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KURAMAYEVA GULNAZ NURMAKHANBETOVNA

**Cultural-humanitarian cooperation as a tool of soft power:
Case of Kazakhstan**

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Scientific advisor
Doctor of political sciences,
Professor
T.S.Suleimenov
Scientific Advisor PhD
A.A.Zholdybayev

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DESIGNATIONS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AIFC	– Astana International Financial Centre
APK	– Assembly of the People of Kazakhstan
CAREN	– Central Asian Research and Education Network
CCP	– Chinese Communist Party
CCTV	– China Central Television
CICA	– The Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia
CIPE	– Center for Independent private Enterprise
CSO	– Civil Society organization
CST	– Collective Security Treaty
CTBT	– Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty
EAEU	– Eurasian Economic Union
EUNIC	– European Union national Institute for Culture
EURANET	– European Radio Network
FDI	– Foreign Direct Investment
GDP	– Gross Domestic Product
HDI	– Human Development Index
HEPI	– Higher Education Policy Institute
IAEA	– International Atomic Energy Agency
ICD	– Intercultural Dialogue
INF	– The Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty
LLP	– Limited Liability Partnership
LOHAS	– Healthy Lifestyle and Sustainable Development
MFA	– Ministry of Foreign Affairs
NDI	– National Democratic Institute for International Relations
NGO	– Non-Governmental organization
NIS	– Newly Industrialized States
NPT	– Non-Proliferation Treaty
OBOR	– One Belt-One Road
OECD	– Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
PR	– Public Relations
PD	– Public Diplomacy
SNF	– Strategic Nuclear Forces
SPIID	– State Program for the Industrial Innovation Development of the Republic of Kazakhstan for 2015-2019
START	– Treaty on the Reduction and Limitation on Strategic Offensive Arms
USIA	– United State’s International Agency
UNESCO	– United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNIFIL	– UN Interim Force in Lebanon
WEF	– World Economic Forum
WMD	– World Mass Destruction

INTRODUCTION

Relevance of the topic. Changes in the world in the late of XX - early XXI centuries stimulated the search for new theories that could explain the concept of power, energy resources and the development of modern technologies, the use of which enables the actors to participate successfully in geopolitical competition. The multifaceted nature of the globalization process has reduced the space for applying traditional power mechanisms by states and has led to a change in the models of global competition. In the new era, economic success, ideological persuasiveness and cultural attractiveness of the country have become more important factors of influence than military power and the possession of nuclear weapons. The answer to these changes was the concept of “soft power”. The term appeared as part of the neoliberal theory of international relations in the United States in 1990. It can be said that the concept is firmly anchored in political discourse.

Analyzing the historical dynamics of the ratio of energy resources in the scientific literature, it is customary to highlight such a trend as an increase in the value of “soft power”, which means that there is no longer any violence, pressure or significance for military coercion. The role of “soft power” has been reinforced by the deterrent role of nuclear weapons, economic interdependence, increasing the number of non-state actors in international relations, network development, and the revolution in information and communication technologies. The last factor plays a special role: on the one hand, new technologies, a high speed of information transfer have reduced the possibility of hiding events, led to the emergence of a better informed active global public and, on the other hand, significantly expanded the ability of international actors to influence the public. From this point of view, “soft power” was perceived as a seductive technology that was invisible to ordinary people and offered a refined opportunity to manipulate mass consciousness and control public opinion.

In modern foreign policy, “soft power” has become one of the most important tools with which the state achieves its goals. At the same time, within the framework of the “soft power” to which the inventor of this concept, American political scientist J. Nye attributed diplomacy, culture and ideology, a trend is gaining strength on the use of the specific capabilities of diplomacy.

Today methods of state influence on international processes and on other countries are increasing. If earlier “hard power” was considered almost the main tool of foreign policy, including military power, economic and technical potential, and today comparing with possession of nuclear weapons and economic success the most powerful factor of influence is the country’s ideological persuasiveness and cultural attractiveness.

“Soft power” in international relations is always associated with diplomacy, because each state needs to represent its people, its state, and its culture in the international arena. The term of “soft power” has been on the main list of topics in scientific-expert and political-diplomatic circles for several years. At the same time, the EU gives preference to the translation of the term as “united and coordinated power”, China, as “wise power” (it reflects the essence of Chinese diplomacy, its Confucian roots of strategic culture). For small states, “soft power” is synonymous

with the effectiveness of the proportion of limited resources of influence and diplomatic success, as well as innovation, environment, etc. So, the term of “soft power” acts as a kind of cover for various interpretations, and this determines its popularity.

Like any other power, “soft power” can be used for good or evil. Therefore, it is necessary to distinguish the use of direct or formal “soft power” instruments of indirect or informal instruments. The official mechanism for the implementation of “soft power” should be understand state regulation of the foreign policy sphere of public diplomacy, through informal – informal channels to solve foreign policy problems in the humanitarian sphere.

“Soft power” allows the state to solve the tactical and strategic tasks of foreign policy in the official and unofficial directions. The official direction is carried out through the interaction of state authorities, and the informal through instruments such as media, non-governmental organizations, for example, political foundations and educational centers. For instance, the article of the First President of the Republic of Kazakhstan N. Nazarbayev “A look into the future: the modernization of public consciousness” was aimed at making Kazakhstan competitive in the field of culture and recognizing our country not only by its natural resources and major foreign policy initiatives, but also by its cultural achievements [1].

It should be noted that this article formed the basis of the program “Rukhani Zhangyru”, which includes a series of projects, including “Modern Kazakhstan culture in the global world”. The objective of the project is to present the achievements of modern Kazakhstan to the world in the fields of literature, music and visual arts, choreography, cinema and theater.

For the Republic of Kazakhstan, solving the problems of forming its own image is of fundamental importance, since in modern Kazakhstan there are several problems associated with the formation of its own image in the international arena.

Many problems relate to the absence of a flexible legal field, which allowed conducting a balanced and adequate policy in this direction. Today more than ever it becomes clear that any foreign policy, economic and other successes of any state should be supported by the appropriate information field. It is clear that the influence of states on the international arena is not only measured by its military or economic potential, it is no coincidence that political science has been actively developed for a quarter of a century the concept of “soft power” proposed by J. Nye. And while the idea of “soft power” was originally formulated in relation to the United States to explain American influence in the world, it quickly spread to other countries. To what extent can the concept of “soft power” that emerged in American realities be uncritically transferred to other regions of the world? This study solves two main tasks: first, it is important to assess whether the use of the concept of “soft power” is heuristically valuable in describing the possibilities of Kazakh influence (it is necessary to understand whether Kazakhstan has cultural-humanitarian resources which can be classified as “soft” and can be used effectively) and second, the effectiveness with which the strategy of deploying Kazakhstan’s “soft power” to the “neighboring countries” and already at the international level should be assessed.

Today it is necessary to update the historical basis of the image of the Republic of Kazakhstan and promoting its own “soft power”. It is necessary to realize the continuity of historical, political and-cultural-humanitarian development. It is also necessary to increase the content of the image of Kazakhstan.

The increasingly complex global security matrix requires efforts to be mobilized in all ways to find appropriate answers to their challenges. It should be noted that the heads of state and government of all major countries in the world have recently paid more attention to the “soft power” factor in order to improve the country’s image and attractiveness. The relevance of the topic is due to the following factors: the theoretical and practical significance of “soft power” and cultural-humanitarian instruments of influence on the modern system of international relations and its actors. The issue of the possibility of development is acute Kazakhstan of its own “soft power” and for this purpose that we have studied the ways and methods of influence of the USA, China, the EU and Russia. Moreover, a thorough study of various doctrines and tools of “soft power”, their effectiveness and responsibility, which a modern state must use, implementing “soft power” in its interests and transmitting its values to other actors in international relations, is required. The relevance of this dissertation work is increasing, since there is a need to specify the concept and development own action plan without copying western templates for Kazakhstan realities.

In the current conditions of the Covid-19 pandemic, we see real instruments and the implementation of “soft power”, “humanitarian aid” between countries. This crisis shows the behavior and position of the states: some countries are trying to unite, cooperate at the global or regional levels; some take the position of isolationism. If we take Central Asia as an example, the crisis showed the possibility of uniting the countries of the region and the pragmatic multi-vector policy of the Central Asian countries.

The projection of “soft power” in pandemic period was really shown through the provision of “humanitarian aid” to Kazakhstan by such countries as China, the USA, Russia, some EU countries, Korea, Turkey, etc. In this case, it is important to emphasize the role of “humanitarian aid”, “goodwill gesture”, “image policy” of countries, rather than volume of aid funds.

It is necessary to note that in author’s point of view the system of international relations does not transform after Covid-19, everything will return to the pre-crisis state with the modification of international relations. Diplomacy does not stop even during a crisis; we can see this in the example of the cooperation of countries in the fight against Covid-19, the holding of the Victory Parade in Moscow, the accession of Kyrgyzstan to the EAEU as an observer exactly during the pandemic; appearance of new terms “COVID diplomacy”, “Medical diplomacy” in international relations.

The degree of scientific elaboration of the problem. During the analysis, the concept of “soft power”, a significant amount of scientific resources of domestic and foreign researchers was used. The theory under consideration was created and subsequently finalized by J. Nye, therefore it was his work that served as the starting point for this study [2-8]. As will be proved in the main part of the work, from a theoretical point of view, the concept of “soft power” is not something new, so we

turned to works devoted to issues of power, influence, power technologies, which can be attributed to previous or competing theories.

These are the studies of A. Gramsci, S. Guzzini, S. Strange, P. Baudrillard, J. Lipovecki, S. Lukes [9-14]. It should be noted that the concept under study was often criticized, thanks to which J. Nye was able to develop and refine the theory. Critics were – N. Ferguson, B. Womack, C. Gray, P. Bilgin, B. Elis, E. Lock [15-19].

Along with criticism in the literature, many attempts are made to further develop the concept or its rethinking. In this case, interesting the works of G. Galarotti, M. Klare, M. Kounalakis, A. Simonyi, R. Simha [20-23]. In addition, it is necessary to highlight the researchers whose works is devoted to the study of certain aspects of “soft power”: I. Katsuji (actors of “soft power”), H. Kim (cultural diplomacy as an instrument of “soft power”), M. Fraser (popular culture as an instrument of “soft power”), F.G. Altbach and P. McGill Peterson (the role of higher education among soft-impact technologies) [24-27].

Also it is necessary to mention works of M. Neimark, who analyze the “soft power” strategy in details in the last 10 years [28-29]. In his works, the author studied the features of the problem field of “soft power” in the radically changed geopolitical reality of our days. The conceptualization of “soft power” and the analysis of the balance between it and “hard power” reveal the phenomenon of “smart power”. This term is more complex and include various components – cultural, humanitarian, civilizational, socio-political, economic, military, etc.

In the dissertation also used the works of Simon Anholt, an independent political consultant on the national brand, reputation and national identity, who created the only professional brand-image journal of the states. Consequently, in this thesis work, the evaluation of the countries of the world was used, which was compiled by Simon Anholt, depending on the strength of the national brand [30-33].

Interestingly, in 2007 Anholt proposed using the term “competitive identity” instead of the term “territorial branding”. He continued to work on his theory to explain and expand such a narrow term as the national brand. He believes it is impossible to create a territorial image from scratch, to achieve an effect it is important to synthesize brand management and public diplomacy in the active development of trade, expenses and investments.

So, the term “soft power” was adopted by Russian researchers, and its active use in the media was facilitated by its mention by high-ranking officials of the Russian Federation. The technological understanding of “soft power” by Russian politicians is reflected in the Russian Foreign Policy Concept [34].

At present, a circle of authors has already formed in Russia who has made the concept of “soft power” the subject of their research. These include D.B. Kazarinova, V.M. Kapitsyn, E.G. Ponomareva, O.F. Rusakova, G.Yu. Filimonov, A. Kazantsev, V.N. Merkushev, I. Radikov, Y. Leksyutina and others [35-42]. Separately, we can note the work of Lebedeva M.M., in which for the first time the negative consequences of possessing the potential of “soft power” are considered [43]. Interesting the analytical report of P. Parshin, in which the author gives an original definition of “soft power”, different from that adopted in academic community [44]. It is also worth noting studies on individual tools and technologies of “soft power” of specific states

[45-46]. In addition, interesting the works of O.V. Stoletov, V.S. Martyanov, M.V. Charkevich, S.K. Pestcov, A.M. Bobylo, which, starting from the strategies of “soft”, “hard” and “smart” powers, postulates the need to turn to “intelligent power” as integrative with respect to the three previous strategies and which best meets the demands of modern world politics [47-51].

Great importance in the research is the results that give a real assessment of the development of the “soft power” policy of states, recognition and image of countries in the international arena [52-62]. Also, in the dissertation thesis shows the works of researchers who do not agree with the concept of J. Nye [63-73]. They criticize the approaches to the definition of the concept of “soft power”, the criteria of the components of this theory.

Interesting the works of researchers on the analysis of the development of “soft power” in the USA, EU, Russia and China [74-120]. Particular attention is paid to the consideration of American and European programs provided to various countries, the role of NGOs in the development of public diplomacy as the main instrument of “soft power”, the role of the media, which today is considered the fourth power. It also analyzes the progress of Chinese “soft power”, the activities of the Confucius Centers, which popularizes the spiritual values, traditions and customs of China; directions of activity of Rossotrudnichestvo in promoting the Russian “soft power”, the role of the Russian world etc. Based on these works, the author of the dissertation determines the difference in approaches, tools and resources of the countries under consideration.

A significant place in dissertation is devoted to analyzing relevant US experience, actively using “soft power” in world politics, the activities of the State Department and International Development Agency (USAID) on the application of this factor, including the arsenal of “electronic diplomacy”.

An analysis of the researches shows that the problems of “soft power” in certain countries (USA, EU, Russia and China) are being studied quite intensively, and today there is a rather large body of work devoted to various aspects of the subject of our interest. Firstly, there is a problem of systematization of knowledge regarding the content and features of the concept of “soft power” as a strategy, technology and resource of power. Secondly, there is still no unity in determining the role of “soft power” among many power tools. Thirdly, in spite of the availability of works, there is practically no literature that would carry out a comprehensive and comparative analysis of state models for these positions.

A special role in the writing of this research paper was played the works of domestic politicians, experts and researchers. Mainly, it is the works, interviews, speeches of the First President of the Republic of Kazakhstan N.A. Nazarbayev, the current President of Kazakhstan K.K. Tokayev, E. Karin, T. Suleimenov, M. Sydyknazarov, D. Mazhidenova, A. Arystanbekova, K. Sarybai, R. Kurmanguzhin, A. Zhakyanova, Aitmagambetova, A. Gabdullina, S. Bulekbayev, G. Askeeva, Bekeeva L. and others, which considers the main directions of foreign policy of the state and the image of Kazakhstan in international arena [121-134]. The works of G. Nursha, D. Akhmedyanova, S. Dzhanenova, Serikbayeva B., Izimov R. and Kuramayeva G. are devoted to the study of potential instruments of “soft power” of Kazakhstan, such as the media, education, culture, public diplomacy, tourism, etc. [135-141].

The author also considered the main legal and normative documents of the Republic of Kazakhstan: Concept of the Foreign Policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan for 2014-2020, Concept of the Foreign Policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan for 2020-2030, State Program for the Development of Education and Science of the Republic of Kazakhstan for 2020-2025, The Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan “Official development assistance”, the annual addresses of the Presidents of the Republic of Kazakhstan to the people of Kazakhstan [142-154].

Articles on the foreign policy of Kazakhstan; speeches, interviews of politicians, experts in the field of international relations and foreign policy provided great assistance to the author in writing this dissertation [155-181].

It is necessary to separately highlight the work of the outstanding poet, thinker and public figure Yusuf Has Hajib Balasaguni “Kutudgu bilig” (“Kutty bilig” – Gracious knowledge), which is a spiritual heritage for all Turkic-speaking peoples and is known throughout the world. In his work, the author describes and solves the most complex problems of society associated with politics, political power and the state. Balasagun was one of the first thinkers who praised the ideal ruler and the state, gave images of different categories of people, rulers and various social strata, representatives of the secular and religious authorities of his contemporary society. The key ideas and principles of the work of Y. Balasagun “Kutadgu bilig” are of great importance in the formation of the historical identity of the modern youth of the Turkic-speaking countries. It is also noteworthy that the works of Yusuf Balasagun were translated in 1825 in France; in 2019, American expert on Russia and Eurasia, historian, Founder and Chairman of the Institute of Central Asia and the Caucasus (USA) F. Starr presented the works of Yusuf Balasagun, translated into English, to the Uyghur diaspora. Regarding to linguistic culture, the transition to the Latin alphabet, the cultural identification of the Kazakh people, the author studied the works of the famous researcher-orientalist Nazir Tyuryakulov [182-184].

So, the studied and reviewed materials and works of researchers perform great interest and have made a great contribution to the writing of this dissertation work.

The information base of the dissertation research consists of the regulatory legal acts of the Republic of Kazakhstan. The empirical base of research includes statistical and analytical documents of government agencies and independent research organizations.

The statistical base of the study was made up of documents from Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of National Economy of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Ministry of Sports and Tourism etc.

In addition, the annual reports of the UNDP, UNESCO, Confucius Institute were used. The study used materials from studies of ratings and indices of “soft power” of Monocle magazine, The Institute for Government, Moscow School of Management Skolkovo and consulting agency Portland.

Also, the author interviewed experts – R.S. Kurmanguzhin, Ph.D., Associate Professor, Director of analytical center “Synergy” of Almaty Management University and A. Gussarova, Founder and Director of the Central Asian Institute for Strategic Studies. The purpose of the research was to identify the main tools and instruments of

the “soft power” of Kazakhstan and its application based on the results of an expert survey in the form of interviewing.

Object of the research is the Kazakhstan’s “soft power” as a political strategy.

Subject of the research is the cultural-humanitarian component of “soft power” as a tool of foreign policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

The aim of dissertation work is a comprehensive analysis of the political strategies, resources and consideration of cultural and humanitarian cooperation as the main method and tools of “soft power” of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

For achieving the goal, the following **research tasks** were set:

- to reveal the genesis of the concept of “soft power” and the original content of this theory;

- to formulate definitions of “soft power”, identify its main characteristics, goals and conditions for its effective use, as well as an analysis of the degree and features of the adoption of the concept by the academic community;

- to identify the main approaches to the study of the phenomenon of “soft power”;

- to make a comparative analysis the foreign experience (the USA, EU, Russia, China) in the implementation of “soft power” policy;

- to analyze the cultural-humanitarian cooperation as the main of the components of Kazakhstan’s “soft power” at the present stage;

- to define the positive image-building in the international arena as a key instrument of “soft power” of Kazakhstan;

- to reveal the impact of culture, science and education as a factor of “soft power” of Kazakhstan;

- to consider opportunities of “soft power” of Kazakhstan and make recommendations promoting the country’s image on the world stage.

Theoretical and methodological basis of the research is a complex of methods, approaches and theories, which made it possible to build a multi-level system for analyzing the theory and strategies of “soft power”.

In the process of writing a dissertation, the following general methods were used: case-study, comparative method, analysis and synthesis, historical methods, content analysis, event analysis and method of using expert assessment. Along with the traditional research methods, the dissertation used modern methods for studying foreign policy, diplomacy, cultural-humanitarian policy, and the country’s image in the international arena.

The comparison method was used to study the similarities and differences in strategic technologies of “soft power” of the states under consideration. The analysis made it possible to isolate the individual components of “soft power” and characterize them, and the synthesis of the obtained data made it possible to generalize various approaches to the concept of “soft power” and implement “soft” technologies in practice. The historical method has proven useful in investigating the origin and development of the concept of “soft power”.

In the dissertation, such methodological approaches to the study of “soft power” as discourse, structural-functional, institutional, and measuring and instrumental were used.

The discourse approach allowed focusing on representative (building attractiveness), value-oriented strategies of “soft power”. By the application of the structural-functional approach, “soft power” was introduced as a holistic system, which describes its main tools and their functions. The institutional approach was used to highlight the main institutions involved in the development and implementation of “soft power” strategies, and to determine their role in this activity. The measuring and instrumental approach made it possible to address the problem of measuring “soft power”, to identify indicators on the basis of which it is possible to measure the “soft” potential of states.

Despite the fact that J. Nye is a prominent representative of neoliberalism, it is advisable to analyze the features of the use of soft power tools by Kazakhstan, based on the constructivism methodology, since the concept of soft power is based on attractiveness design technology. Theorists of constructivism: A. Wendt, S. Guzzini, J. Legros pay considerable attention to the concept of power. Representatives of the constructivist approach, such as M. Barnett and R. Duvall, J. Mettern, directly contributed to the development of the concept of “soft power” through their critical works.

Since the thesis sets the task of analyzing the use of cultural-humanitarian cooperation as an instrument of “soft power” in foreign policy of Kazakhstan, it is impossible to do without a large number of examples that clearly show how this application is manifested and what its results are.

Using the content analysis, event analysis and expert analysis in the form of interviewing allowed the author to approach the study of the tasks scientifically and objectively and to substantiate the main provisions of the dissertation.

Scientific novelty of the research determined by its purpose and objectives and is as follows:

- a series of actions has been proposed, taking into account the factors defined in the study, is capable of composing a strategic technology of “soft power”;
- resources and strategies of “soft power” were identified, a comparative analysis of the institutions of the US, EU, Russia and China conducting “soft power” was carried out, the role of the main factors in increasing the “soft power” of these states was assessed;
- the key features of cultural-humanitarian component of “soft power” of Kazakhstan were identified, the importance of taking into account the regional perception of states to increase the effectiveness of “soft power” strategies was proved;
- for the first time in Kazakhstani science, was made an attempt to consider science and education as the main tools of Kazakhstan’s “soft power”;
- relevant recommendations are proposed in the field of conceptual approaches to the formation of the strategy of “soft power” of the Republic of Kazakhstan;
- the author proposed his own theory (concept) called “power of attractiveness” (“representative power” “branding power”), which can be applied in the foreign policy of Kazakhstan for recognition, increasing the role, significance and image of the country in the international arena before having an impact on other countries.

Theoretical and practical significance of the research is determined by the relevance and the possibility of using the obtained generalizations and conclusions for

applied purposes. Theoretical substantiated prognostic recommendations in the field of “soft power” contribute to the optimization of the foreign policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan. The synthesis of theoretical and methodological approaches used in the work made it possible to simulate the main directions for the formation of the “soft power” strategy of Kazakhstan. The research materials can be used in scientific works in teaching general and elective courses in the specialty of international relations. Recommendations of dissertation research can be used by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of National Economy of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Ministry of Sports and Tourism for the further promotion of “soft power” and image-building of Kazakhstan in international arena.

Key Points to Protect:

1. “Soft power” plays a significant role in the system of foreign policy priorities of Kazakhstan, but is present in an implicit form.

Kazakhstan has the potential, resources, necessary tools of “soft power”, but they are not fully used.

2. Most of the foreign policy tasks of Kazakhstan, which are designed to solve “soft power” to change the country’s image require long-term and systematic efforts.

Such tasks of the soft power policy of Kazakhstan as promoting the economy, increasing its political influence in Central Asian region, cannot be solved in the short term. At the same time, neither economic growth nor political influence can be achieved without maintaining the image, whose eminence can contribute to positive development not only within the Central Asian region, but throughout the world.

3. The success of the role of the “soft power” in the foreign policy of Kazakhstan lies in its complex, where all components of the strategy for its application are interconnected.

But, in the same time, the use of “soft power” resources in all spheres of foreign policy interaction creates a holistic image of the country’s attractiveness, since it is impossible to achieve the goals of “soft power” if you pay attention only to cultural-humanitarian component, but be economically weak or try to build a positive image in one country, but not at all declare yourself in another.

4. The negative factors of influence on the potential of “soft power” of Kazakhstan are the following: 1) factors that reduce the attractiveness in the eyes of a particular audience; 2) a limited amount of resources affecting the scale of “soft power”; 3) leadership problems and inconsistency.

5. In developing conceptual approaches in the process of forming “soft power”, the country’s foreign cultural-humanitarian and educational policy plays a special role. Its formation and implementation will make it possible to pursue a permanent policy of cooperation with a foreign audience, familiarizing it with the country and involving it in promoting the interests of Kazakhstan’s foreign policy.

The reliability and validity of the results of this study is due to a comprehensive analysis of the strategies and tools of “soft power”, as well as the use of a set of theoretical and scientific methods corresponding to the object, subject, purpose and objectives of the dissertation, presented by the research source base,

publication of conclusions and results on authoritative platforms of the scientific and academic community.

Approbation of the results of research. The dissertation was discussed and recommended for defense at a meeting of the Institute of Diplomacy of the Academy of Public Administration under the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

As a result of the study, the author proposed an elective course and developed the syllabus for the discipline “Soft power” in International relations”. Approbation was presented at the Abylai Khan Kazakh University of International Relations and World Languages and the KhojaAhmedYasaviInternationalKazakh-TurkishUniversity.

All the main findings and provisions of the dissertation are published in 9 articles:

1. China’s soft power methods applied in Central Asian countries (the case of Kazakhstan) // Central Asia and the Caucasus. – 2018. - Vol. 21, №3. – P. 19-27 (co-author PhD Nurdavletova S.M.).

2. «Soft power» in relation of Central Asian states: the participants and their actions // Mezhdunarodnyi nauchno-prakticheskiy zhurnal «Gosudarstvennoe upravlenie I gosudarstvennaya sluzhba», Seriya «Politologiya». – 2018. - №4. – P. 60-65.

3. Resources and the application of Soft Power tools in Foreign Policy of Kazakhstan // Vestnik ENU im. L.N.Gumilyova, Seriya «Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniya». –2018. –Vol. 2(123). – P. 27-34.

4. Education as an Instrument of “Soft power” in the foreign policy of Kazakhstan // Vestnik KazNUim. al-Farabi, Seriya «MO i MP». – 2019. –Vol. 3(87). – P. 4-12.

5. Kazakhstan’s contribution to the peace mission activity // Mazhdunarodnaya nauchno-prakticheskaya konferenciya “Socialno-gumanitarnye aspekty blagopoluchiya cheloveka”. –Ufa, 2018, April, 24. – C. 3-14.

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The structure of dissertation work. The main goals and objectives set in the dissertation work, determined the structure of the research, which consists of an introduction, three chapters, conclusion and list of references.

1 THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS OF THE STUDY OF “SOFT POWER”

1.1 Theoretical Foundations of the Study of “Soft Power”: Genesis and the Concept

The entrance of society into the era of global communications was marked by the search for new effective forms of influence on society and

the exercise of power over it. The concept of “soft power” was the answer to such a need. The concept itself was proposed by the American political scientist J. Nye and very quickly gained popularity first in academic and then in political circles, as thanks to the use of this tool, it became possible to influence on partners, their consciousness, in order to achieve voluntary cooperation or other goals.

Conducting an analysis of power on such an indicator as the division of its sources into tangible and intangible, we can draw parallels between the concept of J. Nye and the ideas of a number of other researchers. For example, the doctrine of the cultural and ideological hegemony of the Italian philosopher-Marxist A. Gramsci is considered to be the predecessor of the studied concept [9, c.89]. He believed that the state rests on two pillars: power and harmony. In modern formations of the Western world, agreement with capitalist exploitation is ensured through domination based on the action of culture and ideology. Gramsci used the term “hegemony” to mean “a position in which a sufficient level of agreement has been reached. Hegemony implies not just consent, but benevolent (active) consent, in which citizens desire what the ruling class requires. Hegemony is based on the “cultural core” of society (ideas about the world and man, good and evil, traditions, symbols, prejudices, knowledge and experience of previous generations).

There are number of similarities in the doctrine of the hegemony of A. Gramsci and the theory of “soft power” by J. Nye. In both concepts, two types of influence on objects are distinguished: violence and consent by A. Gramsci, “hard” and “soft” power by J. Nye. Both authors attach great importance to traditions, culture and values for the successful establishment of hegemony and emphasize the great role of civil society in the process of formation and maintenance of state influence. However, there are differences between these concepts. A. Gramsci, as an adherent of communist ideology, believes that hegemony is necessary to achieve the goals of domestic politics, namely, to maintain the power of the ruling class. From the point of view of J. Nye, “soft power” is aimed at achieving the goals of foreign policy. The difference in the ideological orientations of these authors is reflected in their assessment of the object of their research: if J. Nye proves the importance of building “soft power” to create an attractive image of the state with the aim of forming coalitions and attracting allies, then A. Gramsci writes about the need to overthrow the power of the ruling class, influencing on it with its own means and methods, undermining the “cultural core”, gradually preparing the conditions for the revolution.

One of the competing concepts of power was the concept of structural power, which developed in the 1980s. Representatives of this approach are S. Strange and S. Guzzini. The first researcher defines structural power as the power to form the framework within which states interact with each other, with individuals and corporations [10, p.447]. In the understanding of S. Strange [11, p.551], power over structures is more important than power over resources, therefore, it insists on the need to review the actual value of economic resources and military potential in order to assess the differences between the great powers in the modern world. The authorities can not only produce results based on material or intangible factors, but also form and determine the structures or secret transactions of states, therefore the structures themselves become an imperious resource, as they determine the rules of the game.

S. Guzzini defines “indirect institutional power” as control over results, not through direct confrontation, but through changing environmental conditions in which a clash occurs. He describes S. Strange’s understanding of power as “unintentional power,” since the structure may not function in favor of the hegemony in a specific historical context. The structure does not directly advance the interests of the hegemony, but only facilitates its task in an indirect, almost uncontrolled manner.

According to J. Nye the key mechanism on which the action of “soft power” is based is attractiveness. Based on this fact, we can attribute the concepts of representatives of postmodernism to the same discursive space: these are the concepts of “temptation” by J. Baudrillard and the “seduction” of J. Lipovetski. As a result of the impact of attractiveness, temptation, seduction, subjects perceive the proposals of the authorities as a conscious, free and voluntary choice.

