ekonomika, politika, kultura* [USA and Canada: Politics, Economy and Culture], 2011, no. 3, pp. 109-122.

22. Tsvetkova N.A., Yarygin G.O. Publichnaia diplomatiia vedushchikh gosudarstv: traditsionnye i tsifrovye metody [Public Diplomacy of Principal Countries: Traditional and Digital Methods]. *Severnaia Niva* [St. Petersburg. Severnaya Niva], 2014. 234 p.

23. Tsvetkova N.A. Fenomen tsifrovoi diplomatii v mezhdunarodnykh otnosheniakh i metodologiiia ego izucheniia [The Digital Diplomacy As a Phenomenon of International Relations: Research Methodology]. *Vestnik RGGU. Seriya «Politologiya. Istoriiya. Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniia»* [RSUH/RGGU Bulletin Series "Political Science. History. International Relations"], 2020, vol. 2, pp. 37-47. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.28995/2073-6339-2020-2-37-47>.

24. Shershnev I.L. Napravleniya deyatelnosti obshchestvennoy diplomatii vo vneshney politike Rossii v epokhu globalizatsii [Activity Directions of Public Diplomacy in Russian Foreign Policy in

Globalization Epoch]. *Vestnik MGLU*, 2015, iss. 2 (713), pp. 184-195.

25. Bureau of Education and Culture. URL: <https://www.state.gov/bureaus-offices/under-secretary-for-public-diplomacy-and-public-affairs/bureau-of-educational-and-cultural-affairs> (accessed 29 November 2020).

26. Bureau of Global Public Relations. URL: <https://www.state.gov/bureaus-offices/under-secretary-for-public-diplomacy-and-public-affairs/bureau-of-global-public-affairs> (accessed 28 November 2020).

27. Ernest J.W. III. Hard Power, Soft Power, Smart Power. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 2008, vol. 616, pp. 110-124.

28. Expo Unit. URL: <https://www.state.gov/bureaus-offices/under-secretary-for-public-diplomacy-and-public-affairs/expo-unit> (accessed 27 November 2020).

29. Mitchell A., Jurkowitz M., Oliphant J. Baxter, Shearer E. Americans Who Mainly Get Their News on Social Media are Less Engaged, Less Knowledgeable. *Pew Research Center. Journalism & Media*. URL: <https://www.journalism.org/2020/07/30/americans-who-mainly-get-their-news-on-social-media-are-less-engaged-less-knowledgeable> (accessed 19 May 2021).

30. *National Security Strategy of the United States of America (December 2017)*. URL: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/NSS-Final-12-18-2017-0905-2.pdf> (accessed 13 November 2020).

31. Nye J., Armitage R. *A Smarter, More Secure America. Report of the Center for Strategic and International Studies*. Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2007. URL: <https://docplayer.net/24239-Csis-csis-commission-on-smart-power-a-smarter-more-secure-america-cochairs-richard-l-armitage-joseph-s-nye-jr-international-studies.html> (accessed 7 November 2020).

32. Nye J. *Soft Power: The Mean to Success in World Politics. Public Affairs*. URL: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/reviews/capsule-review/2004-05-01/soft-power-means-success-world-politics> (accessed 7 November 2020).

33. Nye J. Public Diplomacy and Soft Power. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 2008, vol. 616, pp. 94-109.

34. Office of Policy, Planning and Resources for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs. URL: <https://www.state.gov/bureaus-offices/under-secretary-for-public-diplomacy-and-public-affairs/office-of-policy-planning-and-resources-r-ppr> (accessed 28 November 2020).

35. Snow N., Taylor P.M. The Propaganda State: US Propaganda at Home and Abroad Since 9/11. *The*

*International Communication Gazette*, 2006, vol. 68 (5-6), pp. 399-400.

36. *The US Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy*. URL: <https://www.state.gov/bureaus-offices/under-secretary-for-public-diplomacy-and->

[public-affairs/united-states-advisory-commission-on-public-diplomacy](https://www.state.gov/bureaus-offices/under-secretary-for-public-diplomacy-and-public-affairs/united-states-advisory-commission-on-public-diplomacy) (accessed 29 November 2020).

37. *USC Center on Public Diplomacy*. URL: <https://uscpublicdiplomacy.org> (accessed 19 December 2020).

### **Information About the Authors**

**Elena F. Parubochaya**, Candidate of Sciences (History), Associate Professor, Department of International Relations, Political Science and Area Studies, Volgograd State University, Prosp. Universitetsky, 100, 400062 Volgograd, Russian Federation, [parubochaya@volsu.ru](mailto:parubochaya@volsu.ru), <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2115-6595>

**Kenneth Julius Kovach**, Adjunct Professor of Sociology, Department of Social Sciences, Notre Dame College, 4545 College Road, South Euclid, Ohio 44121 USA; Cuyahoga Community College, 4250 Richmond Rd, Highland Hills, Ohio 44122 USA, [kkovach@ndc.edu](mailto:kkovach@ndc.edu), <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0701-8858>

### **Информация об авторах**

**Елена Федоровна Парубочая**, кандидат исторических наук, доцент кафедры международных отношений, политологии и регионоведения, Волгоградский государственный университет, просп. Университетский, 100, 400062 г. Волгоград, Российская Федерация, [parubochaya@volsu.ru](mailto:parubochaya@volsu.ru), <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2115-6595>

**Кеннет Джулиус Ковач**, адъюнкт-профессор социологии кафедры социальных наук, Колледж Нотр-Дам (Огайо), Колледж Роуд 4545, 44121 г. Саут-Эуклид, США; Муниципальный колледж Кайяхога, Ричмонд Роуд 4250, 44122 г. Хайланд Хиллс, Огайо, США, [kkovach@ndc.edu](mailto:kkovach@ndc.edu), <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0701-8858>