Trying to reconcile structural functionalism and social constructivism, the French sociologist P. Baudrillard created the concept of symbolic power. This is a specific power that can change and form categories of assessment and perception of society, which affect its organization. This power is transformed, invisible, and unrecognizable. Important are the symbolic systems that structure society, such as the art, language, religion. P. Baudrillard emphasized the importance of such a power as opposed to the Marxist concepts of the primacy of the economy. Using symbolic power, one can achieve the same goals that are usually achieved using power (economic or physical), but only if this power is recognized [12, c.21]. The researcher pointed out the ideological function of the prevailing discourse, expressed in the imposition of perception of the current order of things as natural, with the help of masked suggestion (and therefore not seen by anyone) of mental structures and classification systems adapted to the structures of society.

Another representative of the philosophy of postmodernism, J. Lipovetski, believes that seduction in modern society is “a universal invisible power that seeks to regulate consumption, organization, information, education, morals” [13, c.21]. It stimulates a person’s desire for pleasure, gives the right to enjoy the status of a legitimate one. In a postmodern society, a seduction strategy is part of political technology. It is based on the seduction of individuals with attractive images of political leaders and institutions. J. Lipovetski finds in the strategy of seduction and positive aspects since it includes the seduction of democracy.

Another important aspect is the “three dimensions of power” developed by S. Lukes, which although it is not the academic equivalent of “soft power”, but expresses ideas similar to the theory of J. Nye [14, p.32]. S. Lukes outlines three approaches to understanding power:

- 1) One-dimensional view, according to which power in society is distributed pluralistically, the emphasis is on the study of observed behavior and examples of decision-making. Problems are thought of as debatable; they imply a real, observable conflict. The representative of this approach is R. Dahl.

- 2) A two-dimensional view that involves controlling the agenda, that is, the power to decide what is being decided. The emphasis is on making and not making decisions and the observed conflict, explicit or implicit. Representatives of the approach are P. Bahrach and M. Barats.

3) Three-dimensional view, in which control over thinking is carried out in more modest, less total forms, for example, through control over information, the use of mass media and even the process of socialization. The emphasis is on decision making, control of the agenda, latent and observed conflict, as well as subjective and real interests. The peculiarity of the third dimension of power is that it prevents the emergence of a feeling of discontent by forming a new perception and preferences in people that ensure the adoption of a role either in the order of things, or without providing an alternative, or as a natural or even beneficial one.

The problem of the theory of the “third dimension of power” is the difficulty of determining the “real interests” of individuals. S. Lukes suggests that researchers define them within the framework of the theory in which they work (table 1.1).

Table 1.1- Three dimensions of power by S. Lukes

<i>Key elements</i>	<i>Three-dimensional view</i>		
	<i>Two-dimensional view</i>		<i>Third dimension</i>
	<i>One-dimensional view</i>	<i>Second dimension</i>	
	<i>First dimension</i>		
Object of analysis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Behaviour - Concrete decisions - Issues 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interpretive understanding of intentional action - Non-decisions - Potential issues 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Evaluative theorization of interests in action - Political agenda - Issues and potential issues
Indicators	Overt conflict	Covert conflict	Latent conflict

Note – Compiled by the author based on the source [14]

So, J. Nye believes that without the use of power (military and economic), there is only attraction, and S. Lukes considers that without the use of power, there is only coercion. If J. Nye is convinced that the ability of the United States to shape the desires of others serves the real interests of the latter, then S. Lukes interprets this order of things as manipulation, the formation of an ideological framework because of which subordinates do not realize their true interests. Thus, the main discrepancy between the authors lies in the fact that J. Nye is supporting the theory of neoliberalism, while S. Lukes is trying to investigate the reasons for the subordination of groups under conditions of neoliberal hegemony.

From a historical perspective, there are a lot of examples of soft power practices. For instance, after the defeat in the Franco-Prussian War, the French government, seeking to restore the ruined prestige of the nation, started promoting the French language and literature through the Alliance Francaise, founded in 1883. Italy, Germany and other countries soon followed suit.

The merit of J. Nye is that, by transferring “soft power” from the field of philosophy to the field of politics, from the national level to the level of international relations and acting in the spirit of American practicalism, he showed the possibility of using “soft power” as a tool to increase influence on world stage. This concept, not from a theoretical, but from a technological, practical point of view, has gained great importance: thanks to the use of modern technologies, the possibility of a complex effect has appeared, and in the spatial sense – an almost unlimited effect on the mass consciousness. J. Nye’s wording, in comparison with the theories of other researchers, turned out to be simpler and more memorable, and J. Nye’s proximity to US political circles, his positions and authority made it possible to convey the idea of “soft power” not only to academic, but also to political circles as well as the general public.

For further research on “soft power”, the possibility of accurately identifying a given concept and applying it to specific states, it is necessary to understand the reasons for its genesis, the features of development and transformation in the vision of its creator by J. Nye.

The first mention of the concept appeared in 1990 in the article “Soft Power” and the book “Doomed to be a leader: the changing nature of American power” [4,p.56]. In these books, J. Nye finalized and developed the theory of “soft power”. The circumstances in which J. Nye created these works are important to consider: his first article was written at the end of the Cold War (1990). The author notes that “at present, Soviet power is in decline, and Japanese power is growing ... At the end of the 20th century, the United States of America became less powerful than it was in 1945”. J. Nye tried to solve a completely utilitarian problem: by introducing and popularizing the concept of “soft power” to dissuade the American academic community of the inevitability of the decline of the United States. In this article, the author noted the importance of the transition to a new type of power (at that time called “co-optimive power”), which allows the country to “influence the international environment so that the interests and preferences of other states coincide with its own interests and correspond to its intentions” [2, p.153].

The book “The Paradox of American Power” – a reaction to the September 11, 2001 attacks. J. Nye warned US politicians against conducting an arrogant and indifferent international political course, as well as from triumph – the opposite of the decline that he described in the previous book. The author has consistently argued that American policy should not be unilateral, but bilateral and multilateral.

In 2004, the work “Soft Power: Means of Achieving Success in World Politics” was published. This is J. Nye’s response to the decline in the attractiveness of the United States in the world because of their participation in the Iraq war. The purpose of this book is to explain to readers the meaning once again of “soft power”.

The “Future of Strength” was published in 2010. The author completely concentrated on the concept of “smart power”, that is, the art of a political actor in a rational way to combine elements of “soft” and “hard” powers to increase its influence. This concept has a great impact on the policy of the Obama’s administration. At that time, a special commission on “smart power” has emerged at the Washington Center for Strategic and International Studies, one of the chairmen of which was J. Nye.

It is curious that the last book written by J. Nye in 2015, “Is the American Century over?” is devoted to the same problem as his first article in 1990: consistent evidence that the American century is far from over, despite pessimistic analytical predictions and the impressive economic successes of the People’s Republic of China [6, p.14]. The author argues that in terms of aggregate potential, consisting of military, economic and “soft” power, the USA will be ahead of all other states of the world over the coming decades.

Consideration of the evolution of the concept of “soft power” in the works of J. Nye will begin with his first article on this subject. He defined “co-operative power”, which he later called “soft power” as state’s capacity to build a situation in a way, that other states set their priorities and concerns in accordance with their own [6,p.16]. An important condition for such a government is its legitimacy.

Two main mechanisms that ensure the effect of “co-operative power” are attractiveness and the ability to influence structures. If in his recent works J. Nye focused on explaining the first mechanism, then in this article he mainly concentrates on the second: “The USA has more “co-operative power” than other countries. Institutions that manage the international economy, such as the IMF, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, embody the principles of free market, liberalism, which are largely consistent with American society and ideology” [7, p.168]. Analyzing these points, it is close to the theories of scientists developing the ideas of structural power.

In the book “The Paradox of American Power”, J. Nye continues to clarify his concept. He gives the following definitions of “soft power”: “this is an indirect way of exercising power”, “it is the skill of luring and attracting, and attraction most of the time, results in silent agreement or imitation”, “capacity founded on the ability to construct politics in a way that builds priorities of others”, “the ability to establish a set of beneficial rules and institutions” [3, p.70]. In the text of the work, one can meet several more attempts to define “soft power”. This multiplicity of definitions in early works became the reason for criticism of the academic community, even the question was raised about the impossibility of its use for analytical purposes. However, one can also conclude from these definitions that this type of power is based on two main points: the ability to attract (involvement leads to imitation or consent) and institutional potential.

The formulation of “soft power” resources has changed. Now this is the appeal of culture; the attractiveness of ideology; the attractiveness of institutions.

J. Nye takes historical excursion and proves that the main resources ensuring the leading positions of the state have changed over time: for example, in the 16th century, during the period of Spanish power, gold bullion, colonial trade, mercenary army and dynastic ties were valued; today, soft power is paramount in combination with technological, military, and economic leadership. Interesting that the “soft power”, according to the author, was one of the main resources of France in the 18th century (in the form of cultural influence), Great Britain in the 19th century (in the form of liberal norms) and the United States in the 20th century (in the form of cultural universalism and liberal international regimes).

In his works, a model of the world appears, which is a three-dimensional chessboard, the upper level of which is occupied by military power (a unipolar region, in which the USA is almost completely dominant), the middle one is by economic power (a multipolar region, divided by the USA, Europe, Japan and China), lower – transnational relations (a multipolar sphere that goes beyond government control; these are non-state actors: banks, TNCs, terrorist organizations, hackers). Thus, justifying the US leadership in the 21st century with technological leadership, military and economic scale, “soft power” and the American-centric nature of globalization, J. Nye, however, does not ascribe the hegemonic character to the United States, pointing to the lower levels of the “chessboard model”.

In the work “Soft Power: the means to success in world politics”, a definition of “soft power” and a description of its resources appears, which was no longer changed and was used in the books and articles of this author, as well as researchers of national centers of the world: “soft power” was defined as the ability to achieve what is desired through attraction, not coercion or payments [2, p.10]. The resources of this type of power were recognized: culture (attractive to others); political values (which are supported domestically and abroad); foreign policy (legitimate and having moral authority).

In J. Nye’s point of view, one of the essential factors is that culture should not just be tempting. In addition, it should possess several global ethics. By global ethics, we mean liberalism, democracy, pluralism, human rights, freedom. Then it is better perceived and absorbed by representatives of different nationalities. This is the moment of the discrepancy between the theory of J. Nye and the authors writing about the attractiveness of various states: among the latter, culture is not necessarily universal; it can be simply seductive with its exoticism. However, for culture to become an instrument of “soft power”, it must be able to create a view in which ideas and values will be.

In addition, J. Nye introduces an important condition that must be considered in building “soft power” strategies. He writes that “soft power” works better when it is aimed at democracy. In other words, it works better where public opinion is more important than dictatorial regimes. Based on this, the technological chain used by the United States can be distinguished: the spread of democracy, including through the seduction of “soft power” and the use of humanitarian interventions – increasing the effectiveness of the use of “soft power” in democratic states – controlling the mood of public opinion, shaping the preferences of the population, maintaining the influence of ideas put forward by the United States.

Regarding the possibility of measuring the “soft power” of the state, J. Nye writes: “soft power” can be tried to measure using opinion polls. It is an integral but imperfect way of measuring resources” [2, p.90].

The author acknowledges that the result of the influence of “soft power” depends on its acceptance by a foreign audience. Soft power resources often do not work directly: they create a favorable environment for political action, and sometimes it takes years to achieve the desired results.

The book “The Future of Power” is completely devoted to the study of “smart power”, reflecting the strategic use of “soft” and “hard power” depending on the

intellectual assessment of the context. Options for “soft” behavior are agenda setting, attraction, and persuasion [5, p.14].

The weakest point in the theory of J. Nye, especially in his early works, is the conversion of resources into “soft power” itself. Soft power is not as technologically advanced as policy practitioners would like, especially given that it is partially created through the functioning of civil society, which may cause it to be out of government control. So, the structural and instrumental level of “soft power” includes national services; news agencies; public diplomacy; exchange programs; assistance and training programs.

In view of J. Nye, the creation of conditions for the development of civil society is a necessary condition for building the capacity of “soft power”, especially given that it is easier to spread among liberal democracies.

The functions of public diplomacy are as follows:

- 1) the spread of a positive image;
- 2) information transfer (taking into account target audiences);
- 3) building long-term relationships that create an enabling environment for government policy (figure 1.1) [2, p.76].

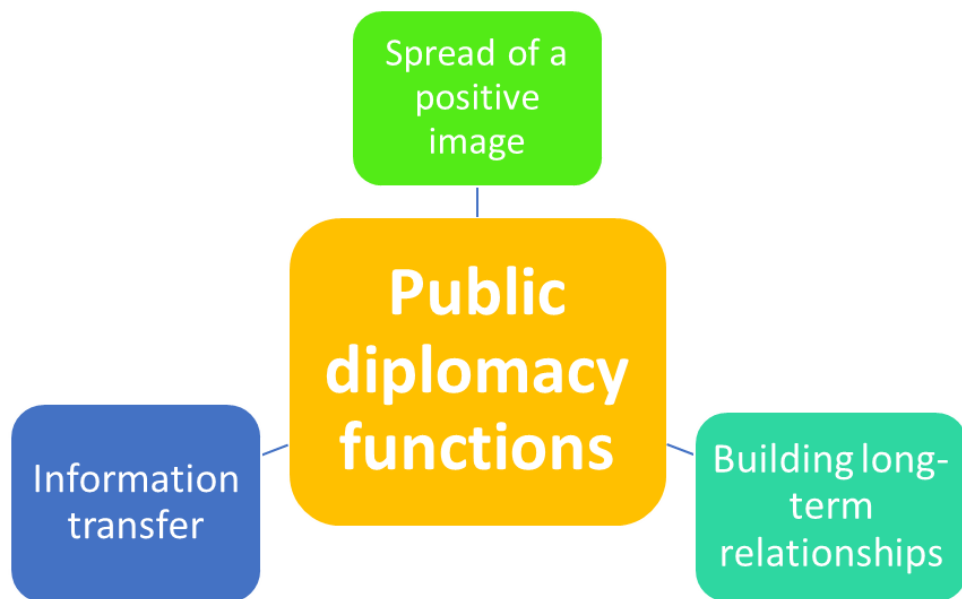


Figure1.1 - The main functions of public diplomacy[2]

So, if we consider the functions of the main components of public diplomacy, it is necessary to mention three stages of public diplomacy:

- 1) daily communication (explanation of the context of domestic and foreign policy decisions, quick response to crisis situations);
- 2) a concentric stage (creates a set of simple topics);
- 3) long-term relationships with key individuals for many years and decades through training programs, conferences, exchanges, trainings, seminars, media channels [5, p.41].

In a recent article, J. Nye called for the integration of disparate official “soft power” tools (public diplomacy, television, exchange programs, development

assistance, humanitarian assistance, military-to-military contacts) into a comprehensive strategic technology that would integrate them and thus increased the effectiveness of US foreign policy (figure 1.2) [8].



Figure1.2 - “Soft power” tools by J.Nye[8]

Thus, the concept of “soft power” was created for a specific purpose: to develop a way to increase US power, dissuade the academic community and the world community in the inevitability of the imminent decline of this state, and, ultimately, to maintain the US dominant position in the world arena. This theory developed in accordance with the tasks and problems that American foreign policy has faced since 1990. As a result of the analysis of the works of J. Nye, one can deduce the following chain: seductive “soft power”, as well as some other tools, for example, humanitarian interventions, allows the process of spreading democracy. In turn, this enhances the effect of the use of “soft power”, since in democratic states it is possible to influence public opinion. In addition to the independent use of tools of “soft power” to achieve certain foreign policy goals, it is possible to use it in combination with “hard power” to increase the effectiveness of the latter (creating a favorable social environment, increasing the number of allies). In addition, it is important that in the latest works of J. Nye, the theory of “soft power” becomes truly three-dimensional (in the terminology of S. Lukes). It begins to include attraction and persuasion (i.e., the first person in power; it somehow contains an element of manipulation), the ability to establish a legitimate agenda, as well as a set of beneficial rules and institutions (second person in power), as well as the formation of initial preferences (third party authority).

The determination of the role of “soft power” in the “coordinate system” of international relations is most often associated with the growth of globalization and neoliberal theory. For example, Turkish researchers P. Bilgin and B. Elis believe that the theory of J. Nye emphasizes the intangible forms of power that realist scientists

forget, and also draws attention to invisible, hidden from the eyes of power relations [18]. They criticize the views of realists who focus on the military-economic potential of states, interpret power as coercion through direct influence and study only visible manifestations of power, ignoring the activities of non-state actors. Indian researcher U. Purushothaman agrees with this position that J. Nye's theory successfully complements the doctrine of realists.

J. Nye presented his vision of the place of the concept in the theory of international relations as follows: "some authors portray the difference between "hard" and "soft power" as an opposition to realism and idealism, but this is a mistake. Traditional realists, for example, G. Morgenthau, objected to what they considered naive idealism, but were not indifferent to the importance of ideas ... Most of these subtleties died because of the desire of neorealists to make power measurable; power was reduced to measurable material resources. Recently, these realists have restored understanding of the importance of ideas. There is no contradiction between the concept of "soft power" and realism. Soft power is not a form of idealism or liberalism. It is just one kind of power – a way to achieve the desired results" [5, p.34].

J. Nye is called a critic of the theory of realism, but he considers himself critical only of structural realists who ignore various dimensions of international politics, such as the role of non-state actors: corporations, institutions, non-governmental organizations, transnational terrorist networks, many of which themselves possess "soft power".

Even though J. Nye seeks to avoid any typologies of "soft power", his theory is nevertheless close to the liberal tradition, although sometimes it deviates from it. This proximity is determined by the similarity with which liberalism and the theory of J. Nye relate to the problem of war. According to liberalism, democracies are more peaceful in relation to other states because of the fear of rulers not to be re-elected. In addition, international trade ties states together, while international institutions strengthen cooperation between states and make war unlikely. The theory of "soft power" also states that democracies are more likely to use "soft" rather than "hard power"; economic resources can be a source of not only "hard", but also "soft power", and international institutions can increase the "soft power" of a country by promoting their ideas, values, and country's policies [5, p.17]. Thus, J. Nye adapts some of the positions of liberal theory, in particular, neoliberal institutionalism.

In addition to criticism related to controversial issues found in the theory of "soft power", there is criticism based on the difference in research positions and preferences. Scientists from the realistic school of international relations argue that states must respond to only two types of incentives: economic and military. The most critical attitude towards the concept of "soft power" was Ferguson [15,p. 15]. He argued that because countries always try to hide their power in altruism, "soft power" is like a velvet glove hiding an iron fist. Since "soft power" is simply the imagination of "hard power", the researcher concluded that the concept of "soft power" by J. Nye is simply "too soft". In turn, J. Nye noted that "soft power" does not depend on "hard power", citing the example of the USSR, a country that had great potential for "soft power" but lost it after the invasions of Hungary and Czechoslovakia. Soviet "soft power" fell into decay, even as its military resources continued to grow. Because of its tough policy,

the “hard power” of the USSR undermined the “soft power”. Nye also pointed to Norway, whose “soft power” is greater than military and economic because of its mediation in conflicts.

Realistic scholars in general are characterized by the recognition of the insolvency of “soft power” as compared to “hard power”. The potential of “soft power” is difficult to assess it is not reflected either in statistics or in monetary terms. In their opinion, a reassessment of the potential of “soft influence” can lead to disastrous consequences. Some of the researchers, who studies space and nuclear strategies, as well as disarmament and armament issues, believes that practice confirms the failure of the concept of “soft power”. The increased respect for universal humanitarian values has greatly complicated the use of “hard power” compared to previous periods of history. It is currently difficult to justify the need to use military methods, but this does not mean that “hard power” is a thing of the past. Some conflicts cannot be resolved by non-military means. The use of “hard power” is completely under government control, and “soft power” lends itself only to partial control. The effectiveness of using “soft power” strategies in a specific region of the world cannot be predicted with absolute accuracy, because the local context – culture, values, and habits – leaves a significant imprint.

Criticism of realist scientists, as well as the challenges facing US politicians, led to the fact that the theory of J. Nye, developing, became more and more “realistic”: from numerous warnings about the use of “hard power”, evidence of a decrease in the significance of military interventions and strong recommendations using “soft power” contained in earlier works, it grew into “smart power”, that is, contextual intelligence, dialectical combination of “soft” and “hard” tools, depending on the situation.

Supporting the views of S. Lukes (his theory of “three persons” of power is discussed above), researchers P. Bilgin and B. Elis suggest studying the process in which the needs and desires of various actors, their understanding of themselves and “real interests” are formed by other actors or existing structures [18]. Thanks to this, the theory of “soft power” can evolve in its development. They are convinced that J. Nye is not interested in exploring the sources of gravity of the United States, since he considers the ability of the United States to shape the desires of others corresponding to the real interests of the latter. Accordingly, he misses the “main part of soft power”, the early, initial formation of tastes, collective images and ideals, which constitute a way of dominating other countries. Given the discrepancies between researchers regarding the definition of “real interests”, this criticism seems quite predictable.

Natural are the comments of researchers who either do not share neoliberal views or look at “soft power” as a technology to maintain global dominance under the leadership of the United States. So, for example, S. Lukes wrote: “Reaganism in the USA and Thatcherism in Britain were replaced after the fall of communism by the unusually widespread dissemination of neoliberal concepts around the world. If this is a particularly large-scale example of “hegemony”, then for a proper understanding of its influence it is necessary, among other things, to find an appropriate way of understanding the power and, in particular, addressing the problem successfully formulated by Charles Tilly: “If ordinary domination so consistently infringes on the well-defined interests of subordinate groups, why do they agree to this? Why don’t

they constantly rebel, or at least do not put up constant resistance?” [14, p.20]. E. Lock, referring to the same problem, notes: the exercise of power in capitalist societies can be subtle, disguised and treacherous. Continuing the line of L. Althusser, some analysts argue that the formulation of “soft power” by J. Nye involves him in the Bush doctrine, because “soft power” legitimizes neoliberalism, the free market and the values on which military operations in Iraq were based [19, p.32].

Russian scientist V.M. Kapitsyn draws attention to the communicative, symbolic side of “soft power”. He believes that the influence of “external” “soft power” spreading cosmopolitan ideas poses risks to civic identity: “Soft power” visualizes the superiority of Western civilizations (the “center” over the periphery and semi-periphery), contributes to the stratification of societies of non-Western countries (“periphery”). The soft power parameters of the leading world powers can be the state of education, traditions, culture, accustoming to “think and act globally” [36, c.70].

In scientific and journalistic circles, an approach has been developed to “soft power” as a normative power, genetically closely related to the United States. So, V.S. Martyanov believes that “flexible power” or “soft power” is called upon to create not only a positive, attractive cultural image of the country that legitimizes its right to dominate, but, and more importantly, support a certain regulatory policy that contains a significant element of obligation [48, c.104].

M.V. Kharkevich puts “soft power” on a par with such normative concepts as “clash of civilizations”, “end of history”, and “democratic world”. The production of most popular regulatory concepts in the field of international relations is carried out by the American academic community. Considering the special role this country plays in world politics after the end of the Cold War, representatives of non-Western states are wary of the concepts emanating from the Americans [49, c.23]. The researcher argues that when these concepts act as an instrument of political influence, the nature of relations becomes hierarchical, and in the case when they are the subject of political discussion, which clarifies the content of such concepts, the nature of relations is created non-hierarchical.

Not all researchers critically evaluate the concept of J. Nye. He has many supporters. These include the professor at Wesleyan University, J. Gallarotti. He develops a cosmopolitan theory of power, which is based on three leading paradigms of international relations: neoliberalism, realism and constructivism. On this basis, he estimates the resources of “soft power” [20].

In his opinion, there are two sources of “soft power”: internal and external. The terms of the first are culture (social cohesion, tolerance, high quality of life, civil liberties, an attractive way of life) and political institutions (liberalism, democracy, constitutionalism, pluralism, an effective government). The content of the second source: compliance with allied obligations and international treaties, respect for international norms, laws, institutions, liberal foreign economic policy and support for a multilateral approach in resolving common affairs.

It can be stated that several positions have developed in the literature concerning the theory of J. Nye:

1. Adoption of the concept and analysis based on it of the potential of “soft power” of certain states.

2. Rather, a positive assessment of the concept, its multilateral analysis, research from the point of view of various approaches, attempts to make it less descriptive and more academic.

3. Rather, a positive assessment of the concept, combined with the desire to make it less American in spirit and, leaving the basis of the theory and its instrumental part, apply it, focusing on the needs and capabilities of specific states.

4. Criticism of the concept of “soft power”.

J. Nye tried to define “soft power” in a more positive way, describing the characteristics of “soft power”, its sources, the power spectrum (from coercive to cooperative) and, finally, combined “hard” and “soft power” into a strategic combination, calling it “smart power”, which demonstrates that the “hard” and “soft power” have a different nature. In addition, the researcher, rather, gives many examples, forms of expression of “soft power”, instead of creating a more realistic definition. As was proved above, the ideas of the existence of an intangible form of power, the opposition of military, economic domination and ideological power are not new (figure 1.3).



Figure 1.3–Positions on the formation of favorable conditions for the successful activity of the state

Note – Created by the author based on the source [5]

In order not to miss a single manifestation of “soft power”, we will understand it broadly.

Soft power is a way of exercising power, which implies the creation of an enabling environment for political action and includes three dimensions: 1) attraction, leading to consent or imitation; 2) the ability to establish a legitimate agenda, as well as a set of beneficial rules and institutions; 3) the formation of preferences of the population.

All these three positions are aimed at creating favorable conditions for the successful operation of the state, achieving goals, and the goals may vary:

- political goals: external security (conflict-free relations with bordering states), mobilization of support from other countries on different issues, formation of coalitions

and other goals, up to the creation of conditions for color revolutions; “Soft power” can be a supplemental tool in relation to “hard power”: more effectual use of the latter requires preliminary support with the help of “soft” tools to form an international consensus on the problem and create a favorable environment;

- economic goals (broadening export markets for goods, gaining access to resources, attracting investors, highly qualified specialists, tourists, etc.);

- if a particular state has developed a practice that implies the possibility of using the policy of “soft power” not only at the international level, but also within the state, then the goals may be to strengthen support from the government and the leader, maintaining unity.

The assumed conditions for the existence of “soft power” in the state by the researcher (J. Nye) are a chronology of actions, a sequence of what is stated and what is in practice; attractiveness in the eyes of the target audience; the presence of a remarkable resource base, the legitimacy of the policy, leadership in international institutions. Furthermore, it also includes an efficient development model (worthy of being wanted to adopt) and some other points (usually they are presented in abundance in studies and ratings that are suitable for “soft power” from a measuring and instrumental point of view).

If the “hard power” (military and economic) of states may differ in scale, the potential of “soft power” may vary. A country may have all three components of “soft power” (attractiveness, ability to set the agenda, leadership in international institutions, and ability to shape preferences), or only some, but not all. Thus, the potential of “soft power” can alter from local to global scale. Locally, it is enough to have some appealing features.

The problem of situational use of soft power is critical for “soft power”. Culture and political values are not all the time a source of “soft power”. They can cause resentment, hostility, and conflicts. Moreover, a confrontational cultural policy of a country may bring on a fear of cultural hegemony and cultural imperialism. The gist of messages and actions taken to enhance “soft power” is not always interpreted as we need by representatives of other societies. For some audiences, soft power may be totally unproductive.

Therefore, as a result of studying the concept of “soft power”, it was defined as a way of exercising power, which infers the creation of a favorable environment and includes three dimensions. The main goals of using "soft power" technologies are highlighted, as well as its characteristics: long-term, partial lack of control by the state, dual nature (as a result of influence and process), the need for a serious material base for non-material influence, and the urgent need to take into consideration the target audience, since different cultures, different dimensions of “hard” and “soft” power can simultaneously cause attraction and rejection. It is proposed to rank the scale of “soft power” from local to global, and to have “soft power” on a global scale, all three of its dimensions are necessary (attractiveness, ability to set a legitimate agenda, rules and institutions, formation of preferences), as well as the corresponding “hard power” potential.

1.2 Basic theoretical and methodological approaches in the research of “soft power”

Researchers who pay attention to the individual components that make up the whole system of “soft power” adhere to a structural approach. It consists in the selection and analysis of the main agents, resources, institutions and other components. The state is recognized as a key player with “soft power”, but by no means the only one. J. Nye wrote that “soft power” is possessed not only by states, but also by corporations, NGOs, and even transnational terrorist networks and celebrities [5, p.81].

I. Radikov and I Leksyutina believe that famous brands, achievements in science, technology, art and even fashion can be carriers of “soft power”. Soft power tools, in their opinion, include communication, including information technology and especially the Internet, NGOs, diplomatic missions, cultural, scientific and educational centers, large-scale events such as the Olympic Games, EXPO[42, c.19].

A significant number of works are devoted to the problem of issuing the role of NGOs and intergovernmental organizations in generating “soft power”. Researcher I. Katsuji writes that while states, in addition to “soft power”, possess military force, NGOs, as a rule; do not possess it [24, p.263]. When NGOs become transnational, their activities are less and less associated with specific states. He focuses on the so-called CSOs (civil society organizations). CSOs include NGOs, trade unions, consumer organizations, global campaigns (for example, the global campaign to eradicate poverty), associations of initiative people (for example, LOHAS – “Healthy Lifestyle and Sustainable Development”).

Agents of “soft power”, on the one hand, can themselves generate attractiveness, shape the agenda and influence the formation of preferences, and on the other hand, their “soft power” can contribute to the general potential of a certain state’s strength. The initiatives of some NGOs and the public resonance caused by them can increase or decrease the “soft power” of the state.

Within the framework of this approach, it is customary to single out not only the structural components of “soft power”, but also individual types of “soft power”. So, O.F. Rusakova writes that, according to one of the classifications, the nomenclature of “soft power” includes the following elements: economic “soft power” (indicators of economic attractiveness, including investment), humanitarian “soft power” (attractiveness of the system of general and university education, scientific and technological activity), cultural “soft power” (international recognition of the country’s cultural heritage, policy of popularizing national culture and other indicators), political “soft power” (level of development institutions of political democracy and the protection of human rights), diplomatic “soft power” (the country’s reputation, the ability to prevent aggression, establish a global agenda)[39, c.26].

Faced with the problem of operationalization of the concept, some researchers are moving from the study of the components of “soft power” to the issue of the functioning of the components of “soft power”, that is, to a process-oriented approach. So, S.K. Pestsov and A.M. Bobylo proposed to highlight the following elements of the chain (figure 1.4):

1) resources of “soft power” (for example, “national heritage”, which is largely independent of current policies and actions of the state, as well as the behavior and actions of the state inside and outside its national borders);

2) the mechanism for converting “soft power”, the components of which are “technical means” (finance, infrastructure, communication channels) and “technologies” – agreed sets of operations and actions designed to solve specific problems and achieve relevant goals (public diplomacy, cultural communications and national branding). The inclusion of some elements, for example, finance, in the conversion mechanism is controversial, but it is clear that there is a relationship between, for example, the popularity of mass culture and the amount of costs and marketing efforts aimed at promoting it;

3) assets (“currency of power”) – kindness, brightness, beauty;

4) tools – everything through which and with the help of which attractiveness can be acquired (image of the state, brand, presence);

5) intermediate effects, the main indicators of which are “reputation” and “awareness”;

6) the selection mechanism as a combination of rational and emotional procedures and tools for selecting external influences (attention – interest – benevolent attitude – sympathy – admiration);

7) the final result is the recipient’s external activity (the degree to which the recipient’s behavior corresponds to the ideas and the choice of the state’s strategy), however, as the authors note, it doesn’t become clear how the opinions of different people are transformed into actions of the state, how to separate the results of the “hard” and “soft” power [50, c.111].

A process-oriented approach was also proposed by W. Vyas, who developed a detailed theory and tested it in the context of Sino-Japanese relations [51, p.6]. He described some of the mechanisms by which various agents influence at various levels (state, municipal, commercial, private individuals) with an emphasis on the transfer of ideas and information. State agents are various ministries, departments and other actors that are part of the state, controlled by and accountable to it. Substate agents: municipalities, city and regional governments controlled by the state (in the federations), provinces and prefectures – control at least some of their funds or collect income on their territories; they directly report to the population. Non-state agents are independent in matters of management and decision-making from state and sub-state agents; it is either an NGO or a commercial organization; however, both the government and NGOs can influence both NGOs and commercial structures. All these agents form a network of relationships that, as a result of a certain set of actions, leads to structural changes in the host country. Unfortunately, the idea of “soft power” disappears in this “network” approach. The term “soft power” is used by W. Vyas to describe the general purpose of the transfer process.

If the structural approach involves the selection of a methodologically sound set of parameters defining “soft power”, then within the framework of the measurement approach, these parameters acquire quantitative indicators and are supported by a qualitative expert assessment.

In the works of J. Nye there is no methodology for measuring “soft power” – only signs are highlighted that help determine whether the state has “soft power”. These include good ecology, long life expectancy, the number of Nobel laureates, humanitarian assistance to needy states and others. According to J. Nye, the potential of “soft power” should be evaluated by the result: an attractive image of the state in the eyes of the international community, legitimate politics, and values supported by the population of other countries.

Initially, it was precisely this way that researchers who measured the potential of “soft power” followed: they analyzed the results of large-scale social surveys. A similar experience of a regional study of the index of “soft power” is reflected in the work “Soft power in Asia” (Chicago Board, 2018). The authors evaluated “soft power” in five areas: diplomatic, cultural, political, economic, and in the field of human capital [52]. Averaging indicators of these categories made it possible to obtain a general index of “soft power”. In their opinion, the value of this study is not so much in the amount of work done, but in the fact that a deep analysis of the mutual perception of states has been carried out: USA – Japan, USA – China, Japan – South Korea, China – Japan. Such a technique is important because assessing the “soft power” of a country differs from state to state.

In 2010, a joint study of Monocle magazine and the British independent organization the Institute for Government, *New Means of Persuasion*, were published. Its authors made the first large-scale attempt to create a rating of “soft power” of the states of the world using objective and subjective indicators. In their opinion, “soft power” as an intangible and relational concept is poorly quantifiable [53]. Nevertheless, following J. Nye, who identified three components of “soft power” (culture, foreign policy and political values), the authors of the study, focusing on these components, distinguish five categories:

- 1) culture (its strengths, the degree of prevalence of the country’s cultural products in the international arena);
- 2) government (attractive model of government);
- 3) diplomacy (image of the nation and the degree of development of diplomatic infrastructure);
- 4) education (J. Nye includes education in the “cultural” category of resources, however, according to the creators of the study, the degree of influence of higher education on “soft power” justifies its allocation into a separate category);
- 5) business/innovation (this category is not directly related to economic power: it takes into account the attractiveness of the state economy in terms of openness, ability to regulate and innovate) (figure 1.4).

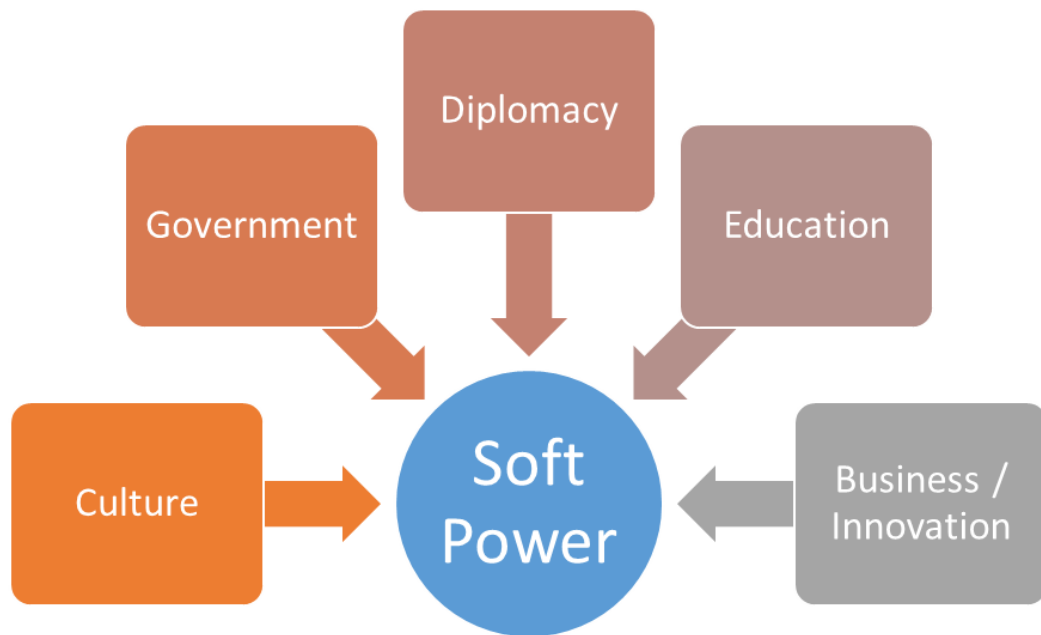


Figure 1.4–Categories of rating states “soft power” by the Monocle[53]

The authors of the study “New means of persuasion” took data for indicators of the “soft power” index from reports of various national or international organizations: from the UNESCO Institute for Statistics, the World Intellectual Property Organization, Transparency International and others.

The subjective side of “soft power” cannot be discounted, and this index takes it into account. 6 subjective indicators were developed to complement quantitative data. The editors of Monocle assembled a group of experts to assess countries according to the following criteria: the reputation of embassies and diplomats, the attractiveness of soft power icons, the quality of national airlines, cultural products, cuisine, and international political leadership. Quantitative data make up 70% of the index; the remaining 30% include subjective elements [53].

It is expected that the top lines were occupied by the dominant world powers. In this and subsequent studies by The New Persuaders, the first four places, but in different orders, are occupied by the same countries: USA, UK, France and Germany. The authors of the study see the danger in the fact that these countries may have a desire to reduce the costs of “soft power” (and it is easier to lose than to gain), while developing countries will actively fill the vacuum of “soft power” (table 1.2).

Rank	Country	Score
1	France	1.64
1	UK	1.64
3	USA	1.57
4	Germany	1.44
5	Switzerland	1.39
6	Sweden	1.33
7	Denmark	1.21
8	Australia	1.16
9	Finland	1.13
10	Netherlands	1.08
11	Spain	1.05
12	Canada	1.04
13	Singapore	1.01

Rank	Country	Score
14	Norway	0.99
15	Japan	0.97
16	Italy	0.81
17	China	0.80
18	Israel	0.78
19	Korea	0.73
20	South Africa	0.69
20	Brazil	0.69
22	Mexico	0.61
23	India	0.60
24	UAE	0.56
25	Turkey	0.50
26	Russia	0.45

Table 1.2– Results of New Persuaders. A Global Ranking of Soft Power 2010[53]

Soft Power Index 2011 is The New Persuaders II. A Global Ranking of Soft Power – affected some changes: the number of countries studied was expanded; the number of objectives, statistical indicators were increased from 23 to 43 [54]. Given the subjective indicators, a total of 50 indicators were obtained that affect the final result (table 1.3). Metrics of the death penalty, violent crime, income inequality, the size of the shadow economy, and some others were added. In the next study (The New Persuaders III. A Global Ranking of Soft Power 2012), the number of countries studied increased from 30 to 40 [55]. Changes in the sub-categories of “soft power” are not large compared (table 1.4).

Rank	Country	Score
1	USA	7.41
2	UK	6.78
3	France	6.21
4	Germany	6.15
5	Australia	5.64
6	Sweden	5.35
7	Japan	5.08
8	Switzerland	5.07
9	Canada	4.91
10	Netherlands	4.90
11	Norway	4.82
12	Denmark	4.78
13	Spain	4.68
14	Korea	4.52
15	Finland	4.45

Rank	Country	Score
16	Italy	4.28
17	New Zealand	4.17
18	Austria	4.10
19	Belgium	3.80
20	China	3.74
21	Brazil	3.55
22	Singapore	3.49
23	Turkey	3.33
24	Chile	2.94
25	Portugal	2.81
26	Israel	2.67
27	India	2.64
28	Russia	2.43
29	Czech. Rep.	2.36
30	Greece	2.35

Table 1.3 – Results of New Persuaders II. A Global Ranking of Soft Power 2011[54]

Rank	Country	Score	Rank	Country	Score
1	UK	7.289	21	New Zealand	4.249
2	USA	6.989	22	China	4.237
3	Germany	6.484	23	Portugal	4.217
4	France	6.472	24	Ireland	4.160
5	Sweden	5.752	25	Poland	3.817
6	Japan	5.613	26	Singapore	3.759
7	Denmark	5.598	27	Mexico	3.590
8	Switzerland	5.553	28	Russia	3.564
9	Australia	5.534	29	Israel	3.437
10	Canada	5.417	30	Thailand	3.347
11	South Korea	5.350	31	Czech Rep.	3.346
12	Norway	5.327	32	Chile	3.285
13	Finland	5.267	33	Greece	3.260
14	Italy	5.186	34	South Africa	3.117
15	Netherlands	5.161	35	Argentina	3.062
16	Spain	4.981	36	India	2.776
17	Brazil	4.675	37	Malaysia	2.606
18	Austria	4.650	38	UAE	2.416
19	Belgium	4.556	39	Egypt	2.351
20	Turkey	4.263	40	Indonesia	1.739

Table 1.4 – Results of New Persuaders III. A Global Ranking of Soft Power 2019 [54]

Russian scientists (Moscow Skolkovo Institute for the Development of Fast-Growing Markets, together with the British company Ernst & Young) have developed a similar methodology for calculating the soft power index. They considered the following areas: global integration, global image and global honesty (moral code of the country). Each direction includes several sub-directions. For example, the terms of “global honesty” are the freedom index, rule of law, carbon emissions, and voter turnout. Most attention is paid to countries with rapidly developing markets (China, Russia, Brazil and India). In addition, a ranking of the G7 countries was created and analyzed for the period from 2005 to 2010 (table 1.5). It should be noted that over time, the digital values of the index change, but the leaders of the rating remain unchanged. The first place is occupied by the United States, followed by France, Germany and Great Britain [56].

		EM soft power index results					
Rank	Country	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
1	China	31.1	32.2	32.2	32.2	33.7	30.7
2	India	22.6	21.5	21.9	26.7	22.6	20.4
3	Russia	22.9	18.4	22.9	21.0	23.5	18.0
4	Brazil	5.9	6.0	9.3	12.7	9.7	13.8
5	Turkey	10.3	12.5	11.4	14.4	10.3	12.9
6	Mexico	10.0	11.8	11.8	17.1	19.3	11.5
7	South Africa	13.0	10.0	8.5	12.6	11.8	10.3
8	Hungary	12.2	11.1	7.4	9.2	9.2	10.0
9	Czech Republic	8.5	9.2	9.2	9.2	10.7	9.6
10	Slovakia	7.0	7.4	6.6	6.6	7.0	9.2

Table 1.5 – Results of Moscow Skolkovo Institute for the Development of Fast-Growing Markets and the British company Ernst & Young [56]

In the above studies of the “soft power” rating conducted by different organizations, the positions of the countries studied do not coincide. This is a result of the fact that the methodology for measuring the soft power index is not uniform but is still under development. Assessments can be objective or not, depending on the degree of interest of the researcher. The criteria chosen by the rating author directly affect the position of the country. Each researcher is a carrier of a certain culture, forms values and beliefs - this also determines the choice of criteria. For example, in research conducted by the Institute of government in collaboration with Monocle magazine, the “political” category of “soft power” reflects Western ideals of democracy and freedom. Hence, non-democratic states receive consistently low ratings in this category.

In our view, the “soft power” measurements that assess the two-way perception of countries are more accurate, since the assessment of a country’s “soft power” differs from region to region. While choosing criteria for evaluating a country’s “soft power”, it should be borne in mind that we are dealing with politics, and not with the choice of a country as a tourist destination. Accordingly, it is necessary to carefully select criteria and evaluate how, for instance, the release of music recordings or carbon dioxide emissions affect “soft power”. Statistical data should be supplemented with the results of a sociological survey.

The results obtained in the analysis of the concept of “soft power”, as well as research materials that fit the concept from the point of view of the above approaches, allow us to create a universal framework for studying the “soft power” of states. It will include:

1. The history of the study of “soft power”.

2. Peculiarities of the academic discourse of “soft power” of researchers of a given state or external, large national research centers studying this problem.

3. Given the dual nature of the described “soft power”, it is preferable to analyze “soft power” from the following positions:

- as an outcome of interactions (passive potential, that is, the study of sources of attractiveness, the weight of the state in international organizations, the degree of prevalence and support of ideas, ideology).

- as an activity (the tools and technologies used; the reflection of the “soft power” strategy in official documents; the goals of the “soft power” policy; the main actors of “soft power”).

4. Restrictions and obstacles to the spread of “soft power”.

5. Conclusions about the overall potential of “soft power”, as well as a study of the perception of the country in individual countries or regions (that is, considering the situation of “soft power”, the importance of the target audience).

Therefore, the choice of approaches to the study of the concept of “soft power” contributes to solving the scientific problem of uncertainty, unsystematic and categorical-semantic blurring of the subject under study. Within the framework of the structural approach, a methodologically sound set of parameters defining “soft power” is identified; the emphasis is on agents, resources, institutions of “soft power” and relations between them. The process-oriented approach allows tracing dynamic relationships, the transfer of ideas and values in a network of soft power agents. A fairly large amount of work is based on a measurement approach to “soft power”, which takes into account quantitative indicators in combination with expert assessment and situational ones with the results of a public opinion poll. This approach results in “soft power” ratings, and the position of states in them directly depends on the selected criteria and research position.

If we speak about “soft power” as a modern power technology, it should be emphasized that as an outcome of analyzing the array of materials that affect the problem of technological understanding of “soft power”, the following areas were identified:

- “soft power” as an attractive force of a passive nature, which, however, must be cultivated;

- “soft power”, considered as a humanitarian and cultural impact;

- “soft power”, understood as psychological and ideological influence (figure 1.5).

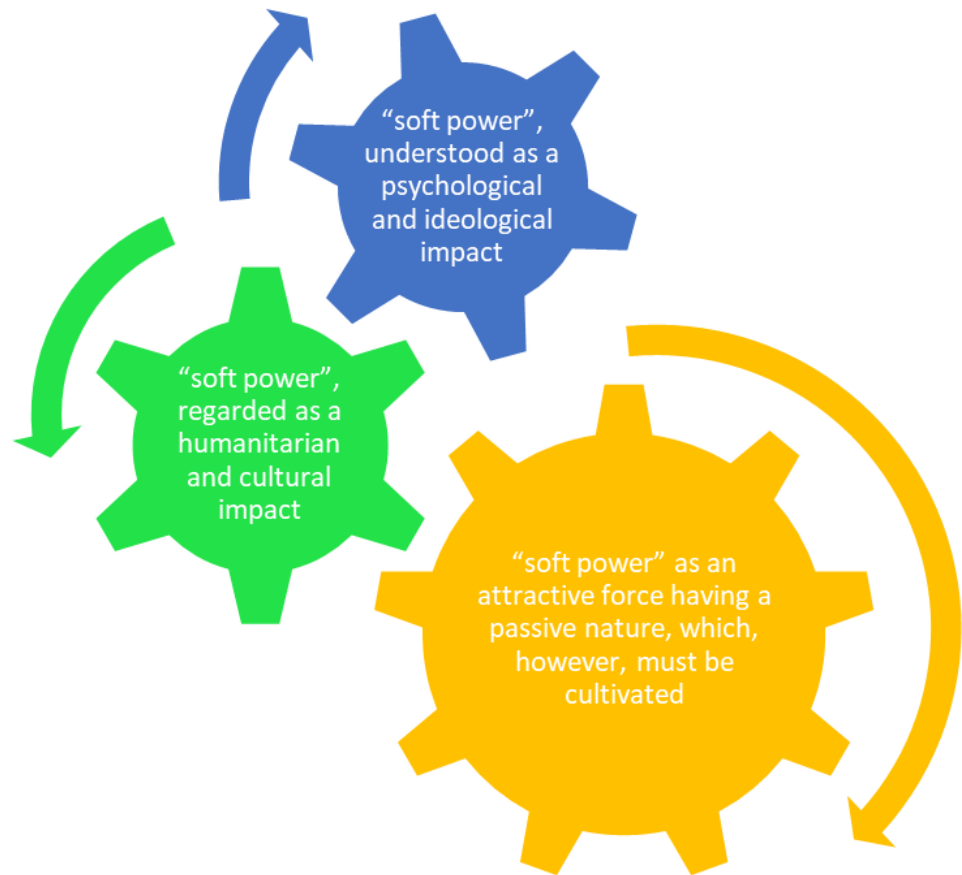


Figure 1.5–“Soft power” as a modern power technology

Note – Created by the author

Measurement information may be found either individually, together, or in various combinations with each other.

The association of “soft power” with passive attractiveness leads to an analysis of the conditions and the development of measures necessary to possess such attractiveness. These measures can be long-term or short-term. It takes years and policy continuity to improve socio-economic indicators, implement political reforms, and develop the scientific and cultural industries. Building a reputation also goes through a certain period. It is important to observe the declared policy in practice and its consistency. If the country really has socio-economic and other indicators, then it is necessary to correctly convey information about success to the world community, as well as create attractiveness. Thus, in this case, all the methods and technologies used in creating an image and creating a brand will be useful. The value of this understanding is that we should not lose sight of the material component of “soft power”, which often plays an even greater role than exclusively communicative, image-based technologies.

The second approach focuses on the humanistic potential of “soft power”, which makes it possible to solve modern problems facing an individual state, region, or humanity as a whole. For instance, it is pointed out that “soft power” is a crucial phenomenon of “social existence”, it is known as the ability to reach the desired results, putting in the first place not violence, but the spiritual improvement of a person based

on constant reflection, the use of humanitarian technologies and improving the quality of education and culture, which will change the content of the existence of civilization.

“Soft power” as a tool for affecting the consciousness, capable of ensuring the voluntary subordination of society and its constituent citizens, is often connected with “hard” strategies, including information and psychological wars and ideological sabotage. Within this understanding, the country’s ideology, values, cultural and scientific achievements in sports are considered elements of the country’s ideological power. Competing enemy states seek to penetrate the ideological space of a society and have a destructive impact on its system of mental values. This situation is regarded as informational and ideological aggression, i.e. an act of war.

With the help of “soft power”, one can influence the consciousness of individuals in a particular society on two levels:

1) external influence, as expressed in the style, manner of behavior, clothing, food;

2) a deep influence that affects the consciousness and subconsciousness, archetypes and stereotypes, and ultimately leads to their imperceptible transformation.

The peculiarity of surface influence is that it is easily assimilated, but it does not form a new mentality and culture, does not change people’s behavior, and does not have an impact on the orientation of foreign policy. This way you can listen to foreign music, dress like an American, and still be Kazakh or Russian. In the case of a deep influence of “soft power”, the worldview, consciousness and way of thinking change. In the case of mass reproduction of such ideas in the country to which the influence is directed, a “fifth column” of its adherents is gradually formed. Even though it is not easy to achieve deep influence, this is what modern soft power broadcasting is focused on.

As part of the understanding of “soft power” as a method of psychological and ideological influence, researchers suggest recalling the entire arsenal of influence on consciousness developed within the framework of propaganda and advertising practice and theory. Educational technologies, scientific research, cultural products, agitation, propaganda and counterpropaganda are used to change consciousness. From a practical point of view, an important issue that arises for any state with a technological understanding of “soft power” is the availability of personnel, institutions and funding with which to achieve the goals set. Depending on domestic political conditions, “soft power” is considered either a state technology (then it is almost equivalent to propaganda, state PR), or it is recognized that civil society institutions influence its size.

Based on our definition of the concept under study and the combination of the technological approach discussed above, we conclude that “soft power” can act as a strategic technology when the goals (political, economic), target audience, duration (short-term or assuming continuity of course) and the scope of actions, key participants, long-term action plan was built in each of the following areas:

1) increasing your own attractiveness (taking into account the material component of “soft power”, the approximate coincidence of reality and the formed image). Positions, creating “attractive” dimension “soft power”, listed under a measurement approach (the development of culture, business, public administration,

diplomacy, education, etc.). Moreover, it is essential to create good conditions for the life and work of the creative class, researchers, educators, and intelligence in general - section of society responsible for the maintenance of values and developing ideas that will be further “packaged” in cultural products or otherwise transmitted to the target audience and thus form the “core” of “soft power”.

2) advocating the establishment of rules and institutions, leadership in international organizations, setting the agenda, influencing the interpretation of political issues, organizing coalitions, and seeking international support;

3) establishing relations, creating conditions both for building “soft” potential and for achieving certain goals (public diplomacy, including cultural diplomacy, educational programs, working with compatriots living abroad);

4) influencing the audience in two ways: a) providing assistance in various forms (humanitarian, medical, technological assistance, grants and soft loans); b) spreading ideas and forming preferences (the choice of means - from discursive influence to propaganda, depending on the context).

Thus, the analysis of the technological understanding of “soft power” revealed two main behavioral strategies. The first is the development and realization of a program of activities necessary to create attractiveness. In this case, “softpower” is known as a passive force of attraction; additionally, its material component, objectively existing socio-economic indicators and compliance with the stated policy in practice are considered. The second strategy involves a targeted impact on the consciousness of the population of states belonging to the target audience. Within this strategy, two directions were identified: either influence for humanistic purposes, or psychological and ideological influence for selfish purposes. Humanistic influence is associated with the spiritual improvement of a person, here “soft power” is usually aimed at achieving a certain common good. It is the humanistic, consolidating potential of “soft power” that is taken into account when using “soft power” technology in domestic politics. It is supposed that it can contribute to the formation of common principles and norms, strengthen the sense of identity, preserve and develop cultural traditions. Psychological and ideological influence on consciousness takes into account a whole range of tools, starting with subtle discursive practices, ending with propaganda and information and psychological wars.

In this case, it is important to emphasize the role of the country’s branding, which is accompanied by the “soft power” of the state. Territory branding is a strategy to increase the competitiveness of cities, regions, geographical zones, and states. The main aim of it is to win foreign markets, attract investors, tourists, new residents, and skilled migrants.

The branding of countries is based on the concept of conveying to the peopleimage of the distinctiveness of the territory. As the theoretical and practical foundation of territorial branding is technologies and instruments for marketing places.

In 2002, Simon Anholt, a branding expert, first used the term “place branding” as a term [30]. He is the main author of an integrated, multilateral method to territory branding, as contrasted to a specialized one concentrated on one element (for example, tourism). S. Anholt established the notion of the competitive identity, demonstrating it in the form of a hexagon, which presents the six elements of the modern territory brand.



Figure 1.6–Nation Brand Hexagon by S.Anholt[30]

Six main components of Hexagon are (figure 1.6):

1. Exports – public point of view regarding the goods and services given by the country, and the level to which consumers are desired to get or avoid getting the products of the country of origin.

2. Internal and external government policies – public point of view on the level of national governments competence and justice outlines the personal comprehension of each state’s government, and how the state understands world issues such as democracy, justice, poverty and environmental protection.

3. Culture and heritage – the world comprehension of each country’s heritage and global recognition of its contemporary culture, including films, music, art, sports and literature.

4. Population –the population’s repute interms of competence, training, open-mindedness and friendliness, extent of comprehension of potential hostility and discrimination.

5. Tourism – the extent of interest in attending a country, including natural and man-made tourist attractions.

6. Business and investment – the opportunity to involve people to live, work or get education in the state - illustrates how people understand the economic and social state of the country [32, p.45].

Formed on the basis of the idea of competitive identity, an approach was designed to assess the effectiveness of efforts to mark territories, the Simon Anholt

indices: the index of state marks (“Anholt Nation Brand Index”), cities (“Anholt City Brand Index”) and US states (“Anholt State Brand Index”) All indices are calculated based on the results of massive panel research; 25-30 thousand people in 35 advanced states around the world are interviewed. The study was carried out by GMI [30]. The information received is explicated in the general classification and for every category of the Anholt hexagon. The chosen information demonstrates how efficiently every sphere of the territorial brand is being improved. In Anholt’s point of view, it is perfect when the six spheres are developed in a balanced way, and the target audience comprehends them all equally.

Then in 2007 Anholt introduced a new concept of “place brand”, “competitive identity”. According to his point of view, the territorial brand must be based on a synthesis of brand management with public diplomacy.

In 2009, Simon Anholt presented his new work, dedicated to the image and identity problems of countries such as Pakistan, Mexico, Kenya, Italy, China, etc. He tried to answer the questions, what is the image of Asia? Is there a difference between the images of Europe and Asia? What will happen to the brand of united Europe soon?

Simon Anholt demonstrated that the most important factor in the sale of any product, both tangible and intangible, is, first – the country. Anholt is an independent advisor to more than twenty governments on brand strategy and government diplomacy. He has advised countries such as Kazakhstan, the Netherlands, Germany, Botswana, Switzerland, Croatia.

As a conclusion, it is necessary to note that at present one of the most important factors required for successful geopolitical competition, consolidation of society, achievement of the set goals in the international arena, the need to build up the country’s “soft power” is recognized. The politicians of some of the largest countries in the world include soft resources and instruments in their national development strategies. Soft power technology depending on the goals and application characteristics can have both positive and negative effects. On the one hand, it can act as a means of consolidating society, serve the purposes of building an attractive image, contribute to the growth of mutual understanding and mutual enrichment of different peoples, on the other hand, to act as a destabilizing factor for society, as a tool for manipulating public opinion, and also as a way of destroying the value-cultural core of the nation.

1.3 Cultural-humanitarian cooperation as the method for implementing the concept of “soft power” in the external state policy

According to J. Nye, “temptation is always more effective than coercion, and values such as democracy, human rights, and individual opportunities are deeply seductive” [2, p. 83].

The closest analogue of this kind of resource is reputation in public diplomacy and public relations, such a resource can be acquired, it can be possessed, it can be spent and it can be lost.

In the framework of resource understanding, “soft power” means an attractive force, and attractiveness is actually determined by a list of factors that create a good

reputation of a country and attract people to it. According to Nye, this is a foreign policy, a domestic policy aimed at “people” and cultural values.

“Soft power” becomes a tool for influencing international processes for countries that are not included in the UN security Council list and, therefore, do not have nuclear weapons or are located on the geographical periphery. Soft power is a valuable indirect tool for managing world politics.

At present, thanks to the multipolar world order, any country, regardless of its position in the global hierarchy, has the opportunity to use soft power tools and, consequently, change the humanitarian processes, spreading their traditional values and features.

It is necessary to note the main tools of “soft power”: information circulation; political PR strategies aimed at foreign audiences (especially young people); global marketing; ethno-linguistic features of the country and the level of its popularity in the world; public diplomacy; tourism potential, sports and cultural exchanges; education system and student (youth) exchanges; digital diplomacy; migration policy.

The dialogue of cultures that can take place between states is not an integral part, but its presence allows a country to be much more successful in spreading its characteristics.

Features of a successful dialogue that open opportunities to influence other countries to a certain extent:

- emphasis on humanistic values and worldviews;
- the existence of a cultural and moral basis for dialogue;
- search for common values for dialogue;
- the principle of productive dialogue - interaction that is open to dialogue and mutual enrichment of participants.

To open oneself from a new point of view to the object of one’s influence, to show or even explain the attractiveness of one’s cultural and value component - these are the tasks of the subject (the “soft power” carrier country) in this interaction.

Consequently, the levels of soft power intrusion into other countries are limited. The natural limiter of the impact is the cultural and historical specificity of the object of impact. The liberal concept of soft power has its limitations in the non-Western world. Some components (in the formulation of J. Nye) of “soft power” do not have an efficient influence in the countries of the Eastern world. Therefore, the degree of influence of “soft power” on certain states varies depending on the level of socio-economic development of society, its susceptibility to events taking place in the world.

Eastern countries possess their own historical specifics of the political system. Accordingly, some political values of liberal democracy are not appropriate for given area. By political value, we mean such notions as the concept of liberal democracy, human rights and freedoms (in their Western understanding), Nevertheless, the notion of charity and social assistance for vulnerable sections of the population is closer to the East than to the West.

Despite that, not all cultural values, particularly from mass culture, are comprehended by the Eastern society, this is more usual for the older generation, who tend to be concentrated on its own well-formed cultural traditions. Thus, in countries that are beginning to actively develop and use this concept (the United States, the

leading countries of Europe), the Eastern countries are still not the most successful target of influence. The subjects are required to develop various methods of applying “soft power”, taking into account the characteristics of different people.

Among the processes that increase the importance of “soft power” in world politics, we should single out Informatization: the dissemination of information leads to the expansion of the “reception zone” of signals sent across national borders. With the development of information technologies, the presence of “soft power” in the country is becoming an increasingly crucial factor of influence.

Understanding world politics leads to determining the place and role of “soft power” in it. For J. Nye, world politics is “a chess game on a three-dimensional board” (table 1.6). Victory can be won by succeeding both horizontally and vertically, and the “board” itself consists of three components [57].

Table 1.6– Actor interaction levels

<i>Top level</i>	“Classic” interstate relations based on a balance of power capabilities. In this projection, the author sees the world as unipolar
<i>Middle level</i>	It is characterized by multipolarity – these are economic relations between states
<i>Lower level</i>	Transnational elements of world politics act here: terrorism, international crime, environmental threats

Note – Compiled by the author

Those who play only in the plane of traditional interstate relations are not doomed to success, and those who use only “inadequate” resources and tools, that is, they strive only for economic prosperity, a smart player will develop in three planes. To win at a lower level, which is playing a significant role in the modern world, the use of “soft power” is just what is needed.

Surely, the effect of “soft power” cannot be unlimited, so it has a scope. Natural barriers to soft power are civilization barriers.

Civilization barriers select, “reject” economic, political and socio-cultural phenomena. They function at a deeper level of the archetypes of national consciousness and reject those phenomena of economic, political or cultural life that are expanding from the outside.

In Russia, effects of such civilization barriers express in society’s rejection of the cult of a “strong personality”. For example, in Muslim countries –“sexual revolution” logically; the imposed guidelines –“career, money, success”– valued in the United States. In the East, the doctrines of the “free market”, “monetarist campaigns” and the positioning of areas such as education and health care as services are causing a negative reaction.

As mentioned above, the national characteristics of each individual state almost decide the work of the concept. Each country has its own strengths, which it uses both to influence and to protect its territory, people and weaknesses that can themselves become the object of external influence. The “soft power” of each country is a very special and unique phenomenon, a kind of a “visiting card”.

In 2018, the Center for International Relations of the University of Southern California USA and the British PR agency Portland, published the 2018 Global Soft Power Rating. Great Britain has become the most influential state in the world for the use of “soft power”, and China has been in the top 30 for the fourth year in a row. The positions of the “soft power” of the USA in 2018 fell slightly – taking fourth place.

According to the Global Soft Power Rating, in 2018 Britain received the title of the most influential country in the world using soft power, followed by France, Germany, the United States and Japan. The rating estimates the “soft power” of a given state according to six objective indicators (government, culture, education, degree of involvement in solving global problems, business climate and digitalization), as well as opinion polls, on the basis of which indices are compiled “soft power” [58].

Table 1.7 – Portland Global Soft Power Rating, 2018[58]

Rank	Country	Index Score
1	United Kingdom	75.61
2	Germany	73.89
3	United States	73.68
4	France	73.64
5	Canada	71.71
6	Australia	68.92
7	Switzerland	67.52
8	Japan	66.86
9	Sweden	66.49
10	Netherlands	65.21
11	Denmark	63.20
12	Italy	63.09
13	Austria	62.00
14	Spain	61.70
15	Finland	60.19
16	New Zealand	60.00
17	Belgium	58.85
18	Norway	57.96
19	Ireland	55.61
20	Korea, Rep.	54.32
21	Singapore	52.50
22	Portugal	48.97
23	Brazil	46.63
24	Poland	46.50
25	Greece	45.73
26	Israel	44.51
27	Czech Republic	43.26
28	Turkey	42.55
29	Mexico	42.52
30	China	40.85

Although Brexit led to political and economic instability within the country itself, but, according to the Global Ranking, this did not affect the “soft power” of Great Britain. According to the polls, the public evaluates the UK even more positively than in 2017. However, it can be assumed that in the future the UK will face a number of challenges, and after the UK withdraws from the EU, its “soft power” index may change under the influence of a number of objective factors.

As seen in the figure 1.7, in 2018, China re-entered the top 30 of the Global Soft Power Rating, ranking 27th, while China’s indices for indicators such as involvement in global issues and education have grown significantly. In addition, Chinese culture, as China’s traditional advantage, remains the center of attention of the whole world, and in terms of cultural influence, China is among the top ten countries. As indicated in the “Rating”, China has no competitors in the number of UNESCO World Heritage Sites, and also attaches great importance to innovation: Chinese technology brands Huawei and Xiaomi are widely known throughout the world. In the future, China will take on even greater international responsibility, especially as the United States advances its “US Priority” policy and is gradually moving away from free trade. In the future, China will most likely have to unite all the goals of developing “soft power”, combine economic, military and other vectors of politics and make long-term commitments in the interests of the whole world.

In 2018, the US soft power position declined, and the United States dropped from third to fourth in the ranking. According to the Global Rating, in 2017, the US rating decreased in opinion polls, and in 2018, the assessment by objective indicators was only satisfactory. Although Trump’s “US priority” policy has not received a positive response from the international community, the United States traditionally dominates and ranks first in the world in non-governmental indicators such as education, culture and digitalization. As the author of the “soft power” concept J. Nye, noted: “The results of the 2018 ranking demonstrate that disintegration is currently taking place in the US soft power policy. Obviously, Trump’s policy of “US priority” has harmed the international influence of the United States”.

The compiler of the Rating, Portland’s Asian director, Jonathan McLay, in an interview with Global Times noted that the US government is now completely changing its foreign policy and is gradually moving away from multilateralism towards “thinking in the spirit of a zero-sum game”. If China continues to maintain mutually beneficial cooperation and adheres to multilateralism, it will be able to take the vacated place of the United States, an example of which is the initiative put forward by China, “One Belt – One Road”.

It was also noted by Jonathan McLay that “Soft Power” is an effective tool for measuring the state’s foreign policy in the context of globalization. Since 2015, when the first Global Soft Power Rating was published, we have witnessed a change in the roles of China and the United States in the international arena. China has hidden potential and is ready to take on greater international responsibility. The forecasts regarding the future development of China’s “soft power” are rather optimistic, and the position of the Chinese “soft power” is highly valued” [59].

YEAR ON YEAR COMPARISON

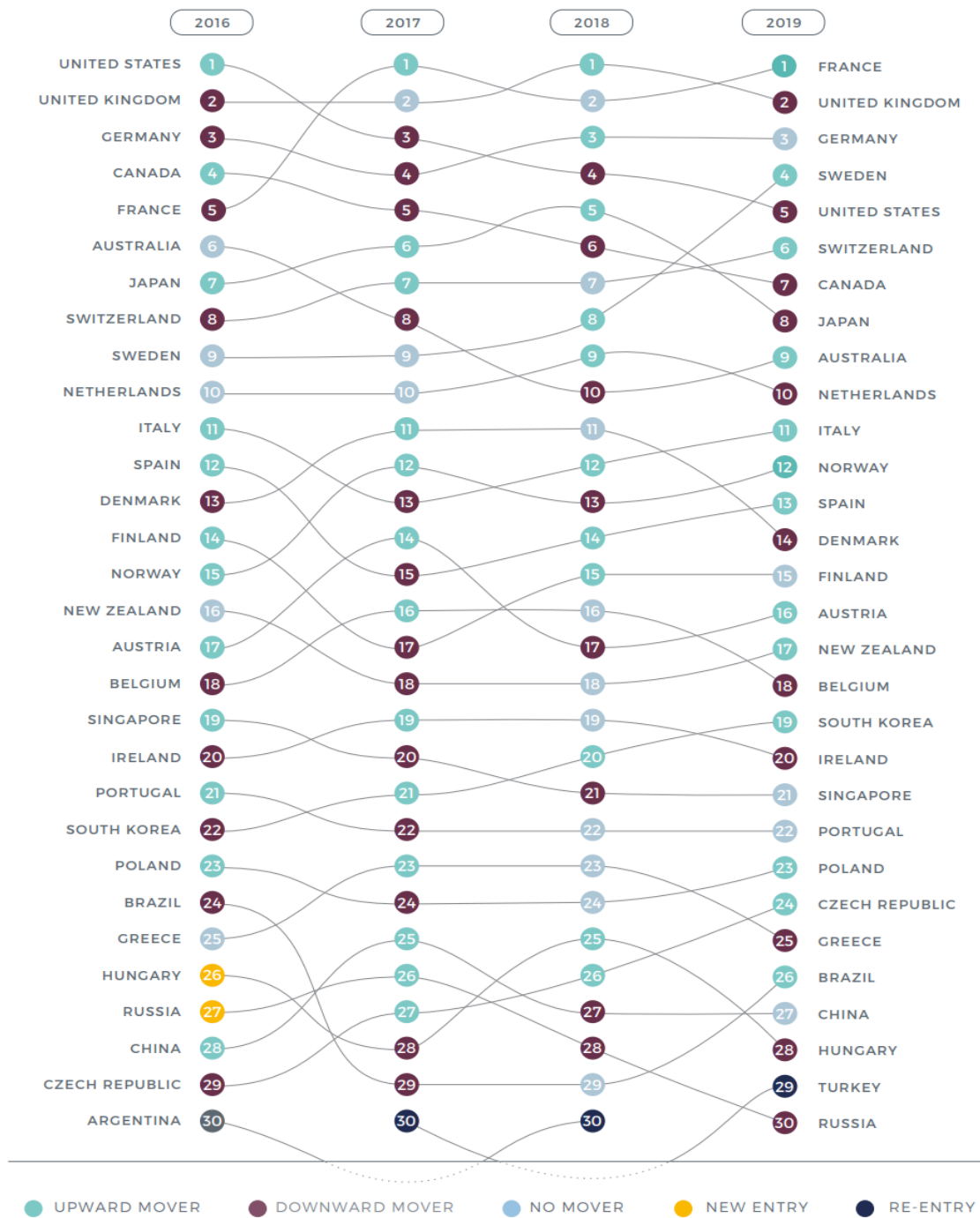


Figure 1.7–Portland Global Soft Power Ranking 2016-2019, Comparison analysis [58]

The figure 1.7 shows the changes in the “soft power” of states for 2015-2019. These changes, the movement of countries to different positions depend on the indicators of the states according to the above 6 criteria. According to 2019 data, the top 5 includes France, Great Britain, Germany, Sweden and the USA. Also in the picture, countries are marked in different colors by indicators, as upward mover, downward mover, no mover, new entered and re-entered countries.

Table 1.8–Rating of countries using “soft power”

The country	An object
United Kingdom of Great Britain	World-class schools, world-famous English culture and thriving technology continue to support UK international influence
France	Over the years, remains the undisputed leader in Areas of gallery, museums and national cuisine
Germany	Economic Leadership in the European Union, Activities and authority of the world-famous Goethe Institute, success German sports teams.
The USA	In many areas they continue to remain the leader of global peace, paying great attention to the development of mass culture and cultural intervention.
Japan	Every year it becomes “an ever less island country and more open to the world”, including in the field of practical and inexpensive fashion. And Japanese pop music successfully goes to export

Note – Compiled by the author

Reviewing this rating, we can form the most and the least effective influence tools. It should be noted that such factors of influence as the success of politics, diplomacy, business, culture, sports and education in the XXI century are much more efficient than financial force or brute force.

Nevertheless, as from the point of view of J. Nye and from the point of view of global analysts, the use of “smart power” is considered the most successful and winning option.

“Soft power” and “hard” demonstration of force combine to create a “smart power” strategy. However, if this show of force is used without taking into account its consequences for “soft power”, the strategy can be considered. Almost the most important aspect of this policy is the balance of both powers.

As Director of National Intelligence and Deputy Minister of Defense, J. Nye tried to put into practice and implement this “smart” concept. However, according to the overwhelming majority of politicians, practitioners, as well as representatives of the military and intelligence elite, he did not succeed in replacing “hard power” with “soft”, not to mention their synthesis.

The concept of “soft power” did not find its place in the American political course. However, thanks to H. Clinton and a group of her advisers, Nye’s theory was again taken on armament. In her speech, she said: “We must use the so-called “power of intelligence”, the full range of means available to us – diplomatic, economic, military, political, legal and cultural - choosing the right tool or combination of means in each specific situation” [60].

Clinton’s proclaimed strategy, which provided America with a solid foundation for solving global problems under the banner of “smart power,” was fundamentally

new, since it was actually a mechanism for using the resources of the USA, other countries, and also the “fifth column” groups in the interests of the supranational elite.

The need for “smart politics” is growing in our time, when the world is dealing with an increasing number of problems associated with failed states, the proliferation of nuclear weapons and the threat of the emergence of non-governmental organizations gaining access to nuclear materials. A great confusion in the international order is also caused by the “double standards” policy inherent in many leading actors. In addition to this list, problems related to the global economy, increasing environmental difficulties and the erosion of the concept of “international law and order” can also be called.

It is noteworthy that Russia in 2020 entered the top 10 of the first global ranking of countries in terms of “soft power”, according to a study by Brand Finance. Experts attribute Moscow’s inclusion in the list to V. Putin’s popularity, but note his “contradictory methods of government”. At the same time, the United States takes the first line of the rating, despite the destructive policy of D. Trump.

The first global index of “soft power” emerged from a survey of more than 55 thousand people from hundreds of countries, organized by consulting firm Brand Finance. Assessments of the influence of a state were provided by ordinary citizens, politicians, academics, analysts, journalists and representatives of research centers.

According to the report, “soft power” is the ability of a nation to influence the preferences and behavior of individuals in the international arena through attractiveness and persuasion, but without the use of force.

The index assesses the fame and recognition of a nation, its influence, reputation and key elements of “power”. There are seven such elements in total – order, business and trade, people and values, education and science, international relations, culture and heritage, as well as media and communications [61].

The first place in the Ranking of “soft power” is occupied by the United States, followed by Germany, and Britain closes the top three.

As believed by experts, the ambiguous actions of the US President D. Trump did not have a serious influence on the overall rating of the country. Washington's trade war with the EU and China, the withdrawal from the Paris climate agreement, the Iran nuclear deal, and the intermediate-range and shorter-range missile elimination Treaty have certainly affected US actions in terms of trust, security, reputation and order. Despite that, the high level of business, technology and society development in the country covered all the shortcomings.

In turn, Germany also demonstrates a high level of economic development, but with competent political management and a good reputation of Chancellor Angela Merkel. What is more, the authors of the reports point out that Germany abandoned the use of “hard power” after the end of World War II.

Great Britain is one of the most leading world powers. According to experts, the UK will not lose its position due to leaving the European Union, since in many ways the country’s success is associated with the Royal family. It contributes a lot to the UK’s “soft power”, in particular, approximately \$ 2.4 billion annually to the country’s economy.

China and Russia also made it to the top 10 of the ranking, placing ninth and tenth. Although the authors of the study do not refer to these countries as “soft superpowers” because of their allegedly aggressive policies. Experts themselves say that the appearance of Russia and China in the top is “unexpected”. China has received a rating for its economy, which allows its companies to promote their interests around the world. Separately, the researchers noted the Chinese project “One belt – One road”, which invested \$ 100 billion.

Moreover, in Russia, according to experts, there is neither a powerful economy nor internationally recognized brand. However, in Russia there is V. Putin, who returned the country to the top League of world politics, despite “contradictory management methods”. The Russian President remains one of the most influential figures among world leaders, the report’s authors note, in terms of respect; he ranks second in the world. Russia occupies a high position in diplomatic circles – third place, as well as fourth place in sports.

It also should be highlighted that at the end of 2019, Russia took second place in the ranking of the “most powerful” countries in the world according to US News. The list of countries was compiled according to five characteristics: the figure of the head of state, activity in international alliances, economic, political and military potential.

Thus, experts pointed out that Russia has a powerful and professional army, the largest territory, and the country’s economy is known as one of the largest in the world due to its huge reserves of natural resources.

The following provisions will characterize “soft power”:

1) long-term: for effective use of soft power, policy continuity and strategic thinking are necessary; long-term, along with indirect nature, create inconveniences for applying soft strategies in practice. The formation of preferences, as well as international rules and institutions, is a rather lengthy process. The same can be said about building the capacity to achieve attractive characteristics in the eyes of a foreign audience;

2) partial lack of control over the government: part of the country’s “soft” potential is formed by NGOs and business structures. Even in the case of a desire to make “soft power” exclusively a state tool, some of its dimensions will be formed spontaneously;

3) resources of “soft power”, according to J. Nye, they are immaterial in nature, but do not forget that they need a serious material base (infrastructure, language centers, museum funds, etc., as well as an adequate level of technological development).

The assumed conditions for the existence of “soft power” in the state are a sequence of actions, a sequence of what is stated and what is in practice; attractiveness in the eyes of the target audience; the presence of a significant resource base, the legitimacy of the policy, leadership in international institutions. Furthermore, this also includes an effective development model and some other points.

If the “hard power” (military and economic) of states may differ in scale, the potential of “soft power” may vary. A country may have all three components of “soft power” (attractiveness, ability to set the agenda, leadership in international institutions, and ability to shape preferences), or only some, but not all. Therefore, the potential of

“soft power” can vary from local to global scale. On a local scale, it is sufficient to have certain attractiveness characteristics (for example, one-dimensional “soft power”). So, M.A. Fadeicheva, creating a new typology of states, singled out holiday states (for example, the Republic of Seychelles) and weekday states: “a holiday state has practically no means to use hard power”, although it has a “soft” one [39, p.86].

To conquer the global political landscape, a global “soft power” is necessary, assuming the presence of all three components of “soft power” and a huge resource potential for its maintenance and use, as well as an appropriate level of development of “hard power”.

This raises the question: can non-democratic States have “soft power” and promote other values? This is not possible, but only for a certain target audience. The issue is that a lot of modern states with noteworthy influence adhere to the liberal-democratic ideology, either agree with the existing status quo, or they have nothing left. Therefore, many soft power ratings demonstrate that a country whose democratic institutions are not sufficiently developed has low ratings.

In the process of researching the literature on “soft power”, there is some confusion and dispute about the nature and definition of this phenomenon. In case if we adhere to the dual nature of “soft power”, this can be avoided: it is both the result of interactions (fixed engagement, leadership in international institutions, preferences formed in the desired way), and the process, activity aimed at achieving such results (when various tools are considered): using public diplomacy, promoting normative power, setting the agenda, and image-building efforts. Public diplomacy is defined as “country contacts and communication with a foreign public. It can take the form of dialogue, monologue, or collaboration. It consists of three components: news management, strategic communication and relationship building” [62, p.3]. It is believed that it deals with the impact of public attitudes on the conduct of foreign policy, and therefore is considered as one of the key tools of “soft power”.

Public diplomacy as an instrument of “soft power” “includes the following positions: cultural diplomacy (exchanges in the field of culture, science and art, educational programs, language courses, sporting events), aid diplomacy (including crisis diplomacy; assistance may be humanitarian, medical, educational, economic, technological, as well as the transfer of experience); media diplomacy, cyber diplomacy” [39, p.50]. Educational programs within the framework of the “soft power” strategy can be aimed at two target audiences: 1) training elites or future leaders of other countries; 2) training for non-elite people who, after completion of the educational process, favorably assess the country of study, adopt the methods, approaches, philosophy, academic culture inherent in the scientific and educational system of the host country, maintain professional and friendly relations with the residents of the country of study. Great importance in terms of maintaining the “soft power” of the state is also working with compatriots living abroad.

Given the three dimensions of “soft power,” one can establish a connection between this concept and related concepts. So, passive attraction and the formation of preferences are associated with concepts: image, brand and reputation, as well as symbolic power, seduction (that is, both the current state of things and efforts, aimed

at its achievement); establishing a legitimate agenda, as well as beneficial rules and institutions, is closely linked to structural and institutional authorities.

Consequently, taking into account the methods of implementing the concept of “soft power” in foreign policy, the author of the study points out the following areas of execution of “soft power”:

Table 1.9–Execution of the concept of “Soft Power” in foreign state policy

1. Linguistic and cultural advancement	- Cultural ties - Provision and promotion of national languages
2. Collaboration in educational, science and technology areas	- Export of training services - Scientific, technical and innovative cooperation
3. Advancement of business relations	- Promotion of business ties - Conference and exhibition activities
4. Enhancement of the public diplomacy	- Support for compatriots, diasporas - NGO’s activities - Youth programs, projects - Regionally and communally interaction
5. Advancement of international development	- Promoting international development

Note: Compiled by the author based on the source [39]

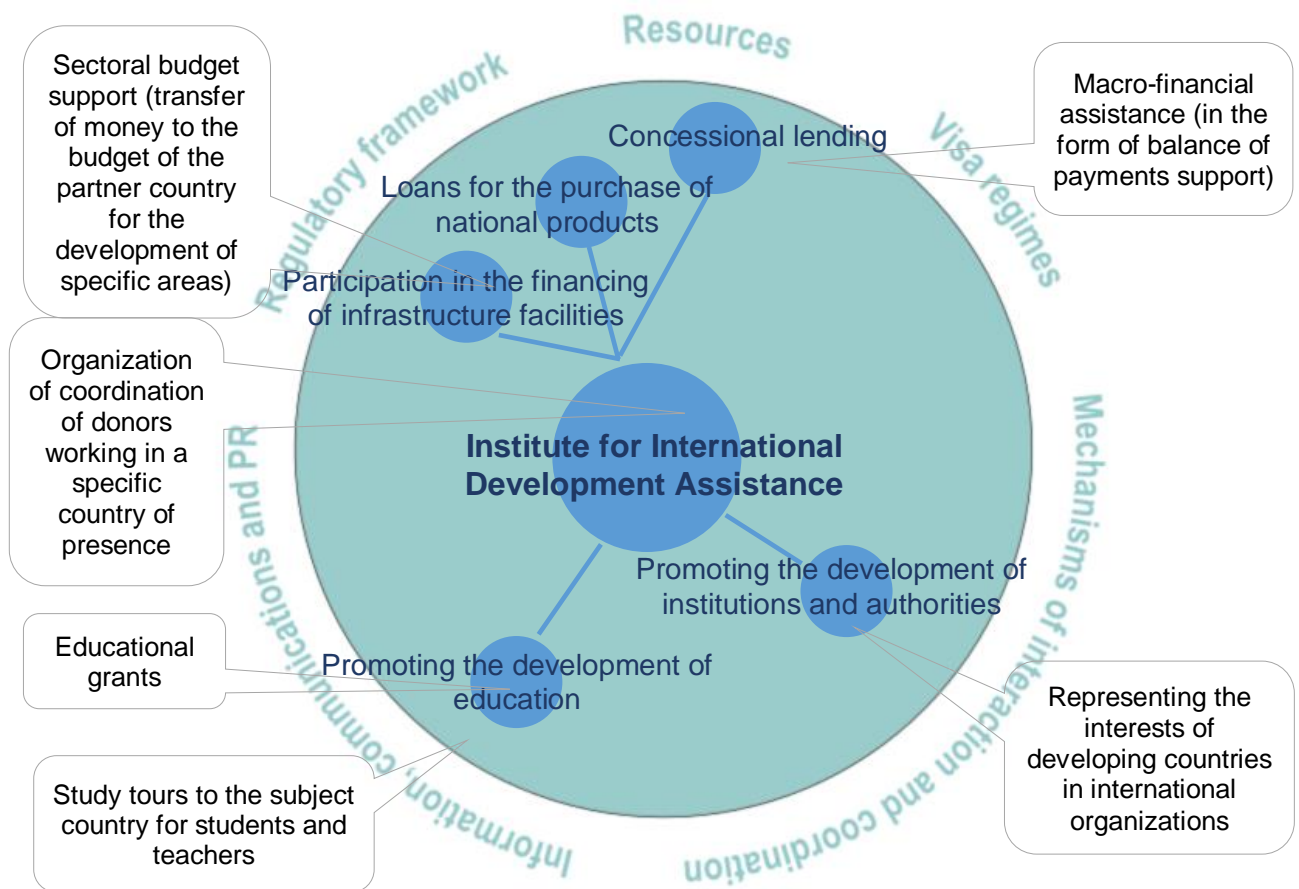


Figure 1.8 – Institute for International Development Assistance

Note – Created by the author

For a more comprehensible explanation of the vision regarding the directions of implementing the “soft power” policy, the author graphically demonstrates it in the infographic (figure 1.8):

Based on the above, we can conclude that at the turn of the XXI century, the foreign policy tools of leading players in the international arena have undergone remarkable changes, including, in addition to the traditional mechanisms and forms of manifestation of “hard power” - military power and economic superiority, methods of “soft” influence that go beyond the usual carrot and stick for state policy. The strength of the attractiveness of the country’s internal and foreign policy values, its attractive spiritual and material culture, its unique and successful economic model, and its participation in international organizations – these are the factors that shape the country’s positive image in the world community today.

1.4 Critical views and interpretation of the concept of “soft power” in the foreign academic community

Since its inception, the concept of “soft power” has gained widespread popularity among politicians and scientists alike. Both those and others were divided into two opposite camps: sharply criticizing and strongly approving. Like any bright idea, “soft power” has generated a wave of criticism in the foreign scientific community.

International researchers rightly pointed out the academic underdevelopment of the concept and inaccurate definitions of the term. So G. Gallarotti claims that, despite the popularity in scientific and public circles, “the concept of “soft power” has received little theoretical development” [20]. For example, A. Bohas is also convinced that “soft power” is characterized by inaccuracy and abstractness [63, p.142]. E. Wilson points out those supporters of “soft power” have a very weak theoretical base: he calls their positions politically naive and institutionally weak [64, p.110]. Ch. Layne believes that J. Nye did not initially conceive of “soft power” as a theory, and therefore the definitions he gives it are very unclear and contradictory [65, p.54]. A. Vuving says that “the concept was misunderstood not only by the public, but also by experts studying international politics” and the reasons for the confusion with this term in insufficient theoretical elaboration, in the “lack of academic accuracy” and in “analytical blur” [66, p.3].

An English researcher D. Thussu, also speaks about the vagueness of the term, who calls the concept of “soft power” amorphous and vague, but acknowledges that, despite this, it was accepted and applied by many countries in the world as one of the most important components of the foreign policy strategy [67, p.5]. Researchers K. Hayden and Ch. Layne also point to a broad definition of the term. Hayden writes that Nye included abstract concepts such as “influence” and “attractiveness” in the concept of “soft power,” as a result of which the term has become too comprehensive, which in the broadest sense describes the actor’s strategy in international interaction [65, p.54; 68, p.5].

Consistent critics of the “soft power” concept are representatives of the neorealist school of international relations. According to them, the concept is theoretically empty and also practically ineffective. A detailed explanation of the neorealist understanding

of the concept of J. Nye is presented in the work of Christian Layne, published in the collection “Soft power and US foreign policy: theoretical, historical and modern aspects” in 2010.

C. Layne claims that the theoretical failure of “soft power” as a scientific notion. According to him, the concepts of “attractiveness” and legitimacy, which, in the point of view of the author of the concept, are significant for “soft power”, are too abstract and logically incomprehensible. Thus, the attractiveness effect that Nye refers to only works in the realm of interpersonal relationships. Its extrapolation to interstate relations is incorrect and ultimately ineffective. States cannot be identified with people who, by their nature, can fall in love, feel attracted to the object of their love. Even if a statesman has a certain charm, attracts people and is popular both at home and in other countries, this does not mean that other states will fall under his spell and agree to contribute to the realization of his country’s national interests. To illustrate this point, Lane cites the example of the 28th President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson. After the First World War, he was very well known and loved in Western Europe. During his visits to European countries, he was received very warmly. Despite that, the love of the French and Italians for the personality of Wilson did not result in the negotiations in Versailles: the leadership of Western European countries made decisions based on their strategic interests, not personal preferences of citizens.

There is also a theoretical problem with the concept of legitimacy of a state’s foreign policy, according to Ch. Layne. J. Nye in his works constantly talks about the connection of “soft power”, the concept of legitimacy, common values, participation in international organizations. However, the question arises which of these concepts precedes the others, and which is the result.

But the American neo-realist considers the main gap in the theory of J. Nye to be the issue of the mechanism for realizing “soft power” in practice. From Layne’s point of view, the mechanism presented by Nye is causally inconsistent. In accordance with the concept of “soft power”, it is necessary to exert influence on society within the target country, changing public opinion in the direction of its national interests. Layne, summarizing the concept of Nye, argues that it actually consists of two steps: 1) using various tools of “soft power” to form the attitude of society or change its attitude to a particular problem that is important for an international actor 2) wait until the formation and public opinion on this issue will be taken into account by politicians. Layne believes that such a vision of the process of making foreign policy decisions in the state is simplified and, most importantly, not consistent with the existing system in reality. This is “the main fallacy of liberalism” and “liberal mythology,” the critic claims. It is obvious to him that the causal link between public opinion and foreign policy is either weak or does not exist at all. He writes: “The problem with Nye’s concept is that public opinion does not affect foreign policy decisions”. Even in democratic countries. Layne gives examples when the governments of countries, even democracies, did not take public sentiments into account and, moreover, acted contrary to them.

The researcher also rejects the practical value of using “soft power” tools in foreign policy. He considers the examples from the past that J. Nye gives for argumentation to be untenable. Thus, the assertion that “soft power” played an

important role in the victory of the United States in the Cold War is incorrect. The United States used various tools of “soft power” to attract Western intelligence: they financed the publication of books, scientific conferences and cultural events. However, not these factors influenced on Western society rallied around the United States after World War II. Many factors were involved in this process: of which Lane considers the provision of economic assistance to Western European countries through the Marshall Plan, as well as ensuring security through joint work in NATO, the more significant. Moreover, the opposite side also contributed to the “victory” of the adversary: economic and technological backwardness, as well as erosion of the political system, devalued the USSR’s project both in the eyes of the domestic audience and in the international community.

Regarding the effectiveness of the use of tools of “soft power” in modern international relations, it also raises doubts among Layne. He argues that “soft power” will not help improve US relations with the Islamic world, especially with countries in the Middle East.

From the point of view of theoretical significance, the critic also sees no reason to highly value the concept of “soft power”. He points out that it actually repeats the principles of existing theoretical schools: institutionalism, the theory of a democratic world, constructivism (in the part that postulates the importance of norms in international relations). He writes that, despite its attractiveness, the concept of “soft power” is a weak theoretical construct, and there is no reason to believe that it makes a significant contribution to the understanding of world politics.

Ch. Layne is the spokesman for the neorealist approach to international relations. He argues that “world politics is not a contest that is more popular”, but states, acting in the international arena, are guided exclusively by their national interests. The example of American foreign policy shows that “soft power” does not play an important role in international cooperation. He is convinced that other states agree to cooperate with the United States only for two reasons: either when it is obvious that cooperation will be beneficial for them, or when the United States forces them to do so.

One of the most consistent critics of the concept of “soft power” is Y. Fan, a British researcher from the BrunelBusinessSchool. He is one of the most cited critics on this subject in the scientific community. The most famous of his work, devoted to criticism of J. Nye and his concept, is considered the article ““Soft power”: the power of attraction or confusion?” written by him in 2008.

In his article, the critic, firstly, points out that in the concept of Nye there is neither theoretical nor practical novelty. The intangible resources of power have been used by politicians for centuries, and philosophers have talked about “power over the minds” since the heyday of Chinese civilization. Y. Fan writes that Sun Tse, Confucius, Lao-Dzu spoke of “soft power” long before the Harvard scientist; already in the XX century, in other words, Hans Morgenthau and Edward Carr reflected on various aspects of power.

Initially, J. Nye called the resources of “soft power” American culture, international laws and institutions, as well as American transnational corporations. However, in 2004, he changed his mind about the resources of “soft power” without

explaining the reason for these changes. Since 2004, he has consistently pointed out in all his works that the resources are: culture, political values and foreign policy. However, the new interpretation of resources raised questions from researchers. Foreign policy cannot be a separate “soft power” resource, says Fan. It combines both hard and soft instruments: they cannot be separated. According to the critic, foreign policy cannot be separated from hard power. Political values, in turn, are an integral part of the social culture of the state. Therefore, they cannot act as a separate resource. Based on the foregoing, Fan concludes that the only real resource of “soft power” is culture and “soft power” it, in fact, is a cultural power. Such an interpretation makes the concept simple and understandable.

Fan pays special attention to the phenomenon of “attractiveness,” which, according to Nye, is at the core of the concept of “soft power.” Like many critics, he points to the vagueness of the mechanism for converting the attractiveness of values and the social model practiced by an international actor into real influence and power on the world stage.

The researcher also pays great attention to the results of the use of “soft power”. As critics note, they are not obvious and difficult to prove. Fan also points out that when talking about the results of “soft power” such as: the number of foreign students, the number of Nobel Prize winners, the size of the budget for public diplomacy, the Harvard scientist often confuses them with the sources of “soft power”.

Fan also asks an important question of the practical application of “soft power” in the foreign policy of modern states. Are the resources that J. Nye allocates are universal resources? Can all countries use them equally well? Fan cites the example of China and India, which have rich cultural resources. But can their “soft power” be compared with the American or French? It turns out, the expert concludes, that culture itself is not “soft power”, it is a source of potential “soft power”.

These researchers consider it important to emphasize that, Nye mistakenly believes that Western civilization will continue to determine the trajectory of the development of the world. Fan, in turn, is convinced that Western values are not universal and are not subject to mandatory implementation in all countries. In some countries, they enter into dissonance with the history and culture of the country, in others – they are not applicable in principle.

However, according to the critics themselves, “criticism of “soft power” as a concept does not mean that ideas do not play an important role in international relations” [65, p.55]. Moreover, the concept itself gave a new impetus to the discussion about the role of non-power tools in world politics, about “power over hearts and minds” and, in general, about ideological influence on the international arena.

As this is clearly illustrated by the data on books on “soft power” that were published over the past 15-20 years, the theory of J. Nye had a wide response in the international academic community. It was criticized a lot, but at the same time new interpretations and even author’s theories were born on its basis.

Thus, the concepts of “spectral power” (M. Kulanis and A. Simonius), “cosmopolitan power” (J. Gallarotti), the concept of “verbal combat” (J. Mattern) and strategic narrative (L. Roselle) appeared in the scientific discourse, as well as the concept of soft power as “kindness, beauty, and impeccability” (A. Vuving).

The concepts of “cosmopolitan power” and strategic narrative are positioned by the authors as the most correct answer to the globalization challenges of the XXI century. Gallarotti, the author of “cosmopolitan power”, writes that his concept is the middle between “hard” and “soft power” and allows actors to fully reveal their potential for influence on the world stage. He argues that the traditional vision of power in international relations does not correspond to the new realities of the modern cosmopolitan world, requiring a relevant theoretical approach, which could be the theory of “cosmopolitan power” [20].

Researchers led by L. Roselle also consider their theory of “strategic narrative” to be the most correct answer to the new conditions of international interaction. They write that strategic narrative is “soft power of the XXI century”. Like J. Nye in 1990, researchers proceed from the premise of the need to formulate new foreign policy strategies that would be adequate to the realities of the XXI century. Introducing their theory to the scientific community, the authors express confidence that it is the concept of “strategic narrative” that is able to solve most of the basic issues related to understanding and analysis of “soft power” [69, p.71].

L. Roselle and co-authors of the study indicate that narratives are the same power resources as culture and values. The modern world is a space of constant confrontation between various narratives. If during the Cold War the confrontation was actually between two narratives – Soviet and Western, today in the world many narratives are formulated. Researchers draw a historical parallel in this regard. The concept of J. Nye appeared immediately after the end of the Cold War and reflected the changes that the post-bipolar world brought with it. Today, they argue, the world is undergoing a new transformation, so the concept of strategic narrative should act as a theory consistent with new changes that will be able to explain these changes and formulate effective strategies for the behavior of international actors.

Another interesting concept, which appeared on the basis of the theory of “soft power” by J. Nye, was the concept of A. Vuving. Conventionally, this concept can be called “Kindness, beauty, impeccability” [66, p.3].

Reflecting on “soft power”, the researcher notes a tendency towards the resource vision of this concept in the academic community. Resource vision means identifying “soft power” with the resources that produce it. However, Vuving considers this identification incorrect. He argues that the resources themselves are “neutral”: i.e. the same resources can produce both “soft” and “hard” power. He gives an example of military resources, which, if used during hostilities, are undoubtedly “hard power” resources. However, the same resources can become “soft power” resources when the hostilities are over and the new authorities establish order. According to Vuving, the dilemma of resources can be solved by introducing into the discourse on “soft power” the concept of “currency of power” (version of A. Bobyl and S. Pestsov) – currencies. J. Nye himself spoke about the currency of power, pointing out that soft and hard powers use different means to achieve goals. He determined that military means are power and threats, economic means financial assistance and sanctions, and soft power means culture, values, political institutions, and attractiveness. However, Vuving rightly points out that the aforementioned funds are more likely resources. Vuving is

convinced that the main problem of the concept of J. Nye is the constant mixing of resources and “currencies” of power.

For a better understanding and use of “soft power,” Vuving introduces into the discourse three universal currencies of power that produce both strength and softness. For the convenience of perceiving these currencies in the scientific community, Vuving uses images of kindness, beauty and impeccability.

Vuving presents his set of “soft power” tools: cultural events, exchange programs, television and radio broadcasting, the dissemination of the national language, culture; myths about your country; visit programs for international students, youth and ordinary citizens; economic assistance, humanitarian aid; diplomatic assistance; pursuing domestic and foreign policies based on law; implementation of foreign policy through international institutions.

Thus, the novelty of the concept of A. Vuving consists in the development within the framework of scientific discourse of the concept of “currency of power”, which complements the concept of “soft power”, which is often identified in the academic community with its resources.

Another concept worth considering in this study is the concept of M. Kounalakis and A. Simony. They called their work on new forms of power in international relations the “Hard truth about soft power” [70, p.15]. In this study, they introduce the concept of “spectral power” into a scientific discourse on power. Their concept develops the theory of “soft power” by J. Nye.

The authors of the concept build on the premise that modern international relations are a multi-level, complex system that requires fundamental changes in understanding what power is in international relations. In order to reach a new understanding, the authors propose an unexpected and unconventional approach to the study of power. They believe that the concept of “spectral power” is the key to understanding power in the new system of international relations. According to their definition, spectral power includes a soft-hard matrix and an econometric model, which explains the relationship between agreements, costs and return on investment in foreign policy. They develop a series of graphical schemes that better illustrate the interconnection and even interpenetration of soft and hard powers [70, p.15]. The authors offer the reader a graph of the two-dimensional coordinate axis, which better illustrates the nuances that exist between soft and hard powers. The graph illustrates the existence of the following types of powers.

The authors plan to develop the second component of spectral power – the econometric model of foreign policy – in their subsequent works. At the conclusion of their study, “The Hard Truth about Soft Power” they write that in the next report they will present the results of a study of the quantitative measurement of costs and profits from the implementation of tools and methods of using power through the econometric models. These results, in particular, will demonstrate the effect of applying the concept of weighted average cost of capital to the theory of international relations. They argue that this approach is innovative for the discourse on power in international relations and opens new prospects for understanding the phenomenon of “influence” on the world stage.

Noting the innovation of J. Nye and the relevance of his concept, experts talk about the ambiguity and inaccuracy of the concept, which reduced the effectiveness of its practical use in international relations. So, O. Leonova writes that “today in the scientific literature there is no clarity what soft power is” and points to the methodological vagueness of the proposed Nye’s model [71, p.29].

Criticizing, following foreign scholars, the concept of J. Nye for theoretical inaccuracy, Russian experts worked on their own formulations that could give a definition, explanation and interpretation of the term “soft power”. So, E. Shirokova defines “soft power” as “the totality of factors of public consciousness that determine the attitude of a social group (the country’s population, elite, individual classes, etc.) to any political subject and thus strengthen (or weaken the influence of this subject to this group [72, p.103]. S. Pestsov and A. Bobylo argue that the distinguishing feature of “soft power” is its multi-level nature and call it “multidimensional construct”. Without offering the academic community a detailed definition, they enrich the Russian functional discourse with a functional understanding of the concept of J. Nye and represent “soft power” as a “fairly simple nomological chain”, which consists of 3 elements: an attractive subject – a strategy for changing the behavior of an object – achieving the goals of the subject [50, p.81].

“Soft power” in the terminological (Nye’s) sense is an attractive power of various values stably associated with a certain country. These include the cultural values of a given country, the organization and standard of living in it, the quality of education, etc.

Scientists pay more attention to the study of tools and mechanisms of “soft power” in world politics. However, a certain imbalance may also be explained by the fact that, according to K. Hayden, the same factors of “soft power” often act both as resources and as tools for use. Russian scientist A.P. Tsygankov points to the theory of international relations as an instrument of the “soft power” of the state. He argues that “the theory of international relations has never been a neutral universal science” [73,p.17]. He argues that the research work in the field of international relations, which is supported and directed by the power of the state, can influence the train of thought of foreign politicians and the perception of events in the world by citizens of other states.

In the context of increased information openness, he puts forward two hypotheses regarding the future fate of the theory of international relations. First –the stronger pressure to borrow foreign cultural ideas and values, the greater should be the costs of developing the potential of “soft power”, maintaining intellectual autonomy and resistance to ideological colonization. Second- the more peculiar the culture, more active are the efforts of the intellectual class aimed at creating and developing a national model of “soft power” and generally governmental sciences to adapt to the conditions of the global world.

O. Leonova compiles a list of the main tools of “soft power”. They are information flows; political PR focused on foreign audiences; global marketing; stateplacing in the global hierarchy; state’s language and its extent of popularity worldwide; public diplomacy; tourism, sports and cultural exchanges; education

system and student (youth) exchanges; ability to wage information warfare; migration policy; national diaspora; dialogue of cultures [71, p.29].

The author suggests dividing the instruments of “soft power” into short-term and long-term ones. She also calls short-term “messaging” and refers the media to them, highlighting the role of global news channels. These tools are aimed at providing information about the state and explaining its policies to the widest possible international audience. Short-term instruments are broadcasting (radio and TV); distribution of printed publications in foreign languages, films and other media products; organizing exhibitions and other cultural projects that can help build bridges between representatives of different cultures and civilizations.

The researcher considers international educational programs to long-term tools. According to Panova, these tools are especially important for the “soft power” of the state. She claims that “higher education forms a certain worldview among foreign guests, reflecting the values of the host state itself and allowing to count on a favorable attitude towards their host country in the future” [71, p.29]. Speaking about international educational programs, O. Leonova means the provision of higher education services to foreign students, but also the reverse options, which include training and internships of students abroad.

The theme of tools is inextricably linked with the question of the mechanism by which resources in a certain political context, through the necessary tools, is converted into foreign policy influence and allows the actor to achieve goals on the world stage.

The most detailed picture of the mechanism of “soft power” is offered by researchers S. Pestsov and A. Bobylo. They isolate 8 substantial elements of “soft power” that make up its mechanism. It (figure 1.9):

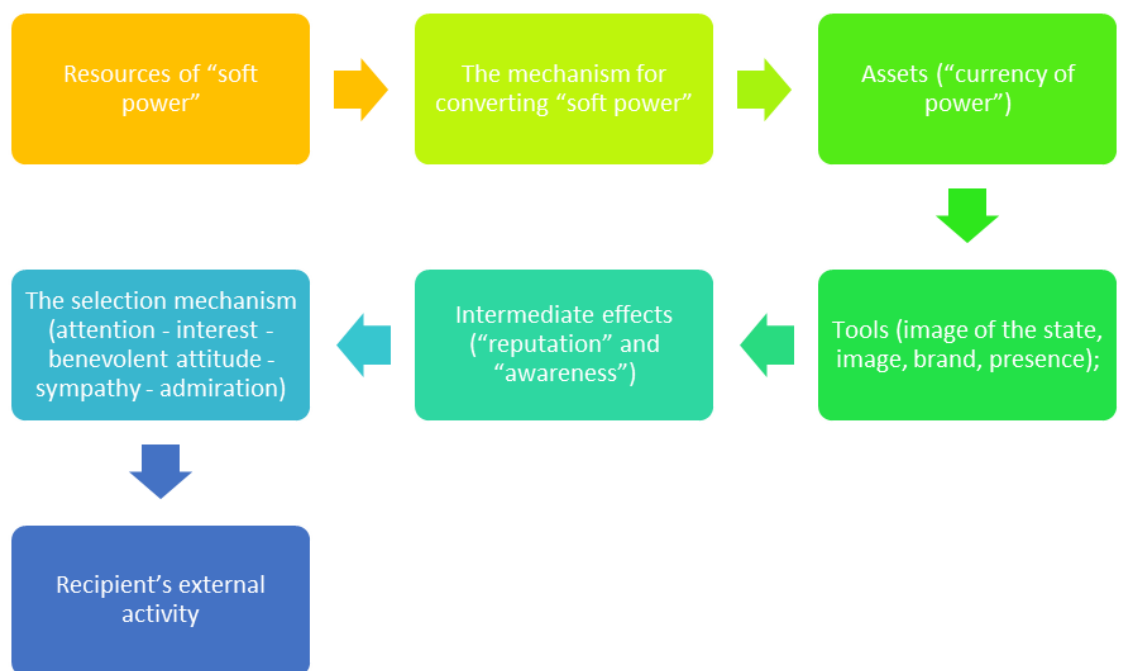


Figure 1.9–Mechanisms of “soft power” by S. Pestsov and A. Bobylo

1. Sources (resources). As already mentioned above, for Pestsov and Bobylo the sources of “soft power” are the national treasure and the current practice of politics and diplomacy.

2. The mechanisms. Researchers point out that “the fact of the presence of certain things and actions that are potentially capable of acting as resources of “soft power” does not automatically make them such”. A mechanism is needed to transition from a passive to an active state. The constituent parts of this mechanism are technical means (finances, infrastructure, and communication channels) and technologies (agreed sets of operations and actions for solving the corresponding problems). Examples of technology include public diplomacy, cultural ties, and national branding.

3. Assets. Assets Pestsov and Bobylo are called the properties of the resources of “soft power” and activity that contribute to the emergence of power. The concept of “assets”, introduced by Pestsov and Bobylo, echoes the currencies of power (power currencies), which A. Vuving wrote about. Researchers agree with the options of currency proposed by A. Vuving: kindness, beauty and impeccability.

4. Tools. The tools of the Pestsov and Bobylo include the image and presence. They share the concept of the image of the country, arguing that the image acts as a spontaneous perception of the object, and the image as a consciously constructed image of the subject. By their presence in this context they call “the representation and positioning of the country in the global information and communication space” [50, c.108].

5. Intermediate effects. Their main indicators are reputation and awareness. These two components act as a link between the state entity and the target audience.

6. The selection mechanism. This is an important component that researchers of “soft power” rarely pay attention to. Pestsov and Bobylo point out that in reality, the interaction is not limited to two sides, but represents a lot of intersecting contacts. Therefore, the question arises of the selection of information received by the subjects. They define the mechanism as follows: “a set of rational and emotional, conscious and intuitive procedures and tools for selection of external influences”.

7. The intermediate result. It is achieved with the proper use of soft power assets and tools.

8. The end result. It is expressed in the external activity of the recipient, which corresponds to the goals and objectives of the subject of “soft power”. The authors of the concept emphasize that in this mechanism it is difficult to talk about a clear correlation of the results and the tools used, since international communication is a complex process in which many activity vectors intersect.

So, in recent years, the concept of “soft power” has not only become one of the most popular in the international academic community: it has also become the basis for scientific creativity, inspiring researchers in the field of international relations to create new concepts that can meet new challenges of globalization.

Conclusions on the first chapter

A complex political analysis of “soft power” demonstrates that the current strategy may be an efficient indirect way of exercising power, involving the creation of a favorable environment and including three dimensions (attractiveness, the ability to set a legitimate agenda, a set of useful rules and institutions, and the formation of preferences).

The “soft power” theory has evolved a long way: it was originally called co-optive power and was connected with two main mechanisms: attractiveness and the ability to impact structures aiming to attract more attention to it. Afterwards, “soft power” was defined as the ability to achieve results through attraction, rather than coercion. The author of the concept, arguing with critics, gradually refined the theory: for instance, he admitted that economic and military forces can become sources of attraction. The ideas of the realists made J. Nye to come to the notion of “smart power”, reflecting the strategic use of “soft” and “hard” power, depending on the assessment of the context. Last but not least, in a recent article, J. Nye has combined disparate formal “soft power” tools into a comprehensive strategic technology that combines them and expands their efficiency. We found the greatest connection between the theory of “soft power” and the theory of three-dimensional force of S. Lukes. The concept of J. Nye became truly three-dimensional: it possessed attractiveness and conviction (the first person in power), the ability to set a legitimate agenda, a set of useful rules and institutions (the second person in power), and the formation of initial preferences (the third person in power).

In this study, “soft power” is defined as creating a favorable environment that allows you to remove several accusations and criticisms of the concept. The primary goals of using “soft power” technologies (groups of political, economic, and internal goals) are pointed out, and its features are described (long-term, partial lack of control over power, dual nature, the need for a serious material base for non-material influence, and the extreme need to take into account the target audience). It is planned to rank the scale of “soft power” from local to global. It is shown that, despite the author’s attempts to make it value-neutral, “soft power” retains a normative character, so its assessment by scientists depends on which school of international relations they belong to. The basic approaches to the study of the theory were systematized (structural, process-oriented, measuring and technological, and in the latter, understanding of “soft power” can vary from discursive practices to the information and psychological attacks) and an algorithm of the study of “soft power” of states was formed, which allowed to study the “soft power” of Kazakhstan, as reflected in the third Chapter of this work.

2 FOREIGN EXPERIENCE IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF “SOFT POWER” POLICY

2.1 “Soft power” as a tool for the implementation of US foreign policy interests

The United States makes neoliberal institutionalism as main principle, advocates globalization in political, economic, cultural, financial and information spheres, which, as a consequence, significantly limits the role of a sovereign state, transforming most of the world’s political elites are obedient executors of the will of the “leader of progress”.

There is a classification of the functioning of the US foreign policy mechanism in the use of “soft power” methods and means in two main directions: official and unofficial.

Official institutions mean institutions or a system of institutions that organize and maintain the process of exercising political power, ensuring its establishment and maintenance, as well as transmitting political information and exchanging activities between the authorities and other spheres of political life.

One of the main institutions of the American government, implementing foreign cultural policy, it is considered the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs in the structure of the US Department of State, which is the institution that has primary responsibility for the development of foreign policy of the United States. The Bureau was created to promote mutual understanding between the United States and other states through the development and implementation of international educational programs and seminars. Today, the institution runs an entire industry of student exchange programs sponsored by the US Federal Government.

The truly impressive scale of the Bureau’s activities is reflected: in 2017, the number of foreign participants in the programs reached 9 million, 565 graduates of the programs are current or former heads of state and government, and 31 graduates are heads of international organizations [74]. Although the official statements of the office’s mission are aimed at understanding and developing peaceful relations, it’s clear that the agency’s true mission today is based on the assumption that youth exchanges are the key to continuing American influence abroad.

The institution provides with different opportunities. Firstly, it gives opportunity to personal, professional, and institutional relationships between people and organizations in the US and outside the country. In addition, it provides information to the international community about history of America, contemporary society in the US, and American art and culture.

- Fulbright scholarship program for graduate students, researchers, faculty, and supervisors;

- English language courses founded by the Department of English language programs to promote mutual understanding between the USA and other countries. The Department of English's foreign mission programs provide assistance and advice on language learning programs conducted by United States embassies and consulates around the world;

- educational programs for Russia, CIS countries, Eastern Europe and the Balkans, the main purpose of which is to provide scholarships and promote relations at the institutional level;

- the Bureau of Education and Culture also gives information on current scholarships and cultural and educational exchange programs, both for individuals and for scientific and non-profit organizations;

- the Department of Educational Information and Resources advances the popularity and prestige of American higher education abroad, cooperates with educational organizations in the US to enhance international exchanges;

- US degree programs are developed to enhance the level of knowledge of foreign students about the United States with the help of seminars, forums, etc.;

- educational partner programs are designed to support the relationship between American and foreign educational institutions in the secondary and higher education fields;

- department of civic exchanges of joint programs and youth programs in cooperation with non-profit organizations in the United States.

Moreover, this is not a full list of programs and initiatives enforced by the Bureau of education and culture in order to contribute to collaboration of different public and private organizations and foundations. The State Department is also actively developing programs to strengthen cultural contacts with foreign partners and popularize American culture and art through projects:

- the Fine Arts Initiative – a project to finance the budgets of US embassies with the goal of organizing a trip of US fine art masters to host countries of US diplomatic missions;

- “Rhythm Road - American Music Abroad” - a program to organize tours of American music groups abroad, usually jazz and hip-hop artists;

- the State Department also provides an official presentation of contemporary American art and other art at major international exhibitions and participates in the organization of exhibitions of American artists on the site.

Education and Culture Management Programs financed from the federal budget and private capital. In terms of support from non-governmental organizations, the most notable and well-known Bureau programs are the mentioned Fulbright program, as well as the program for foreign guests (International Visitor Program). Interestingly, the financing of cultural programs abroad sometimes comes from the budgets of the territorial departments of the State Department.

USIA or the US News Agency was one of the most important institutions and instruments of “soft power”. At the end of the XX century the agency was closed, but only formally, since all the main functions were transferred to the State Department, as well as the staff. Employees of foreign services – it was they who began to engage in the management of cultural, educational and informational propaganda abroad.

The Voice of America radio station, the foreign libraries of the State Department, and other departments that manage the media were given the order of this body. Involvement of USIA in the creation and coordination of foreign policy contributed to the development of more flexible means and methods of information and psychological impact on other countries.

A competent staff has been formed within the agency on media policy issues, the functionality of which was working together with other interested political and government departments to develop ideas that would be able to provide “the maximum level of information and ideas flow between the nations of the world”. The activities of this institution are overseen by the Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy of the United States, and the commission, in turn, reports to the Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy.

- the agency took an active part in the development of the project “Public diplomacy and improving democracy”, which involved helping other nations implement the “democratic” idea of the United States. This project identified several “peaceful and popular ways” that would help the United States maximize the implementation of the “democratization” of states. The first is that it is necessary to promote the democratic evolution of existing systems, and secondly, the promotion of people’s commitment to the ideals of democracy (American version);

- the “brain drain” from other states was also one of the USIA projects (Humphrey Program). It was aimed at successful scientists from developing countries who would like to improve their qualifications in US universities;

- implementation of programs of scientific, cultural, information exchanges with the CIS countries. For example, the E. Masks scholarship program, thanks to which distinguished graduates are invited to participate in American educational programs in the fields of social and human sciences. Also provide fellowships of young graduate students and young researchers.

The sponsorship of these programs is partly carried out through philanthropic foundations. US philanthropic foundations are, in a way, a network of specially created institutions, the main activity of which is aimed at providing both political and economic influence. Billions of funds are concentrated here, which are to some extent exempted purely economic functions.

Directions for which these funds operate:

- development of goals and directions of the foreign policy of the USA at the modern historical stage;

- ideological rationale and socio-economic justification of tasks, their propaganda;

- preparation, selection and placement of own and foreign personnel for the practical implementation of US global politics.

The activities of the fund contribute to the creation of an investment climate; often they help the government to solve various economic issues. Foundations pay special attention to the creation of scientific centers and educational institutions. For example, the Ford Foundation and the Rockefeller Foundation played a significant role in the Green Revolution.

American private funds and sponsorships are popular on a global level and are considered as the most effective tools of US foreign policy. The activities of these institutions illustrate business elite’s direct or indirect interests, as well as the global management class.

Moreover, private charitable funds and institutions assist the proximity, interrelation and difficult feature of political, economic, geopolitical and cultural factors of the foreign policy of the US.

Also, worth mentioning is the role of the US Congress in shaping domestic and foreign policy in the cultural sphere as a whole. The United States Congress is the legislative body of the United States of America, established by the Constitution of 1789 and structurally separated from the executive and judicial branches of government. It consists of two houses: the Senate, in which each state, regardless of its size, is represented by two senators, and the House of Representatives, in which members are elected on the basis of population. Among the explicitly expressed powers of Congress defined in the Constitution is the right to impose and collect taxes, borrow money on credit from the United States, regulate trade, declare war, raise and support armies, and enact all laws necessary to carry out their powers [75]. Congress is also the founder of the largest government organizations in the United States in scientific, cultural and arts sphere, such as the National Endowment for the Arts. This organization is in charge of the legislative base of foreign policy strategy, ensuring the activities of official institutions for the implementation of “soft power” around the world. In addition, Congress approves budget allocated to finance cultural programs every year.

A vital role in the realization of the US foreign policy in the cultural area and public diplomacy is played by non-governmental organizations. NGO – a voluntary group of individuals or organizations that are not usually associated with any government that is created to provide services or to advocate public policy [76].

The largest NGO in the United States is the National Endowment for Democracy, which promotes democracy. The amount of funds is equally distributed over four subsidiary institutions: the National Democratic Institute for International Relations (NDI), the International Republican Institute (IRI), and the Center for Independent Private Enterprise (CIPE) and the American Center for International Labor Solidarity (“Solidarity Center”). Fifty percent of the organization’s funds are distributed equally in the form of grants to the above institutions, and the rest of the budget is distributed among several other organizations promoting democracy, as well as small indigenous groups around the world.

Sometimes public funds are earmarked for specific programs: for example, in 2004, the NED allocated \$ 60 million to build democracy in Iraq. In 2018, \$ 4 million was allocated for the construction of democracy in Ukraine. As spelled out in the budget plan promoting democratic reforms in the regions; facilitate key reforms. The organization conducts in-depth research and publishes reports on important reforms, including in the education, health and public administration sectors. Also facilitates the training and discussion of reform-oriented groups in various government ministries and civil society leaders through open and closed policy seminars, networking events, and short-term professional development courses [77].

Under the “unofficial” institutions for the implementation of “soft power” refers to the uncontrolled flow of American culture, which is directed by the United States through media channels to the whole world (figure 2.1). Such leverage is indirect, but extremely effective. The only negative of this cultural policy is its uncontrollability.

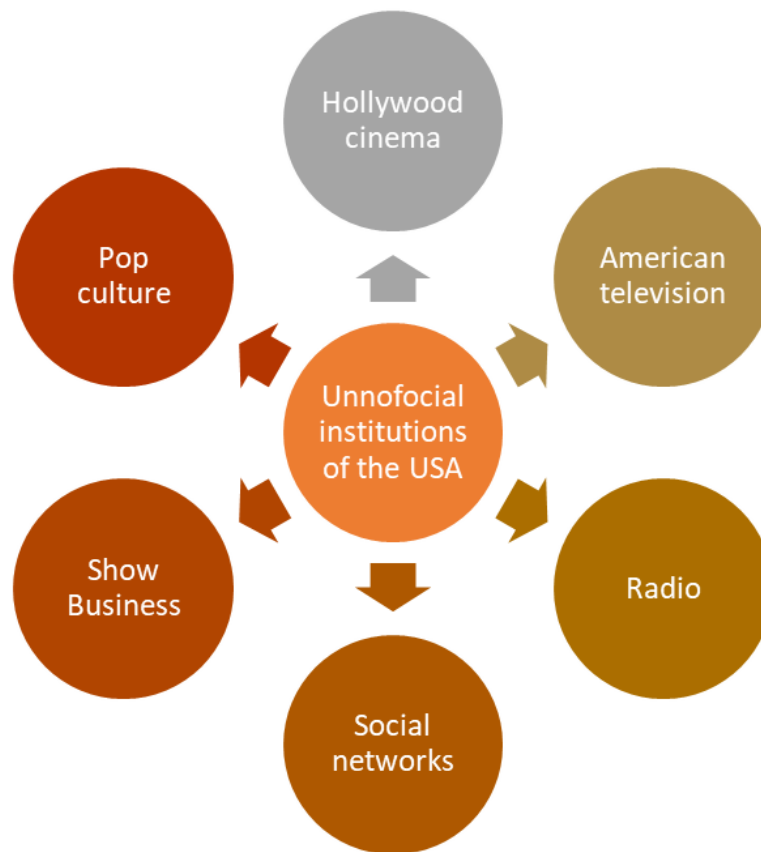


Figure 2.1–Unofficial institutions of “soft power” of the United States
 Note – Created by the author based on the source [77]

So, the unofficial institutions of the United States are:

1. Hollywood cinema.

The main cultural product, an ideological tool means of forming the image of the state on the world stage. Through cinema, the Americans managed to incredibly poeticize their country, create an attractive image and tried to “fall in love” with this “picture” of the planet’s population. An example is the “calling cards” of American television and movie productions: Nevada deserts, California mounds and beaches, Miami sights, city romance with an ongoing image from numerous corners of Manhattan Island in New York and the business center of Los Angeles – the two major metropolitan places, symbols of America and the impersonation of conventional competition at different levels between the eastern and western coasts of the United States.

2. American television.

Television for the Americans is a kind of idol, which the country worships. Through its channels, public opinion is formed in many ways, the Americans’ view of the world around them, the events that are taking place, as a rule, from the right ideological perspective.

3. Radio.

Nowadays, radio plays a prominent role, but less significant than television. Of particular relevance here was the Voice of America radio service, as well as Radio Marty, during the heyday of the US Information Agency (USIA). A more modest role was assigned Radio stations “Freedom”, “Free Europe” and “Radio Free Asia”.

4. Social networks (Twitter, Facebook, etc.).

The Internet, as a planetary information highway, it is no longer just a channel for trade and entertainment: “it has a decisive influence on modern conflicts, not only in the field of espionage and military operations, but also in determining what information reaches people around the world” [78]. The point of this information onslaught is the social networks “WikiLeaks”, “Facebook” and “Twitter”, broadcasting American “soft power”, becoming an instrument of revolutionary struggle and coups in countries of interest to the USA. The power of network resources is reinforced by their alliances with major European and US media outlets anti-government materials. For example, the international network project “WikiLeaks”, the purpose of which is to “maintenance-free publication and analysis of documents that became available due to information leakage”.

5. Show Business.

6. Pop culture.

The increased role of information in the life of modern people is forcing the creation of a global network society, divorced from traditions and national cultures. The above mechanisms of indirect political technology management as a component of US “soft power” create opportunities for influence remotely by transmitting information through social networks, Internet blogs, television, and radio.

By creating a liberal democratic cultural environment through these channels, American media open the way to attracting an audience on an unprecedented scale. In fact, the model of global governance is changing, acquiring an indirect, more flexible and coordinated with other participants in international communication character.

As mentioned earlier, information impact is one of the important components of advancing the policies of any state at the present stage. With the Internet access, the possibility of using “soft power” is spread faster. In the strategy of the B. Obama administration, the goal was to gradually increase the presence of American the foreign policy institutions on the Internet.

According to the report “Social, digital & mobile worldwide” global research agency “We are social”, every year the presence of the world’s population on the Internet is growing. For example, the number of Internet users around the world in 2013 was 35%, and in 2019 the number increased to 57% [79].

The desire of the US Administration to take the lead positions in the global Internet space is justified. A key component of their goals has become social networks, which are also rapidly gaining popularity among the global population.

Social networks are a set of online communication channels designed for participation, interaction, content sharing and collaboration. Web sites and applications intended for conducting forums, microblogging, social interaction, and “wiki” are types of social networks [80]. Today, the ability of social networks to mobilize groups of people and quickly disseminate information is the most effective way to promote views and ideas for the government of any country.

Under B. Obama, the image of modern and “advanced” policy, to attract the support of young voters was used. Digital diplomacy, as one of the areas of public diplomacy an instrument of “soft power”, has become one of the hallmarks of US Democratic Party policies during the B. Obama Administration. According to E.

Chernenko, “Kommersant-Vlast” journalist: “According to political scientists, one of the most notable innovations in US foreign policy during the first presidential term of B. Obama was the emergence of the so-called digital diplomacy. Social networks in the hands of officials turned into a tool that allows you to directly communicate with millions of citizens” [81, p.34].

Hillary Clinton, the former Secretary of State for the first Obama administration, was one of the main initiators of the “digital reform”. She stated that “digital diplomacy is “smart power” and has separated it from “hard” and “soft” power [82].

Today, US public diplomacy is a streamlined mechanism that quite effectively affects a foreign audience through the broadcast of certain radio and television programs on the network, placement literature on the United States, tracking forums on the blog space, organizing personal pages of members of the US government on a social network, and by transmitting information via mobile phones. Such public diplomacy is otherwise called digital, Internet diplomacy, social media diplomacy, Web 2.0 public diplomacy, and also PD2.0.

Political goals of public diplomacy have been announced US government in 2009 and 2010 the leading goal of public Web 2.0 diplomacy has become active in the fight against authoritarian regimes through the organization of support for the opposition and the protests of participants in network resources in states where there was no free access to the Internet, for example, in China and Iran [83]. An equally serious task for public diplomacy was the creation of a confrontation with the propaganda of the Taliban and the organization of al-Qaeda on the Internet [84].

Projects of America on the Internet were initially implemented by a group of specialists from the State Department Digital Outreach Team [85].

Similar units were formed in the Ministry of Defense, the CIA and the Agency for International Development. These departments were supposed to solve the following tasks: tracking discussions on all social networks, organizing a response to any negative information about the United States, broadcasting information about their own position through bloggers [86]. The employees had the status of a blogger or mediator of a social network. They tried to actively influence a specific part of the Internet community that spreads anti-American propaganda. The development of US public diplomacy projects on the Internet, developed in two directions: mobilization opposition groups opposing authoritarian regimes, and the organization of network users around American ideology and politics.

Maintaining the protest of the younger generation and the formation of groups of dissidents is a traditional feature of American public diplomacy. Unlike the “viral broadcast” of the Cold War, the social network promotes the rapid mobilization of opposition moods. The US government organized the international organization Alliance for Youth Movements, unified the movement of dissidents in various states, and created special computer programs for the opposition in Iran and China. Any citizen had a real opportunity to become a member.

One of the ways to inform the foreign public is to send relevant news through the Internet portals of American radio channels broadcasting in other countries. This is especially true for countries where freedom of the press is absent or restricted. The first newsletter project was implemented by Voice of America in 2009. The radio station has

signed an agreement with Nokia to promote the distribution of radio station content to mobile phone users in China [88].

Later, the US State Department began to send out topics speeches by B. Obama to his subscribers via America. Mobile phone users who received text messages were able to send a response Information: About 200,000 comments and questions appeared on America.gov.

An important project of the US State Department was the creation and the distribution of computer games, which, in addition to a set of standard functions, taught English and told about the history of the United States. All these methods of working with a foreign Internet audience for a long time contributed to the achievement of such foreign policy goals of the United States as the fight against undemocratic regimes, the promotion of civil society, as well as a change in political culture in other countries.

In general, “public diplomacy Web 2.0” is a very promising area within the framework of public diplomacy, the importance of which in the foreign policy activities of states will only increase over time.

Change in political situation demanded a new form of public diplomacy. It became PD 2.0. It is mainly associated with James Glassman, the former US Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Relations, who coined the term as a deliberate analogy with Web 2.0 and Medicine 2.0.

The following features of PD 2.0 can be distinguished:

1. Career diplomats lose control over manipulation public opinion.
2. PD 2.0 means much more steady and sincere level of involvement of diplomats: it is not enough just to broadcast the message and expect that the foreign public will accept it.
3. PD 2.0 and diplomacy in a broader sense will mainly rely on networks. According to Slaughter, networks are one of the defining features of the modern world. War, diplomacy, business, the media, society, and even religions are all integrated into the network.
4. An important characteristic of PD 2.0 is the attention given to it by the public. As noted by J. Nye, the massive flow of information caused by modern communications has created a “paradox of abundance” in which attention, not information, becomes the reward. From a listening point of view, social networks certainly allow diplomats to evaluate external public opinion more accurately than ever before.

Thus, the feature of information support of foreign policy activity practiced in the USA is primarily an offensive information policy, implemented through all available media, but with particular emphasis on the opportunities provided by global electronic networks. The purpose of this policy is to capture everything global information space in the interests of the unhindered implementation of the US foreign policy strategy. The second feature of the organization of the information activity of the US Foreign Ministry is the distribution of powers in the information sphere and the responsibility for their implementation between several state bodies: the State Department, the Department of Defense and the CIA.

Key directions in D. Trump’s foreign policy announced on November 22, 2016 US withdrawal from the Trans-Pacific Partnership, removing restrictions on the

extraction of all energy resources, developing a country's cyber defense plan, revising the immigration policy to preserve jobs for American citizens and building a wall on the border with Mexico, a statement on the US withdrawing from the Paris climate agreement, etc.) led to the fact that the level of confidence in D. Trump fell. Not only well-known political scientists, but also citizens of America blame D. Trump for the deterioration of the image of the United States. This is largely due to the fact that the new president, Donald Trump, refused a "strategic patience" policy towards traditional US adversaries (such as Iran and North Korea) pursued by the previous administration led by B. Obama. D. Trump actively uses isolationist and populist rhetoric and has generally proved which prefers just "hard power". According to opinion polls and the Soft Power 30 Index compiled by the Portland Agency, American "soft power" has been declining since the start of President Trump's term. But certain aspects of "soft power" remain valid. Popular US culture (movies, television, and music) is still influential.

2.2 "Soft power" in European Union politics in an era of globalization

The European Union is not a state unit, therefore, due to the specifics of education and interaction inside the integration association, it has most of all changed the approach proposed by J. Nye to this term. According to American researchers, European "soft power" means "collected or coordinated power" [89, p.72].

This approach is explained by the European countries, which aimed at finding the common path, adapting their foreign policy strategy, economic and socio-cultural interests to interact with each other. Therefore, the European Union is not a state unit, therefore, due to the specifics of education and interaction within the integration association, it is most of all changed the approach proposed by J. Nye to this term.

Therefore, it is impossible to consider the European "soft power" as the power of individual nation states. Russian experts characterize European power as "attractive power" due to the fact that social issues of public life are also included into factors of soft power [71, c.29]. Obviously, the attractiveness of this power expands EU influence and attract the former socialist countries– the Central and Eastern Europe, the Baltic countries. Political elites, culture, and information stand out as objective factors of "soft power". In the point of view of the Russian researcher M.V. Kharkevich, the EU's "soft power" should have been noted in a more local acknowledgement of human civilizations. As the vital indicators of the EU's "soft power", they emphasize the spread of Western values, the division of European interests, rules and laws by all states [49, c. 23]. This thesis is implemented in practice by instilling democratic values in Western society in countries where other political regimes are instituted.

Some European researchers offer the idea of changing the interpretation of European "soft power" and of replacing it with the signal that is specific to the EU as an integration unit with a single supranational component. Thus, the notion "Civil power" was formulated throughout Europe by Francois Duchenne and in 1998 was considered in the journal "European Integration". He was surprised why the notion of European integration was still alive in spite of floods of political processes and was institutionalized later [90, p. 4]. Duchenne replied to this issue that Europe suggests, the measurement of power through technical criteria of army by civilians aimed to

substitute and assess the degree of influence of a world political actor not through the availability of military meaning, but through the existence of value and the civil meaning of influence. The idea of this problem that is from one perspective, in the increasing international efforts of Europe particularly in the economic and security areas) and on the other hand in the decline of the legality of American strength [91].

The introduction of doubts about the legality of American power in the European establishment could be linked to the fact that the United States did not obey international law in a necessary way. In contrast, the US started gradually creating its own norms and regulations. Moreover, they attempted to escape their partners in various spheres. Is it also noteworthy to say about second half of the nineties of the 20th century. This period was remembered by confrontation between the EU and the United States. The main reason of conflict is the additional territorial legal expedient of US law.

Another European draft of the free influence of power is the “normative power”, a product of the realities of its time is [92, c.90]. This product was initiated by Ian Manners who is a Danish scientist in the field of international relations. The notion itself was applied to identify the processes of European cooperation and its key idea is that “normative power” raises from the generation of thoughts, points of view, principles and ideas about "simple" things, projects and circumstances [93, p. 235].

One of the peculiarities of “normative power” is that other types of forces, “normative power” does not suggest any distinction between the military aspects of a state's foreign policy. This is due to the fact, that military force is a kind of assurance of compliance with rules and regulations. This distancing of the clear division between “military” and “civil” power is a feature of the liberal-idealistic paradigm, a boost in the amount of actors in world politics due to the lack of a state of Zen trismus rejected to represent political processes. The world exclusively in antagonism, war and peace. The paradigm is correct as soon as possible for the purpose of ratification, given that the EU is not a state unit, but postulates to be a political unit that uses military and non-military governance mechanisms.

The diversity of the drafts of the power-free influence of world political actors leads to the conclusion that there are no clearly formulated beginnings at the disposal of the dimension of the non-military influence of non-state units like the EU. The choice of the draft for the recognition of the free influence of the EU is due to the need to examine external or internal factors. After T. Diez and I. Manners the draft of the “normative power“ serves the recognition of internal political processes in the EU, the recognition of social processes and the legal framework, while “Soft power“ is the instrument of influence of the EU foreign policy on the world [94, p.179].

The “soft power” political determining factor of European countries is the dual nature of the problem. Firstly, European countries continue being considered as national states. Consequently, each state can possess both “hard” and “soft” power. From the other perspective, the countries agreed on their further cooperation in different areas. So, it remains unclear at which degree of analysis (national or supranational) the European “soft power” displays itself.

We need to indicate, that as for the “soft power” indexes of individual European states, Europe has every chance to postulate a top-rank position. The rankings of the

soft power use by the worldtop countries are compiled by several American, English, French, Russian agencies at once.

Every year the English independent Institute of Management (Institute for Government) presented a rating of countries around the world on the use of “soft power” tools. The cultural, educational, political in terms of foreign and domestic policy, innovational in terms of business innovation - these factors were taken as basic standards. A set of interconnected tools for organizing work in the main areas of “soft power” is being compiled into a system [95, c.229]. Three of the above criteria are traditional in determining the level of use of “soft power” was mentioned by J. Nye in 2004. Two new criteria (education and business innovation) took a place in the list of criteria reflecting the effect of “soft power” thanks to new global humanitarian trends.

From J. Nye described criteria overall represent the cultural element of “Soft Power”. Europe’s cultural identity all the time was one of the factors for its exclusiveness during world history.

In the 21st century the draft of the cultural identity of particular European countries is in the background. The first is the cultural diplomacy that European heads of state and heads of government want to carry out by order of the EU. The EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs, Federica Mogherini, explains: “European culture is a resource of the EU’s common foreign policy. This plays a key role in the formation of the EU as an integration meeting and reflects the material and spiritual values of Europe. Investments in EU cultural diplomacy contribute to strengthening Europe’s economic situation, build relationships with other regions of the world, and help prevent radicalization” [96].

Moreover, one of the important documents is considered to be “Directives of the EU strategy in the field of international cultural relations”. This document is proposed to consider the European cultural potential that is transferred abroad as EU’s united force. The basic goal of the paper was lying in ensuring Europe’s cultural diversity and promoting conflict resolution. Cultural diversity preservation and respect for human rights, enhancement of mutual respect and intercultural communication, ensuring respect for all cultures, harmonious relationship in regulation of cultural issues, and a comprehensive approach to cultural ethics – these are the underlying principles European cultural diplomacy [97]. Furthermore, the reason for shifting cultural diplomacy source from the national to the supranational level was the collapse of European multiculturalism notion and the European migration crisis.

The location of countries, as well as foreign policy aims and directions determined the former achievements of multiculturalism policy until the twentieth century. However, by now, European countries have thought about the purposes of migration policy differently. Germany invited emigrants merely on a part-time basis; it was not proposed to incorporate all these individuals into German society. Conversely, France suggested numerous options before granting citizenship to settlers. Certainly, some countries warmly welcomed the migrants. Germany and France were happy to welcome the settlers in their countries, particularly from Islamic states, and presented them required social and working opportunities.

The twentieth century in Europe was characterized by mass migration. Moreover, in parallel with it, the globalization processes also occurred colossally. [98,

c. 7]. However, this does not mean the collapse of multiculturalism policy. This is probably due to the fact that the replacement of traditional European culture by completely new one is not excluded. There is an intensive influence of the new immigrant culture, which is being transmitted to European regions. This does not mean that European culture is considered stronger, or conversely, weaker. Apparently, it is happening due to the fact that new settlers are not making enough efforts in order to integrate into European society. They dictate more rights for themselves and are not concerned at all about basic responsibilities as of citizens of EU; they work respecting the laws of the host country. Consequently, foreign cultural enclaves and large communities (Diasporas) were formed in European countries. These communities have their own political agenda and try to preserve their cultural heritage instead of assimilating the European [99, c.127].

In addition to the cultural aspects of Soft Power this is used as an effective component of this draft of the training process. Well-known, top universities, such as the University of Cambridge and the University of Oxford are ranked first and second among European universities. This statistic was published in 2013 by the World University news agency [100]. For this reason, the face of the European training is Great Britain that until now no one else the European state could overtake in the training segment of “Soft Power”. This covers a study by the University Policy Institute (HEPI) on the effects of European training on global processes. It was found that 55 managers from 51 countries of the world in British university facilities received a university education. And this is the main aspect of “Soft Power” according to British researchers. However, this power has in the first place the national character. Moreover, and British students’ points of view reflect the Anglo-Saxon vision of the world. Great Britain ranks in the USA the place 1 in the reference in the existence of “Soft Power” mechanisms, and no trend is yet grateful that it will split this with the whole European community (especially taking into account the Brexit).

In this fund a training element all over Europe which becomes the part of “Soft Power” of the EU has to be created.

Today several programs such as Erasmus and Erasmus + have taken this role. They tend to change students and teachers. Initially, the Erasmus and Erasmus + programs were adjusted in the domestic European segment. However, after a while they were expanded worldwide. Programs are particularly popular in the CIS countries, Latin America and Asia. These programs caused a mass arrival of both educators and students for academic purposes. Moreover, it is noteworthy that these educational programs are partly funded by EU institutions.

Next common factor of the EU's cultural and learning policy is the funding of cultural centers by EU institutions. This is initiated in order to spread European culture around the world and promote Europe's cultural diversity. A cultural change is underway that allows students from different regions of the world to study public service. Certainly, the European Union cannot make a colossal amount of investments. For instance, if to compare investments of EU and the USA, Europe cannot invest in the same number of students as the United States. However, it must be noted that the figures are growing every year. One of the fundamental programs launched by the

European Commission is the Culture 2000 program. The overall budget of the program is 237 million euros. All European countries took part in the program [101].

Furthermore, as any other program, there are some aims that a program seeks to achieve. Firstly, this program seeks to improve the image of the EU with the help of cultural exchanges in the art, literature, theater and music. Another goal is to help to expand cross - cultural communication.

Overall, it has become evident that at the supranational level “soft power” of the EU has only started being formed. However, we can already say that the cultural and educational components of attractiveness play a special role since the end of the XX - beginning of the XXI century [94, p.173]. Europe’s cultural identity was at serious risk of being ousted from world cultural diversity. This is due to the mistakes that took place in multicultural politics. They have played an unfavorable role in this process. Furthermore, in order to preserve cultural diversity, the EU has taken a course to unite forces to spread cultural values and make them a “soft power” component. This is evidenced by educational programs under the auspices of EU institutions and funding by institutes of cultural projects.

The new norms and regulations adopted in the EU demonstrate the readiness of EU members to allocate part of their “cultural sovereignty” to supranational unions. Moreover, there is an obvious tendency that the greater the soft power potential of a European state, the less interested it is in transferring the soft power potential to the bureaucracy.

So, the European Union has all the conditions in order to develop “soft power” instruments in the framework of its policy to achieve foreign policy goals. First of all, the EU certainly has the same appeal. Crowds of tourists who want to visit European countries, as well as the fact that, according to the public opinion of EU citizens, are actively contributing to solving global problems such as international terrorism, poverty, unemployment, and the violation of human rights, can serve as an example [103].

The European Union is perhaps the most successful “peaceful” structure in the history of mankind, thanks to which an end to various conflicts and wars within the region. With each subsequent enlargement of the EU, the zone of peace and stability also expanded. This is one of the reasons why countries are so eager to join the EU [104].

“Soft power” can be implemented in completely different ways: for example, through the authoritative leadership of the country they are trying to emulate, through successful foreign policy and active humanitarian assistance, or through outstanding achievements in such fields as science, culture, sport.

It is advisable to consider the national features of the European “soft power” not on the example of specific states, but on the example of a supranational actor – the European Union. The “soft power” of the EU is based on a single identity; responsibility; the idea of multiculturalism. To realize the potential the EU uses “soft power” tools: an information platform (the EuroparlTV television channel, the EURANET European radio network), an organizational and software platform (foundations, institutions, cultural exchange).

Europe is a home for many cultures, and in attempting to ensure the peaceful coexistence of citizens, the European Union supports a policy of integration and social cohesion in order to attract migrants and labor. As a result, a multiculturalism policy emerged in the EU. Multiculturalism is also seen as recognition and the adoption of cultural pluralism. Multiculturalism is seen as a compromise between the host society, the state and migrants, a compromise between the requirement of a single identity and value system and the demand for the right to be distinguished.

In general, multiculturalism is an unsuccessful policy that has never worked successfully and therefore failed. It not only did not help European states integrate immigrants into the host society and into their culture, but also caused serious problems, which were cumulative in nature. In addition, the problems were not short-term, but rather, on the contrary, long-term, which further complicated the situation within the EU. Even now, the consequences of the policy of multiculturalism affect the situation in the region and in individual countries, and the increasing number of immigrants and refugees, including confirmation of this [105, c.12].

At the same time, the recently growing socio-economic contradictions forced the governments of individual countries to revise their programs in relation to migrants. So the leaders of the European Union, Germany and France stated the failure of the policy of multiculturalism and the rejection of it. For many years, these countries have been attractive destinations for immigration. Of course, initially, for economic reasons, the recipient countries were interested in the influx of labor. However, over time, the increase in the number of migrants, especially those professing Islam, began to cause great discontent among the indigenous population.

This problem has become most acute in France, which occupies a special place among European states as a country with an extremely variegated “indigenous” population, to which a significant number of non-European immigrants have been added over the past half century. All these problems we see today in the events in France (2020), manifestations of terrorist acts show that the crises that the EU has to deal with are pushing European states apart, posing the risk of EU fragmentation over the next two decades.

The concept of multiculturalism has been replaced by a concept intercultural dialogue. Another approach to integration in the era after multiculturalism is “interculturalism”, which is aimed at establishing a dialogue between cultures. Differences should be “softened” in order to try to eliminate conflicts and achieve harmonious relations between cultural groups. Belgium, Portugal, Spain and Sweden have adopted this approach for their integration policy in the form of intercultural dialogue (ICD), which combines social cohesion and emphasis on the values of the host country, including respect for diversity. Over the past decade, interest in ICD has increased in international organizations such as the United Nations, the Council of Europe and the European Union. EU cultural policy in the 1990s was exposed criticized for lack of certainty. In the 2000s ICD has become one of the main objectives of the cultural policy of the EU, but uncertainty remains, and a common policy in this direction has not been developed.

Intercultural dialogue is a process that involves an open exchange or interaction between individuals, groups and organizations with different cultural characteristics or

worldviews [106]. Unlike multiculturalism, where special attention is paid to the preservation of individual cultures, intercultural dialogue is aimed at establishing links between different cultures, communities and people, and promotes their interaction. In a general sense, the goal of intercultural dialogue is to learn to live peacefully in a multicultural society. Intercultural dialogue can also be a tool to prevent and resolve conflicts by recognizing the need to respect human rights, the foundations of democracy and the rule of law.

Maintaining an intercultural dialogue policy is very important both within the European Union and within each state within the EU. Moreover, it is one of the most important tasks of the cultural policy of the European Union.

European Commission supports a range of initiatives on the implementation of intercultural dialogue. So, 2008 was declared the Year of Intercultural Dialogue of the EU, and the Council of Europe published the White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue. The main objectives of the Culture program (2007-2013) were to promote the interstate exchange of cultural works and intercultural dialogue. Since 2014, it was replaced by the Creative Europe program. In 2015, due to the unprecedented number of refugees arriving in the EU, the ministers of culture decided to create a political coordination group for intercultural dialogue, focusing on the integration of migrants and refugees into European society through art and culture. In 2016, the “Voices of Culture” program was created, which provides the basis for dialogue between the civil society of the EU and the European Commission on culture.

The most well-established and developed type of EU diplomacy is public diplomacy. This type of diplomacy is carried out through the European Partnership Instrument. One of the main goals of EU external actions is to develop cooperation and establish partnerships with third countries. Of course, in order to achieve these goals, special funding was allocated. For the years of 2014-2020, the budget distributed for collaboration purposes make up 85 million euros. Another goal of the EU is to increase understanding of EU policies and priorities. Furthermore, the country is seeking promote the values and interests of the EU beyond its borders, as well as improve the perception of Europe on international arena with the involvement of scientists and students, politicians, cultural and art workers. These goals are achieved through people-to-people activities to create and strengthen business ties, advocacy, empower cultural organizations and promote cooperation.

Thus, intercultural dialogue is one of the most important tools for implementing the “soft power” of the European Union. The EU is a multicultural entity that has its advantages and disadvantages. The negative sides are manifested in the problem of European identity, a large number of immigrants, and positive ones – in the richness of culture, the attractiveness of the image of the EU as a whole, which indicates the implementation of a significant number of successful cultural programs. At the beginning of the XXI century, the problem of increasing the military-force aspect of conflict has become particularly relevant in the field of diplomacy, which should serve as the most effective tool for inter-civilization global dialogue.

If we take Central Asia as an example, the European Union is the most attractive external actor in this region. For comparison: when it comes to Russia, public opinion is sharply divided, which intensified more after the conflict with Ukraine. The level of

sinophobia is also very high. Concerning the United States, too, a mostly negative attitude for certain reasons. Against this background, the attitude towards the EU is distinguished by (comparative) positivity.

The attractiveness of the EU is provided, first, by the model of development of European countries - economic, social and political. European culture is also a fundamental element of the EU's "soft power" for Central Asian countries: we are more acknowledged with European culture, be it literature, music, painting, architecture. This also includes education. Although the number of Kazakh students is growing, for example, in China, however, European or Western education remains a priority for many. And most importantly, Kazakh youth have a good chance to get this education in Europe, whether it is under the Bolashak program or other educational programs of the European Union and its member countries.

Independently, we can mention the so-called "European values". For Kazakhstanis, democracy and human rights relate to Europe or the West in general. The European Union takes a fairly stable position in various segments of the social sphere of Kazakhstan, along with the United States, which has powerful information levers of influence on public opinion in Kazakhstan.

In the context of a fairly high informational influence of the US/West, the EU could form loads of mechanisms of interaction with the Kazakh public: different grant programs, projects and institutions, including, among other things, extensive employment and training opportunities.

In this sense, it is probably no accident that the main direction of the European social policy in Kazakhstan is educational. In this regard, the EU's achievements in promoting European educational standards in Kazakhstan are particularly significant and symbolic: in 2010, Kazakhstan became the first Central Asian country to officially join the Bologna process (to build a single common European higher education area).

This also indicates that several EU educational programs that significantly complement similar American programs are quite effective in Kazakhstan. Thus, since 1994, the TEMPUS program has been operating quite successfully in the Republic of Kazakhstan (Trans-European mobility program for University education, TEMPUS, for improving higher education).

After the start of the TEMPUS program, the European Union launched another program in Kazakhstan - Erasmus Mundus (for the exchange of students, researchers and teachers), which also made a certain contribution to enhancing the EU's position in Kazakhstan.

It is noteworthy that the TEMPUS and Erasmus Mundus programs covered almost all significant segments and areas of social policy from the very beginning of their activities. Later, in 2009, Kazakhstan became a member of another European program - the Central Asian Research and Education Network (CAREN), which proved to be quite successful in Kazakhstan, although it did not receive the same recognition and fame as TEMPUS or even Erasmus Mundus.

In 2014, the European Union added some correctives to its educational policy. As a result of this program, TEMPUS and Erasmus Mundus were replaced by the Erasmus +program.

Besides promoting educational programs, the EU also pays significant attention to explaining European cultural values, principles and ideals. Particularly, the European Union and its individual member states regularly organize and hold variety of public events in the cities of Kazakhstan, including Europe days. An additional impetus to this activity was given in 2011, when the national institutes of culture of the European Union (EUNIC) agreed to create the organization “EUNIC-Almaty” in Kazakhstan, which aimed to promote the intensification of cultural dialogue between the EU and Kazakhstan.

Consequently, the EU’s educational and cultural programs, aimed mainly at representatives of the intellectual stratum of society, contribute to the gradual formation of Pro-European sentiments in the Kazakh elite. Surely, this leads to the strengthening of the EU’s position.

Hence, the mutual desire of the EU and Kazakhstan to boost their cooperation in general contributed to the growth of the ES’s influence on Kazakhstan. This is evidenced, in particular, by the results of the sociological study “Europe through the eyes of Kazakhstan”, conducted by the Kazakhstan Center for the Study of Public Opinion research in 2014. So, to the question “what values are perceived as European values and how important are they in Kazakhstan?” the vast majority of respondents (from 85 to 92%) called “European” values: “human rights”, “freedom”, “democracy”, “social justice”, “stability”, “equality”, recognizing that all these values are important for Kazakhstan.

2.3 The concept of “soft power” in Russian foreign policy: current state, problems and prospects

Currently, the world order is changing, the centers of power are shifting, and then the institutional framework for interaction between government and civil society in different countries is changing. There are several reasons for these changes. Firstly, modern globalization processes, in parallel with technological advancement, secondly, informatization – these megatrends are causing the occurrence of these kinds of transformations. Besides traditional diplomacy methods, new forms are being created. It is including the media (digital diplomacy) and the public (public diplomacy).

As one of the global political actors, Russia is bound to face new challenges. Mostly it is connected with protection of its interests at the international level. This is evidenced by the fact that the image of Russia has suffered in the last decade. Traditionally, Russian image is a synthesis of emotional and traditional ideas about the country. However, due to the remaining ideas about the cold war and new identifications, the image of Russia is being changed.

The possible solution of this situation is promoting cultural and historical heritage and interacting with the Russian-speaking diasporas abroad. Moreover, the issue can be solved by improving the standard of living in Russia based on traditional and new soft power transformation institutions. All of this is possible by using the potential of the Russian “soft power”.

In recent decades, one may notice Russia is establishing some practical norms and regulations regarding the realization of “soft power”. One of them is formation special institutions. These institutions specialize in transforming functions into relevant

activities. Therefore, we can speak about the presence of institutions for the “soft power” implementation in Russia.

“Soft power” institutionalization process of in modern Russia is considered in several ways. First, it is the development in the political discussion of society of a system of opinions on the project of “Soft power”. In accordance with its positions are set for the relevant activities. In the opinion of the scientific and expert communities, it is understood as “soft power”. Moreover, it is fixed in real activities in this direction. Secondly, there are rules and laws that control operations in the field of “soft power”. Third, it is an institution of state and non-state organizations that seeks to transform functions in the sense of transforming “soft power”.

The Russian political establishment vigorously involves the draft of “soft power” in public speeches and thus is aware of the conceptualization of this phenomenon. As an example, we are familiar with the saying of V. Putin at the meeting of the Valdai international discussion club on October 24, 2014 in Sochi. He highlighted the increasing role of humanitarian factors in training personnel in the global competition in all spheres, be it education or health etc. This will again have a significant impact on international relations, including the resource of the so-called “soft power”. And soft power, in its turn depends more on real acquisitions in the formation of human capital than on the cunning of propaganda methods [48, c. 104]. It is evident from this example, that Putin’s saying establishes an insight of “soft power” as a valuable source. Moreover, it fills the draft with a certain content that is significant for the current political situation in society.

Furthermore, the draft of “soft power” is also issued in the Manifesto of official Russian documents. Article 20 of the draft foreign policy of the Russian Federation states: “Soft power is becoming an integral component of modern international politics - a comprehensive tool for solving foreign policy problems based on the civil society’s potential. It is also founded on information and communication, along with humanitarian aid and other methods and technologies, in addition to alternatives to classical diplomacy. On the other hand, increasing global competition and the accumulation of crisis capabilities lead to hazards of at times devastating and illegal use of soft power – human rights projects to strive political pressure on sovereign states that interfere in their internal affairs and destabilize the situation there. Manipulating public opinion and consciousness, including in the framework of funding humanitarian projects and human rights protection projects abroad” [47, c. 222].

In the Concept of Foreign policy, approved in February 2013, the notion of “soft power” received legal form as “a comprehensive tool for solving foreign policy issues, based on the capacities of civil society, information and communication, humanitarian and other means and technologies optional to classical diplomacy”[107].

Thus, the project reinforces the insight of “soft power” not only as an optional resource for the implementation of international policy. It is also displayed as a certain technology. Soft power as technology is serving a means for destructive effects, as well as a weapon during an information war. Besides, it is a kind of a threat “to soft security”. At the same time the draft determines the need to improve the system of use of “soft power”.

From the President of the Russian Federation to the approved main directions of the Russian Federation’s policy in the field of international cultural and humanitarian cooperation, cultural diplomacy is being considered of fundamental interest. Cultural diplomacy is also considered as important element of soft power.

This Concept and other legal documents form the basis for the realization of activities by various organizations, including state and non-state institutions: ministries, departments, agencies, foundations, religious organizations, other NGOs, mass media, educational and scientific organizations, and others. institutions. Some of these organizations belong to the sphere of public diplomacy (figure 2.2).



Figure 2.2—Factor in increasing the “soft power” of modern Russia

Note – Created by the author based on the source [60]

Moreover, besides developing the legal framework and public diplomacy programs, humanitarian collaboration with foreign states is an essential factor in enlarging the “soft power” of modern Russia.

Furthermore, it is possible to identify the main fields of such cooperation and specific activities related to these areas:

1. Education and science (through the Government of the Russian Federation, Rossotrudnichestvo, A.M. Gorchakov Public Diplomacy Support Fund, the Russkiy Mir Foundation, IFES CIS):

- research and educational program on security for young experts of the CSTO member states and the CIS countries “CSTO Academy” (from 2013 to the present);

- distribution of quotas for the education of foreigners in Russian educational institutions at the expense of the budget (annually 15,000 quotas, from 2008 to the present);

- individual research internships of Russian-speaking students, graduate students and educators engaged in the study of problems of Russian foreign policy (from 2013 to the present);

- russian language training on the basis of the RCSC (from 2008 to the present);

- educating national personnel for foreign countries in Russian educational institutions (297 scholarships annually, from 2008 to the present);

- training at the CIS Network University (70 quotas annually, from 2011 to the present);

- development of Russian centers based on foreign universities (95 centers in 43 foreign countries, from 2008 to the present);

- grants and internships at the International Joint Institute for Nuclear Research (annually about 50 people, from 2010 to the present);

- the enhancement of classrooms of the Russian world on the basis of foreign universities (136 classrooms in 53 foreign countries, from 2008 to the present);

- the program “Student of the Russkiy Mir” (from 2013 to the present);

- the program “Professor of the Russian world” (from 2011 to the present);

- a program to train foreign migrants who work in Russia (from 2011 to the present).

2. Migration (through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia and Rossotrudnichestvo):

- the program of voluntary resettlement of Russian compatriots living abroad in the Russian Federation (from 2002 to the present);

- issuance of Russian passports to residents of the Transnistrian Moldavian Republic, Abkhazia, South Ossetia;

3. Youth policy (through Rossotrudnichestvo, the A.M. Gorchakov Public Diplomacy Support Fund):

- the Baltic Dialogue program (from 2012 to the present);

- the program “Dialogue in the Name of the Future” (with the participation of youth from 18 states, from 2011 to the present);
- the Caucasian Dialogue program (from 2012 to the present);
- school of young experts in Central Asia (from 2012 to the present);
- Caspian Youth School (from 2012 to the present);
- the New Generation short-term study tours program for young people from foreign countries (from 2011 to the present).

4. Support private sector - endorse human rights, democracy, freedom of speech (via the interstate Fund for humanitarian cooperation of the CIS, Fund for public diplomacy named after A. Gorchakov):

- support projects of civil society institutions of Russia, aimed at realization of the foreign policy of the Russian Federation and involvement of Russian experts in events and conferences of international level (from 2010 to present);
- support of projects of Russian civil society institutions aimed at realizing the foreign policy of the Russian Federation (from 2007 to the present).
- endorse the operations of NGOs of the states-partners of the agreement on the establishment of the IFES agreement (Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan) aimed at arranging events of humanitarian collaboration of the CIS member States (from 2007 to the present);

5. Culture (through Rossotrudnichestvo, Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation):

- Rossotrudnichestvo is represented in 80 countries by 93 representative offices: 69 Russian centers of science and culture (of which 8 are RCSC branches) in 61 countries, 24 representatives of the Agency as part of embassies in 22 countries;
- internet conference “Russian language between Europe and Asia”, the World Linguo-cultural Competition in Russian Language and Literature “My Russian” (2013, 70 countries);
- allocation of books on the Russian language, literature and culture in libraries of foreign countries (from 2011 to the present in 76 foreign countries).

6. Support for freedom of speech, journalists and the media (through Television company Mir, IA Today Russia, Rossotrudnichestvo):

- russian information broadcasting in English on the RT channel (from 2005 to the present);
- russian information broadcasting in Russian on the TV channels “Russia-24”, “MIR”, “RTVi” (from 1992 to the present).

An analysis of the list of programs and organizations to the conversion of Russia’s humanitarian policy shows the vector of institutionalization of modern Russia’s “Soft Power”. Among them: Russkiy Mir Foundation, Rossotrudnichestvo and A. M. Gorchakov Public Diplomacy Support Fund. If it is in these means in fact non-government institutions, Rossotrudnichestvo takes the general function of coordinating activities within the framework of the conversion of Russia's humanitarian policy and the formation of “Soft Power” of the state as subordinate guild of the Russian Foreign Ministry.

For this reason, it must be derived from what the development is promoted by institutions for the long-term realization of “Soft Power” in Russia on the one hand by

promoting attractive images of the country abroad and by the activities of specialized institutions, on the other hand.

Russian culture and science should be used to promote the general paradigms of Russian civilization, use historically justified attractive images of Russia, comprehend such qualities as tolerance, fortitude, courage, generosity, purposefulness, truthfulness, frankness, justice, as well as focus on the knowledge of Russian culture and science.

To fulfill the above-mentioned tasks, it was necessary to coordinate the transition of “soft power” to the interested institutions. In this regard, it is mandatory to prepare additional functions and simultaneously the resource base of Rosstrudnichestvo. This organization is considered as an institution with the greatest potential in terms of current activities. In addition, this structure may also be enrolled in the enhancement of a special project. The project that will clearly define the fundamental principles of creating a positive image of the Russian state abroad. Moreover, the project should present it for a broad specialized discussion, as well as a schedule for an effective transformation program of Russian “soft power”.

At present, Russia has the opportunity not only to preserve its culture, but also to use it as a powerful factor in promoting global markets, and especially in a space where the population speaks or at least understands the Russian language. Here we can apply such a concept as “the image of the country”. Image needs to be formed in a foreign audience. To impact on the opinion that has developed over the centuries about a “foreign” country is not an easy task. A certain psychological impact is necessary, drawing attention to strengths and positive aspects and exposing the actions of the state in the best light. An attractive image of the country can be formed in various ways.

We can make a whole list of major international events in various fields, where Russia acts as a participant and organizer. We note here the APEC summits in 2012, the G20 and G8 summits in 2013 and 2014, the Universiade in Kazan in 2013, the World Hockey Championships and football in 2016 and 2018 and the Sochi Winter Olympics in 2014.

Education, in addition to science and culture, probably most of all involves not only impact, but also communication and dialogue. The state’s achievements in science, culture and other fields instantly draw students to this country in these areas, which instantly turns to be the most prestigious and popular.

International mobility of students in Russia is revitalized by various programs and can take different forms: from full-cycle programs in foreign universities to language programs. Pursuing student mobility, international academic mobility is enhancing, primarily due to the operations of qualified services to enhance educational services export and academic exchange.

The provision of educational services to foreign students is one of the most important tools of the “soft power” of states. It is during training in youth that a constant system of values is formed to a large extent.

If we once more look at the experience of Soviet higher education, we will see that it was used as a tool of foreign policy, although there was no official concept of “soft power” at that time. Historically, higher education was one of the most essential priorities of the country and helped to strengthen the prestige of the Soviet Union abroad.

One of the indexes of the attractiveness of education is the number of foreign students getting education in the state. The USSR adopted a huge number of representatives of socialist and developing countries to be trained at its universities. Approximately 80% of international students arrived from Asia, Africa, Latin America and Eastern Europe. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the situation evolved radically[49,c. 23].

One of the reasons in decreasing the share of international students in Russia after the collapse of the Soviet Union was a reduction of state's territory and at the same time reducing number of universities. An additional factor was the decline in attention to higher education on the part of state structures. Insufficient funding led to a lag in the equipment of the educational and scientific fund and libraries, as well as an outflow of personnel from universities.

For several years, the Soviet Union had taken second place in the number of foreign students studying in the world (after the United States). However, now the statistics has cardinally changed. Currently, Russia is only in ninth place. The current situation is that Russia attracts mostly groups of students from developing countries, Asia and the CIS. The greatest number of foreign students come from Belarus, Ukraine, Armenia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, China, Vietnam and India.

Education, being the necessary conditions for development, begins to play an increasingly important role in the modern world. At the same time, it is becoming a factor in political development. At the political level, a number of initiatives have been put forward in Russia, using higher education as "soft power".

In addition to the development of the educational sphere, programs on working with young people not related to direct learning have recently acquired special significance. Within the framework of the Strategy for State Youth Policy of the Russian Federation and the Strategy for International Youth Cooperation of the CIS Member States for the period until 2020 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation helps to strengthen youth ties and expand educational opportunities in Russia. Thus, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs annually assists in organizing and conducting the "Forum of Young Leaders of the CIS", the "School of Leaders of Youth Associations in the Field of Science education of the CIS".

Further, it is necessary to pay attention to such an instrument of Russian "soft power" as the "Russkiy Mir" public fund, which we have already mentioned above, and which we attribute to the cultural and educational factor.

The "Russkiy Mir" Foundation promotes the Russian language and culture, as well as supporting programs for studying the Russian language in various countries of the world.

The fund is supported financially from various public funds. Grants of the Foundation are awarded on a competitive basis to Russian and foreign non-profit organizations, as well as to citizens or stateless persons, for the implementation of projects aimed at popularizing the Russian language and supporting its programs studying, expanding cultural and humanitarian cooperation with the Russian Federation, promoting the activities of foreign Russian-language media.

Furthermore, the Russian Foreign Ministry promotes numerous international sport events, assists historical and memorial activities, and ensure the necessary

assistance for Russian tourism. International sports events are most actively involved in creating the image of the state. After all, each of the sports victories is accompanied by a demonstration of the country's state symbols (flag, anthem). Thus, athletes with their victories attract attention; advertise not only sports, but also everything that is involved in this victory.

The main role in creating the country's sporting image belongs to international sporting events, to which each state sets out not the achievements of the broad masses involved in public sports, but, first of all, the results of units, representing the whole country.

The country's sports image, the image of a great sports superpower cannot be determined by victory or defeat in a single tournament. For its formation, long periods of time are needed, containing several cycles of the largest international competitions (Olympic Games, World Championships). And in this regard, modern Russia, which inherited most of the Soviet sportsglory, has a favorable position.

Currently, Russia is actively involved in the work of not only purely political meetings and events, but also takes part and successfully organizes world-wide events in the field of sports and culture.

Analyzing of implementation of Russian "soft power" policy, it is necessary to mention that in recent years, the Russian leadership has done a lot of work on the legal consolidation of "soft power" as an important foreign policy instrument, to create institutions, both state and non-state, to coordinate the use of "soft power" tools, to establish information channels designed to represent Russian vision of events in the world. In parallel with this work, there was a process of forming own political message and ideology, which will substantively fill the Russian model of "soft power".

The projection of Russian "soft power" through certain political settings is carried out at two levels: regional and global. At the regional level, work is being carried out within the framework of the Eurasian project, at the global level – within the framework of the concept of the "Russian World". These projects are institutionalized in different ways, and also have different projection geography. They postulate similar attitudes; at the same time there is a potential inconsistency between them.

The formation of the Eurasian value system is a response, on the one hand, to the positive dynamics of integration processes in the economic and military spheres in the Eurasian space, and on the other, to the economic and political competition in this region from major geopolitical players, such as: European Union, USA , China. The successful work of the CSTO and the launch of the EAC are indicators of the interest of Eurasian states in deepening integration processes. The experience of the European Union proves that mutual understanding between integration partners in the future is possible only on the basis of a common value paradigm.

Thus, at the moment, the ideology of conservatism, which is widely supported both in the wide layers of society and in the ruling classes, is the central component of the Russian toolkit of "soft power" in the Eurasian space. However, Eurasian ideology has a regional status: it covers the post-Soviet space. The ideology of the "Russian World", which today is highlighted in Russian foreign policy, is global, as it is addressed to the widest sections of societies of foreign countries.

For a long period in the expert community, the Russian “soft power” has been widely criticized. The tone of the discussion was set by J. Nye, the author of the concept of “soft power”. He pointed out that the Russian perception of “soft power” is incorrect, since, using these foreign policy instruments, Russia primarily uses state levers. However, in the modern information age, events held by Russian overseas agencies, information broadcast through state-owned or state-affiliated channels do not inspire confidence in a foreign audience. Russian experts were inclined to agree with J. Nye: they wrote that the “soft power” of Russia is in a latent state (O. Leonova), that its foreign policy potential is not disclosed (D. Medvedev), that it is much inferior to the developed Western instruments (E. Shirokova). F. Lukyanov and P. Parshin indicated that the Russian image abroad is negative: it is perceived as a non-modern and unreliable country. The reason for this, the researchers called the domestic economic problems of the country, as well as the weak work of Russian institutions of “soft power”. According to P. Parshin, in Russia there is an acute shortage of “soft power”. International ratings reflect a critical attitude towards the practice of implementing the Russian “soft power” strategy: in them, Russia either takes the last places (for example, the London Institute of Management 2012 ranking – 28th out of 40), or does not take any place at all (for example, Soft Power-30 rating of the Portland Communication Consulting Agency). The exception is the rating compiled by Ernst & Young in conjunction with the Moscow School of Management Skolkovo, in which Russia ranked 3rd among fast-growing economies. However, this rating does not inspire confidence among researchers and is often criticized for political commitment and scientific inaccuracy.

However, as noted in the first chapter in 2020 Russia entered the top 10 of the first global ranking of countries in terms of “soft power”, according to a study by Brand Finance. Experts attribute Moscow’s inclusion in the list to V. Putin’s popularity, but note his “contradictory methods of government”. It means Putin’s recognition is seen as the country’s (Russia’s) image on the world stage. Also a number of experts believe that Russia successfully applied the “soft power” tools during the annexation of the Crimean peninsula in the spring of 2014: the Russian point of view on events was presented in the international information space, which allowed attracting a part of the foreign community.

2.4 Realizing the Chinese “soft power” in the context of a dialogue of cultures

China’s modern cultural strategy at the international level is being implemented through building a dialogue of cultures, which involves improving mutual understanding between countries. One of the strategy instruments was the “soft power” of Chinese culture, which as a new communicative strategy carry out a translational and transformational functions. The translating operation is reflected in the willingness of the PRC to rise the attractiveness of the values of Chinese culture, lifestyle and comprehension of Chinese culture worldwide. Transformational is aimed at positioning the image of a “powerful cultural power”, the dissemination of the values of a “harmonious world” as a resource of civilizational development. Otherwise, the current cultural strategy of the PRC at the global level is formed in the conventional

pragmatic way. Therefore, it is reduced to the desire to expand the cultural presence of the PRC in the world in the future. In foreign practices of realizing the soft power of culture, the PRC is building its strategy from the standpoint of multiculturalism and the dialogue of cultures.

However, the cultural vector of China has not always been directed outward. Awareness of the scale of reforming the cultural strategy of the PRC, implemented in external development practices, develops in the process of analyzing its evolution. In the first years of the formation of the PRC, the main goal of the external cultural strategy was the need to recognize the newly formed republic in the international arena. The main tools for achieving this goal were cultural and educational exchanges, as well as focused work with foreign synologists to form a loyal attitude to the PRC political regime recognizing the Chinese Communist Party's legitimacy by the international community.

In the mid of the 50s of XX century the attention of the top leadership of the PRC was focused on the economic and social modernization of the country; strengthening the power of the Chinese Communist Party; leveling of separatist sentiments in certain inland territories (Tibetan autonomy, XUAR and the island of Taiwan). The external concept of China in the second half of the 50s - early 60s XX century came down to the justification of cooperation with the "third world" on an "anti-American basis". By the end of the 60s of XX century the foreign policy concept evolved to the concepts of the "three worlds" and the "united front", justifying China's departure from the USSR and the normalization of relations with the United States and other Western countries.

However, under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping, a qualitative renewal of the external concept of the PRC took place. First of all, there was a turn to the pragmatic building of international affairs. The transformation was fixed at the XII Congress of the Communist Party of China (1982) and provided for the diversification of interaction with other countries. The content of the updated concept was the idea of "peace and development", which allowed expanding the horizons of China's modernization and the possibility of achieving the main goal: turning the PRC into a developed socialist state.

In the context of a change in the architectonics of the international environment (1990-2000), the third generation of PRC leaders supplemented Deng Xiaoping's ideas ("independence" and "non-entry into unions") with a new ideology of "joint development", a gradual transition to the concept of "multipolar" of the world. From this moment begins a fundamentally new stage in China's relations with the world. Zhou Yu, examining the modern structure of the Chinese region, points out that the cultural concepts and strategies that form the civilizational enhancement of China are manifested with the assistance of cutting-the-edge socio-cultural activities designed to harmonize and strengthen the world order [108, c.16].

At the present stage of development of the PRC, the external cultural strategy is ideologically represented by various concepts. The concept of "peaceful exaltation" was formulated in a speech by the ex-Deputy Head of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Zheng Bijiang, in November

2003, in a speech by PRC Chairman Hu Jintao, culture was called one of the means of peaceful exaltation.

In March 2004 he presented the most detailed content of the draft of the "peaceful increase": The state relies on its own forces, on a gigantic internal market, on manpower and financial resources and leads a collaboration advantageous for both sides with the outside world. A more exact interpretation of the doctrine and the accent of a collaboration beneficial for both sides without threat of the world community triggered a wide public cry in different countries. However, a relatively large number of foreign publications contained a humor of open panic about the "Chinese threat". That is why Hu substituted Jintao in middle 2004 the notion "Elevation" for the notion "Development" [109, c. 50].

The renewed draft of China's external cultural strategy - building a "harmonious peace" - was presented by the China president in April 2005 in Jakarta on the Asia Africa summit. Hu Jintao highlighted the main points that are connected with the formation of "harmonious peace". Firstly, he pointed out that it is mandatory to "enhance ... the formation of friendly relations between civilizations. It means advancing equal dialogue, development and well-being [110, c.212]. In July of the same year during Jintao Hu's visit to Russia, he also expressed his ideas on the construction of a "harmonious peace". And already in September Hu Jintao at a meeting of the heads of government on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the united nations a speech on the theme "Building a resilient peace, a peace that develops universally and thrives harmoniously". In this speech, the Chinese head of state discovered the essence and content of China's new development strategy. He pointed out that the important component of strengthening dialogue and exchange between different cultures as well as the common creation of a harmonious world with different cultures is coexisting.

The official content of the concept was determined at the XVII Congress of the CPC in October 2007. Moreover, it was not only contained in the Chairman's report. It was also included in the charter as a call for "building up the "soft power" of the state's culture". It was stated that culture is becoming an increasingly important element of rivalry in the aggregate state power, while the further development of Chinese culture should be accompanied by an increase in its international influence [111, c.740]. Chinese researchers point out that traditional Confucian values formed the basis of the new concept.

The ideas of a "harmonious world" are attractive according to Chinese scientists for many countries, since they oppose the American direction of university polarity and demand the creation of a global, uniform space while preserving the diversity of cultures. Western philosophy looks at the world after the principle of objectivity by Prism "us and another", while traditional eastern philosophy looks at the world order from the point of view of the formula "we and others", after the principle of subjectivity.

The idea of constructing a "harmonious world" is illustrated by five fundamental principles. One of them is cultural: the formation of conditions for expanding cultural exchanges, respect for cultural diversity. The content of the concept was presented in a report by President Hu Jintao. The report also asked the Chinese leader to pay

attention to his cultural past: the wisdom of his forefathers. Particularly, the thoughts of Confucius, they stress the necessity for hospitality and tolerance. In Hu Jintao's point of view, only this way and by joint attempts of all states a "harmonious peace" will be formed.

Professor Liu Zaiqi, Director of the Institute for the Study of Russia and Ukraine at Wuhan State University, formulated a global goal that the PRC has achieved through the concept of "harmonious peace". In his view, "China for the first time acted as a representative of the common interests of the world. As a result, the status of China as a subject of the ideology of world development is affirmed" [112, c.152].

China attempts to demonstrate the world the idea that China not only expands its world status, but also wants to construct harmonious cooperation with all states. The notion of harmony that comes from ancient times, is part of the strategy of "Soft Power" from China and exists to achieve inner and outer harmony.

The ideological continuation of the draft of the "harmonious peace" was the draft of the "construction of a powerful cultural state". In plenary session 6 of the central committee of the communist party in October 2011 a document of the central program took place: "Decisions of the central committee of the communist party to some important questions of the deepening of the reform of the cultural system and the promotion of the development and well-being of the socialist culture" was accepted. This is indicated to the fact that culture takes an ever more important place in rivalry between countries. Large states consciously build "Soft Power" to increase their international competitiveness. In a resolution of the plenary session of the central committee of the Communist Party of China it was indicated, in addition, that "Chinese culture after abroad goes, the international influence of Chinese culture has to increase and show a new image of reforms and frankness of China to the world" [113]. Turning China into a "powerful cultural state" within the framework of the strategy, important tasks of promoting Chinese culture will "go out" resolutely.

Thus, having overcome "external cultural closeness", the China has become one of the countries capable of offering the world its own cultural values and ideas for further world development in the form of "cultural universals". The key goal of China's foreign cultural strategy at the present stage of development is to popularize Chinese culture, translate Chinese cultural values outside and position China as a "powerful cultural state."

The PRC's cultural strategy is aimed at spreading Chinese culture around the world and at creating the most complete picture of the spirit of the Chinese nation and traditional values. Culture is widely used by the CCP as an element of "soft power" in the formation of a positive image of the PRC in the modern world. The authorities are making efforts to distribute Chinese literary and film products abroad, making Chinese culture attractive to consumers around the world.

The importance of modern cultural strategy is also evidenced by the fact that since the beginning of the XX century strengthening the cultural component of the PRC is closely linked to ensuring the national security of the state.

One of the most effective conductors of the "soft power" of the PRC is international scientific and educational projects. The modern education system of the

PRC looks representative and confident both at the country level and at the level of the international environment.

The development of science and education is of priority importance at the present stage of development of the NIS of the PRC. In addition to a well-thought-out internal educational policy presented by various projects (“Program 211”, “Program 985”, the revival of traditional Chinese academies, the creation of a network of “think tanks”, etc.), the educational vector as a conductor of the “soft power” of culture is directed and to the outside world, where it is represented by various practices.

PRC think tanks occupy a worthy place among the world scientific elite; in addition, the government entrusted them with the solution of a number of important strategic tasks. The rapid growth of the economic and military power of the PRC has raised concerns of the world community about a possible “Chinese threat”, and in recent years, these fears have spread to other areas of security, including energy, environmental, and food. At present, it is precisely on the Chinese think tanks, which are actively participating in international cooperation, that the country’s leadership has assigned the task of opposing foreign information attacks that damage the image of China. In the opinion of Chinese researchers, the think tanks of the PRC should contribute to the improvement of the “soft power” of culture, i.e. “the resilience of the political and economic system and the country’s foreign policy system”, which in the modern world is no less important than economic or military power. For this, think tanks are called upon to actively promote the “Chinese development model”, especially in developing countries, as the largest US analytical centers [114, c.44].

A specific practice of realizing the “soft power” of Chinese culture in the international environment is also the revival of the traditional Chinese academies “Shuyuan”. They contain impressive resources to increase the “soft power” of Chinese culture, not only at the domestic level, but also in the world. Already today, tourist routes to the ruins of ancient Confucian academies and to the existing Shuyuan academies are in great demand not only among Chinese citizens, but also among foreign tourists. On the websites of the operating academies, anyone interested can find a schedule of excursions around the university, introductory lectures and directions of interesting places, most of which are available in both Chinese and English. Such an innovative mechanism solves several problems at once, including stimulating interest in China’s traditional culture abroad.

The search for innovative practices to expand the cultural presence of China in the world is associated with the need to overcome the high cultural discount of Chinese culture in the world. The reason for the low popularity of Chinese culture in the world, according to Yan Shufang, is “the language barrier, the specific lifestyle of the nation, the mentality and cultural values, ethical concepts that form a kind of institutional system. All this greatly complicates the perception of the internal content of Chinese cultural products” [115, c.14].

The efforts of official Beijing to popularize the Chinese language are realized, first of all, through the international cultural and linguistic projects. Organizations engaged in their activities directly on the territory of foreign states are involved in their work. The organizations created within the framework of such projects purposefully work “on an external vector”, translating the Chinese identity outside. Among such

projects, it is necessary to single out the most ambitious ones: the project to create a network of Confucius Institutes and Classes and its continuation is the project of the international Chinese Language Bridge Competition, the ChineseLanguageBridge.

Both designated projects are organized by the China State Chancellery for the Promotion of the Chinese Language Abroad, established in 1984 under the Ministry of Education of the PRC. Confucius Institutes and Confucius Classes are training centers, the main declared activity of which is the teaching of the Chinese language as a foreign language. But in addition to the fact that the centers play one of the main roles in popularizing the Chinese language in the world, they, of course, are the translators of the national Chinese identity in those countries in which they operate.

Some elements of Chinese spiritual culture have long been prevalent, primarily within the “Confucian” world of East Asia, however, the situation began to change dramatically from the mid-2010s [116, c.205].

The first Confucius Institute was opened in November 2004 in Seoul, which is traditionally regarded as one of the centers of Confucian culture. In the same year, agreements were signed on the establishment of Confucius Institutes with the University of Maryland (USA) and Stockholm University (Sweden). From this moment, consistent large-scale work begins on the creation of Institutes around the world. Next year, in 2005, 16 Institutes were opened in 15 countries. At the end of 2006, there were 122 Institutes and 4 Grades in 49 countries. In 2007, Hanban continued to actively create Confucius Institutes and Classes, with a total of 205 and 21, respectively. In the future, the number of institutes increased annually: in 2008, the number increased to 249 Institutes and 56 Classes; in 2009 to 282 and 272; in 2010, up to 322 and 369 (in total, 96 countries were covered by the program); in 2011 up to 358 and 500; in 2012 to 400 and 535; in 2013 to 440 and 646; in 2014 to 475 and 851 [117, c.4].

By 2015, the total number of Confucius Institutes and Classes had grown to an impressive number: 500 and 1000, respectively, and the number of countries covered by the network of Institutes and Classes reached 135. At the same time, Confucius Institutes were opened in 125 countries, including 32 Asian states – 110 Institutes, in 40 countries of Europe – 169, in 32 countries of Africa – 46, in 18 countries of America – 157, in 3 countries of Oceania – 18. Classes of Confucius are open in 72 countries. At the end of 2016, there were 1073 Confucius Classes and 512 Institutes, i.e. in just a year, the number of Confucius Classes increased by 73 units, and Confucius Institutes – by 12. In Kazakhstan now opened and working 5 Confucius Institutions, which promote Chinese culture, traditions, history and Kazakh people has an opportunity learning Chinese language. The first four Confucius Institutes in Kazakhstan were created at Al-Farabi KazNU (Almaty), L.N. Gumilyov ENU (Astana), Aktobe State Pedagogical Institute (Aktobe) and KSTU (Karaganda). As part of the celebration of the 75th anniversary of the University on April 19, 2017, on the basis of KazUIR & WL named after Abylai Khan, together with the South-West University of the People's Republic of China, the opening ceremony of the fifth Confucius Center in Kazakhstan was held.

Hanban issues annual progress reports that publish project development plans. According to the “Development Plan for Confucius Institutes and Classes for 2012-

2020” by 2015, their number was to grow to 500 and 1000, respectively, the total number of foreign students - up to one and a half million, the number of teachers – up to 10 thousand people [117, p.4]. Today it is possible to ascertain the over-fulfillment of the planned indicators both in terms of time and in the number of educational units of Confucius.

As can be seen from the statistics given above, the creation of Confucius Classes is proceeding most rapidly. If the Institutes are aimed at teaching students, then in the Classes they teach young and middle-aged children. Hanban also annually arranges Class students to travel to China during summer vacations.

Such trips during the summer holidays are organized on the basis of one of the new Hanban projects – “Summer School”. The best students of Confucius Classes have the opportunity to go to such camps. The Chinese side pays for tuition and all activities included in the program. It should be noted that in addition to studying the Chinese language, the program of the Summer Schools is full of cultural events. So, foreign students cook traditional Chinese cuisine together with Chinese volunteers, learn Chinese traditional writing, try to master the technique of nodular weaving, or try their strength in traditional Chinese painting “Guohua”, etc.

The continuation of the concept of popularization of the Chinese language and culture was another major project of Hanban – “Bridge of the Chinese language”. This is a national cultural and educational project that is rapidly gaining popularity and expanding the geography of participants. It is called upon to contribute to strengthening the “soft power” of Chinese culture. This contribution is disclosed on several sides. Firstly, it is a platform for spreading the Chinese language in the world; a kind of “window” revealing the appeal of national writing and speaking; a way of socio-cultural strengthening of China; a platform for disseminating modern value ideas of the PRC and, finally, a form of educating foreign “ambassadors of Chinese culture” [118, c.238].

Since 2002, 100 thousand people took part in the project in more than 70 countries of the world. As noted on the official website of Hanban, the project not only contributes to a multiple increase in interest in learning the Chinese language, it helps to improve understanding of China and Chinese culture, represents a real platform for intercultural communication, promotes the recognition of Chinese as an international communication language in the “Olympic Movement” [119].

In order to further popularize the Chinese language and culture in the world in October 2011, Hanban established the creation of a new project – the Internet Club “ChineseLanguageBridge”. The project is a communication platform for all interested people or who studying Chinese language and culture.

In addition to the projects listed above, the site “Hanbut Online Confucius Institute” was created on the Hanban platform. The site has collected a huge amount of information on a variety of topics on the history and culture of China in the form of vivid presentations and video lessons. Separately, we note that the site provides the possibility of paid and free online training (free training involves the use of video lessons, paid – a lesson with a tutor-native speaker through video communication). The Site also provides platforms for communication in Chinese in the form of forums and microblogging, an electronic library for registered users, and an electronic resource for

teachers. In addition, this Internet resource contains reviews of scholarship holders of the “ChineseLanguageBridge” competition, participants of Summer Schools, which are grouped by country and reflect the various events of these projects through the eyes of direct participants.

It is also important that the main site, Online Confucius Institute, is available for reading in 6 foreign languages (English, French, Korean, Japanese, Russian, Spanish).

The scale and consistency of the considered practices of “soft power” of culture, supervised by the Ministry of Education of the People’s Republic of China, aimed at popularizing the Chinese language and Chinese identity in the world, allows to state their consistency, effectiveness and predict an increase in interest in Chinese culture in the future.

In addition to the considered practices of “soft power”, China is transmitting its cultural identity to the world, implementing a number of other cultural and educational projects. One of the indicators of the effectiveness of scientific-educational and cultural-linguistic projects as a practice of “soft power” of the PRC culture is an increasing number of foreign students annually. According to official statistics from the PRC government, there are more than 40 million people studying the Chinese language worldwide [119].

The Government of the PRC, recognizing the importance and potential of this type of international cultural exchange, creates comfortable conditions for teaching foreign students so that they have a positive impression of the Chinese way of life, national culture. Students living in the PRC for a long period of time become carriers and translators of the culture of China, or, as the Chinese themselves say, “Ambassadors of Chinese culture”. Foreigners loyal to China play an important role in creating a favorable image of the PRC in the world, can dispel many of the myths that have been entrenched in China since the period preceding modern reforms.

It is important to note that the PRC government finances a huge number of educational exchange projects, attracting foreign students to receive higher education for free.

But, despite the efforts of official Beijing to support innovative programs to spread the Chinese language in the world and the general increase in the volume of foreign-speaking Chinese, this indicator is significantly inferior in percentage to the English-speaking foreign audience. Therefore, in parallel with the cultural practices examined, the work of the Beijing Foreign Literature Publishing House has noticeably intensified. So, in recent years, the publishing house has released a huge amount of literature in foreign languages, which carries a serious cultural and ideological burden.

The practice of the Chinese “soft power” is also the diplomatic efforts of the PRC: it is on the basis of the establishment of official diplomatic relations that the cultural policy of China in foreign countries is built. Since the beginning of the reforms and opening up, the PRC government has done work to establish official contacts with foreign countries.

Of course, the activities of the state exclusively through diplomatic channels would not have been so successful without the support of various types of media. As an example, it is the development of China Central Television (CCTV) [120]. This is the largest media holding in China, which is represented by 15 channels of various

subjects, has its own Internet resource and print publication. CCTV is not only a state-owned channel, but also performs important functions of spreading the Chinese language and culture outside. The channel broadcasts live in 6 foreign languages (English, Spanish, French, Arabic, Russian, Korean) and in 5 languages of national minorities (Mongolian, Tibetan, Uigur, Kazakh, Korean). It has regional offices in Europe, Africa, North America, Latin America, Central Asia, Korea and Russia. According to the official data of the CCTV website (at the end of 2018), the company broadcasts various programs in 171 countries, and framework cooperation agreements were signed with 70 foreign television structures.

A huge contribution to the popularization of the values of Chinese culture is made by the Chinese online media, which have taken a confident position among the world's information resources. To date, almost all editions of the traditional types of Chinese media have created their sites on the Internet. In addition, the Ki-Thai media have become one of the most active users of social networks. Most of the above-mentioned platforms for spreading the "soft power" of Chinese culture have their own groups and pages on popular social networks around the world (Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, etc.), which, in particular, are popular among ethnic Chinese living abroad.

The desire of the PRC official authorities to maintain the interest of Huaqiao in the Ki-Thai language and culture is realized through the support of cultural and educational projects and organizations uniting ethnic Chinese among them and maintaining a close relationship with their homeland.

Among the important events for realizing the goal of popularizing Chinese cultural brands outside, we can name the International Fair of the Culture and Creativity Industry, which has been held in China since 2006. The fair demonstrates cultural brands and creative works in such areas as broadcasting, cinematography, television, journalism and publishing, animation games, sports industry, cultural tourism, creative design, sights, museums, galleries and works of art. Some provinces represent regional cultural works, as well as the results of efforts to create an industry, culture and creativity park in their province.

International tourism makes a certain contribution to the popularization of Chinese culture. An indirect evidence of the PRC's success in applying soft instruments of influence is the annual increase in the number of tourists. The country in 2018 was on the 4th place in the world after France, the USA and Spain. One of the reasons for the growth of inbound tourism was the active presentation and marketing activities conducted by Chinese tour operators in different countries and regions of the world.

Thus, on the basis of the analysis, the external practices of "soft power" include Chinese culture: international scientific, educational, cultural and linguistic projects, publishing, television and radio projects, and the development of international cultural brands in China. The indicated practices as part of an external cultural strategy are aimed at building a "powerful cultural state" and expanding its cultural presence in the world. The aim of the "soft power" strategy of China is to create an international image of a "powerful cultural power" and expand the socio-cultural space of China.

Conclusions on the second chapter

Comparative analysis shows that the USA, EU, Russia, China uses different instruments and tools in the implementation of “soft power” policy. The US foreign policy mechanism in the use of “soft power” methods and means in two main directions: official and unofficial. Official institutions mean institutions or a system of institutions that organize and maintain the process of exercising political power, ensuring its establishment and maintenance, as well as transmitting political information and exchanging activities between the authorities and other spheres of political life.

One of the main institutions of the American government, implementing foreign cultural policy, it is considered the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs in the structure of the US Department of State, which is the institution that has primary responsibility for the development of foreign policy of the United States. Under the “unofficial” institutions for the implementation of “soft power” refers to the uncontrolled flow of American culture, which is directed by the United States through media channels to the whole world. Such leverage is indirect, but extremely effective.

The EU is not a state unit and European “soft power” means “collected or coordinated power”. Therefore, the European “soft power” cannot be regarded as the power of individual nation states. European “soft power” characterized as “attractive power”. Government, culture, and information stand out as objective indicators of “soft power” technology, education.

Russia’s “soft power” is founded on the promotion of the cultural and historical heritage. It is also based on increasing living standards in the country, communication with the Russian-speaking diaspora outside the country, using conventional and modern institutions for “soft power” realization.

For over a decade, Russia is attempting to fix particular practices and norms connected with the realization of “soft power”. Moreover, there are special organizations that oversee implementation of functions within related activities. Thus, we can talk about the existence of institutions for the implementation of “soft power” in Russia. It is necessary to pay attention to such an instrument of Russian “soft power” as the “Russkyi Mir” public fund, Rossotrudnichestvo, A.M. Gorchakov Public Diplomacy Support fund, which attribute to the cultural and educational factor.

China’s modern cultural strategy at the international level is being implemented through building a dialogue of cultures, which involves improving mutual understanding between countries. One of the tools of this strategy was the “soft power” of Chinese culture. In this context, Chinese soft power which performs a translational-transformational function is a new communicative strategy. The translating function is manifested in the desire of the PRC to increase the attractiveness of Chinese culture worldwide. And transformational is aimed at positioning the image of a “powerful cultural power”. Moreover, it seeks the dissemination of the values of a “harmonious world” as a resource of civilizational development. So, it is evident that, the modern cultural strategy of China at the international level is built in the traditional pragmatic way. Furthermore, it is reduced to the desire to expand the cultural presence of the PRC in the world in the future. In foreign practices of realizing the soft power of culture, the

PRC is building its strategy from the standpoint of multiculturalism and the dialogue of cultures.

Examining the available resources, tools, and strategies of soft power policy, the author of the dissertation concludes that the medium-term prospects for the development of the presence / influence of soft power subjects are different:

The EU remains a geopolitical priority for Ukraine and an economic priority for Kazakhstan and Azerbaijan. The Eastern partnership will remain important as an instrument of EU soft power. Economic cooperation with Brazil will be expanded.

Nowadays, Russia is changing its tactics of using so-called “soft power”. The purpose of these changes is to advance Russia's interests abroad more effectively. It is hoped that Russia will no longer focus solely on exhibitions, supporting cultural and linguistic centers, and working with civil society in other countries to strengthen existing information and communication channels or create new ones. more cash.

Russian experts openly specify that Russian policy will move to the area of quality of life and protection of human rights. In this sense, it is noteworthy, that the agency was directly subordinates to the President (now it is accountable to the State Department) and a separate state agency was created to realize projects and funds for its promotion. By creating such a structure, it will be possible to raise funds more freely. This is the case, for example, in Germany, where the Federal government has established the German Society for International Cooperation (in the form of a limited liability company).

The influence of US soft power in the CIS region has a synergistic effect on the efforts of European countries. It is obvious, that economic reasons determine the US interest in Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan. However, the US and China may come to the conflict when it comes to the integration with Vietnam and Southeast Asia. This is due to the fact, that in the nearest future more attention will be paid to developing cooperation with these countries. The US position in Central Asia generally remains the same.

China's interests are expected to be actively promoted in Central Asian countries. This is certainly due to their geographical proximity and China's interest in the region's resource opportunities. In Southeast Asia, China may face resistance from the United States in creating a soft power resource.

3 CULTURAL-HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION AS THE MAIN TOOL AND INSTRUMENT OF KAZAKHSTAN'S "SOFT POWER" POLICY IN THE GLOBALIZING WORLD

3.1 Mediation in conflict resolution as a key success of the humanitarian component of "soft power" of the Republic of Kazakhstan

Forming a positive image of Kazakhstan in the context of the international transformation of the global world order is one of the fundamental goals of Kazakh foreign policy. Over the years of independence, Kazakhstan has accumulated a lot of distinctive experience and enhanced mechanisms that need profound understanding and the construction of other successful works to consolidate a place on the world scene. In the meeting with representatives of the diplomatic mission in Akorda, the First president of Kazakhstan, N. Nazarbayev, strongly claimed that Central Asia is in a new stage of development. Thus, in the Elbasy N. Nazarbayev's point of view, it is crucial for multilateral and mutually beneficial peaceful cooperation to be constantly strengthened and developed. Moreover, there is a fundamental need for building cooperation with countries and organizations. N. Nazarbayev believes that "our policy continues to strive for equal cooperation and unites the attempts of our countries to increase the importance of the region in international relations and ensure well-being in the five countries. .. From now on, we will cooperate with them in the global and regional level in which Kazakhstan is involved [121].

In current world politics the priorities of influence from traditional to new models are shifted by different processes, tools and sources of change of government.

It is well-known that conventional tools of impact in world politics are defined mainly by force / power. These include military power, nuclear weapons, force, and economic pressing. In current international affairs these tools of impact are known as hard power. From the other perspective, growing economic achievements, ideological propaganda, and country's cultural-humanitarian attractiveness are known as the tools of "soft power". They are considered as trends in the system of international relations used today.

Another thing that needs to be highlighted is that currently, majority of the countries understand the necessity to upgrade their foreign policy instruments. Politicians and political researchers at the highest political level are working to conceptualize the model of "soft power" of their country. Moreover, the realization of it, is expressed in practical steps. It was already stated in the first Chapter, O. Leonova expresses this notion next way. In her point of view, any country has "soft power". Furthermore, soft power is the sum of two concepts: image plus action (using the tools of "soft power") [71, c.29]. Accordingly, Kazakhstan is no exception.

From the first days of its sovereign history, Kazakhstan has taken a firm course on a multi-vector foreign policy, trying to develop cooperation with all centers of economic power and key geopolitical players. Such a rational policy found an understanding of all and quite naturally contributed to the growth of the authority and weight of the country in the international arena.

Another important recognition of the authority of Kazakhstan is also the negotiations in Astana (current Nur-Sultan) on Syria. Along with Geneva, the capital

of Kazakhstan has become an important platform for dialogue between the opposing Syrian forces. Here a cease-fire agreement was reached in several areas of Syria. Several rounds of negotiations were held, and the preparation of the next round was announced. And although much remains to be done before resolving the intra Syrian conflict, the other is more important – the process of finding ways to resolve continues in a new format, and Kazakhstan is actively seeking its place in the system of international relations. Talks on a peaceful settlement in Astana began in January 2017. The capital of Kazakhstan was proposed in addition to the Geneva site.

Kazakhstan has shown its initiative in searching for answers to the global challenges of our time and the development of new formats of global cooperation. This is evidenced by successful dialogue platforms focused on strengthening regional and global security. The EurAsEC, CICA, SCO and other structures, created on the initiative and direct participation of N. Nazarbayev, have now become active participants in the interstate dialogue and embody the focus of our country on dialogue and partnership.

Kazakhstan's peacekeeping activity is already 20 years old. During this time, Kazakhstani military personnel participated in peacekeeping and security operations in different countries.

The history of domestic peacekeeping began with the creation of the Kazakhstan peacekeeping battalion "Kazbat". It was formed by the order of the Head of State in January 31, 2000. Three years later, Kazakhstan sent an engineer-sapper unit of the Kazbat battalion to participate in peacekeeping activities in Iraq. During the period of peacekeeping activities, nine rotations were made, in which 290 soldiers of the Kazakh army participated in the coalition forces. The main tasks of the contingent were the search and destruction of unexploded ordnance, the equipment of field water supply points, water purification and the provision of medical assistance.

Since the beginning of the mission in Iraq, the battalion has destroyed more than four million explosive objects, clearing 6,718 cubic meters of water. Since 2005, as part of an exchange of experience, instructors of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Kazakhstan trained 572 students from the Military Academy of Iraq. Kazakhstani military doctors were constantly involved in the medical group of the American Delta base, where more than 5,000 representatives of the local population and the coalition received medical assistance – mainly women and children affected by terrorist attacks [161].

The leadership of Iraq expressed great appreciation to Kazakhstan, since the country had participated in operation "Freedom to Iraq" since August 19, 2003, and, despite all the difficulties and crisis situations, remained true to its allied duty. The political leaders of the leading coalition states repeatedly commended Kazakhstan's contribution to stabilizing the situation, ensuring security and peaceful construction in Iraq.

The activities of domestic peacekeepers do not stand still. Since 2014, 11 Kazakhstani officers served for 12 months as part of the United Nations peacekeeping and security mission in Western Sahara and Côte d'Ivoire. It is worth noting that the leadership of the United Nations positively assessed the level of training of

Kazakhstani military personnel and expressed interest in sending more of them to the UN mission [162].

The Ministry of Defense, together with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, is carrying out planned work on training and sending military observers, staff officers and a peacekeeping company of the armed forces of the Republic of Kazakhstan to participate in UN peacekeeping missions. Kazakh peacekeepers hone their professionalism in the course of special tactical peacekeeping exercises. One of them is the Steppe Eagle, conducted by the Armed Forces of Kazakhstan, the United Kingdom and the United States. Since 2003, soldiers from Afghanistan, Germany, Italy, Kyrgyzstan, Lithuania, Nepal, Tajikistan, Turkey and France have been taking part in the exercises [162].

By participating in the Iraq campaign, in the missions of the “blue helmets”, in the International drills, the Kazakhstani military gained tremendous experience. As for the outcome and significance of the mission in Iraq, it, first, confirmed the positioning of Kazakhstan as a regional leader, a firm and consistent partner of the Coalition. A unique experience for Kazakhstan has been acquired in the interaction of multinational forces in real conditions of a coalition operation. Kazakhstan’s participation in peacekeeping activities will undoubtedly provide a huge potential for developing the potential of the country’s Armed Forces, as well as ensuring peace and stability both in the republic and in the world.

In 2015, Kazakhstan adopted the law “On Peacekeeping Activities of the Republic of Kazakhstan”. From now on, the specific tasks and competences of the state in regulating the participation of the country’s Armed Forces in peacekeeping operations around the world are defined by law. According to experts, the law was adopted very timely – during a period of ambiguous and complex international relations. The document worked in unison with the Constitution of the country, aimed at fulfilling international obligations to maintain peace and security in the international arena. The law regulates the procedure for making decisions on the participation of national contingent in a peacekeeping operation [163].

Now Kazakhstan is making another contribution to the development of UN peacekeeping missions by jointly deploying its contingent in Lebanon with India.

Practically every foreign visit of the First President of Kazakhstan is marked by important initiatives causing close attention of the international community and active expert discussion. For example, at the 55th session of the UN General Assembly in New York, N. Nazarbayev raised the question of the need to improve the rules of international law relating to the national sovereignty of states, and taking into account the new realities, determine the limits beyond which the participation of the world community in resolving internal conflicts is legitimate. This formulation of the question is very relevant, since in the West, ideas of the elimination of the national state as a political institution are dominated by the United States [163].

The First President, N. Nazarbayev, has repeatedly expressed the view that peace on Earth will become stronger if the UN cooperates more closely with regional security structures. For example, with the CSTO (Collective Security Treaty Organization) and the SCO (Shanghai Cooperation Organization), of which Kazakhstan is a member. And how not to recall the proposal of N. Nazarbayev to begin the development of a universal

declaration of a nuclear-free world. To this end, it is necessary to expand the legal framework and increase the international control of the IAEA (International Atomic Energy Agency) over the fulfillment of the obligations of all countries in the field of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. N. Nazarbayev proposed to put an end to such a perceptive “philosophy”, which had obviously outlived time. At the same time, he draws attention to the fact that today in the world, total expenditure on armaments grows twice as fast as during the cold war between the USSR and the USA— by 6% per year. They have already reached \$ 1.5 trillion a year. And this is at a time when many global and regional problems remain unsolved around the world. Therefore, he believes, a strategy of peace, a philosophy of creation is necessary. And there is no doubt that every year such a constructive position is gaining more and more supporters and adherents, and Kazakhstan and its leader are becoming increasingly recognizable in the world [163].

At the same time, Kazakhstan is building its foreign policy course, carefully analyzing the emerging international relations. It should be understood that Kazakhstan is not a major player in them. In this regard, Kazakhstan must adequately assess his potential, geopolitical position, and the possibilities of its foreign policy.

In the book “Pod styagom nezavisimosti”, the current incumbent President of Kazakhstan K. Tokayev, who for a long time held the post of Minister of Foreign Affairs in the government, writes that do not match his status. At the same time, it would be unreasonable to close in a circle of one’s own problems and indifferently look at what is happening around [123, c.32].

Based on this, the foreign policy of Kazakhstan is a reflection of the state of modern international relations. Since gaining sovereignty, Kazakhstan has put forward a number of foreign policy principles and with it actions and initiatives.

First, an important principle of Kazakhstan’s foreign policy is multi-vector policy. First of all, it is about ensuring one’s own independence, as well as the ability to make the most optimal decisions by building mutually beneficial relations with all states. This principle implies the search for a balance of power in cooperation with various geopolitical and economic “centers of power”. So, being between Russia, China and the Muslim world, Kazakhstan is developing cooperation with everyone, at the same time developing relations with the world leader – the USA, the largest international market – the EU, as well as the ASEAN countries and Japan. Kazakhstan seeks to develop comprehensive cooperation with all major institutions of international cooperation – international forums and organizations.

Second, strengthening global and regional security. The most important step in strengthening global security was the renunciation of nuclear weapons. Kazakhstan cooperates with various international security organizations, such as the OSCE, the IAEA, NATO and others, acceding to such treaties as the NPT, the CTBT, the INF and other. Also significant was the entry of Kazakhstan into the Collective Security Treaty (CST) system, which is so far the only real instrument for ensuring the state’s external security in the region.

Another step in strengthening international and regional security was the initiative to convene a Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia (CICA), which was expressed at the 47th session of the UN General Assembly.

Third, the development of regional cooperation. In addition to issues of security and multi-vector, as well as taking into account the global trend of economic globalization, Kazakhstan put forward and supported a number of initiatives for regional cooperation, the most significant of which were: the Commonwealth of Independent States, the Central Asian Economic Community (ECSC), the Eurasian Economic Community, the Organization for Economic Cooperation (ECO) and others.

Integration in Central Asia is the most important priority in the development of the states of the region, the creation of a market with a population of over 50 million, the issues of solving security problems, water supply issues and other burning problems.

For integration into the world market in the south-east direction, Kazakhstan has applied for entry into the Economic Cooperation Organization. In November 1992, he was admitted to its membership at an extraordinary meeting of the ministers of the participating States.

The above principles have been a significant factor in the implementation of the foreign policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan. In this regard, it can be noted that the external doctrine of the state meets all the main paradigms of modern visions of international relations, as well as the real situation in the international geopolitical struggle. Thus, Kazakhstan as a whole has created a rather effective model of foreign policy, which is able to adequately respond to the processes and trends in the development of modern international relations.

A significant moment in history, in the development of foreign and domestic policies of modern Kazakhstan was the refusal of Kazakhstan from nuclear weapons.

At the time of the collapse of the Soviet Union, Kazakhstan was the fourth largest nuclear arsenal in the world. After the collapse of the USSR, it was decided to abandon the inherited from the Soviet nuclear potential. However, the rejection of nuclear weapons was not so easy for Kazakhstan. He inherited 104 stationary SS-18 missiles with 1,400 nuclear warheads from the collapsed Union. In addition, 40 TU-95 MS strategic bombers with 240 cruise nuclear missiles were deployed in Kazakhstan [122, c.64].

On May 23, 1992 in Lisbon, representatives of Kazakhstan, Belarus, Ukraine, Russia and the United States signed the five-sided protocol, clarifying the scope of their responsibility for the implementation of the Treaty on the Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms (START) in relation to those strategic nuclear forces (SNF) deployed in the four republics[166]. The Lisbon Protocol also contained the obligations of Belarus, Ukraine and Kazakhstan to accede to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons as non-nuclear-weapon countries. Since February 1994, Kazakhstan became a member of the IAEA and transferred all its nuclear facilities under its control, and in 2006 Kazakhstan, along with other Central Asian countries, signed the Treaty on the creation of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the region in the city of Semipalatinsk contribution to strengthening regional security.

March 21, 2009 the agreement entered into force. The IAEA described it as a real contribution to the implementation of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT), to the global disarmament and nuclear non-proliferation process.

The month of May 2014 was memorized by the event of joining the states of Great Britain, the US, France and the UK to Russia and China at a meeting of the preparatory Committee for the Treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons in New York, to sign the Protocol to the agreement on the Central Asian nuclear weapons zone, and they documented that they did not intend to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons in Central Asia. The fifth regional nuclear-weapon-free zone in the world was established in March 2009 after Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan ratified the Semipalatinsk agreement, which was signed in 2006.

Paragraph VII of the Treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons gives an assurance of the right of states to establish such zones, and the UN has created a definition, main principles and norms for the developers of the relating agreements. All five agreements on the establishment of such zones compel the sides to refrain from the search, development, production, storage and other activities to acquire nuclear explosive devices in the location indicated in the agreement texts. They also request the parties to abstain from assisting other states in such activities in the area. On the other hand, agreements tend to form the right of States to enhance nuclear energy for tranquil needs (for instance, scientific or commercial), on the condition that their nuclear materials and facilities are under the control of the IAEA. These activities help the IAEA guarantee that all measures at proclaimed nuclear facilities serve tranquil purposes [164].

Being a mobile advocate of nuclear disarmament and increasing global nuclear non-proliferation regime, Kazakhstan stands for strong compliance by all parties with the provisions of the Treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. This treaty remains a unique document of its kind, since there is no other international agreement based on an agreement between nuclear and nonnuclear countries. On January 18, 2018, the First President of Kazakhstan N. Nazarbayev put forward a number of initiatives at the thematic briefing of the UN Security Council on the theme “Non-proliferation of WMD: Confidence Building Measures”, including the development of measures to complicate exit from the NPT and the adoption of sanctions for violating countries. Kazakhstan intends to continue the implementation of the initiatives of the First President aimed at achieving by the centenary of the United Nations in 2045 a world free of nuclear threats [168].

On June 28, 2016, during a vote at the UN headquarters in New York, Kazakhstan, gaining 138 votes from 193 UN member states, was first elected a nonpermanent member of the UN Security Council. Kazakhstan is the first Central Asian state elected to the UN Security Council. And so, for the period of two-year membership, in 2017-2018, our country has implemented all the priorities identified by the First President N. Nazarbayev. The world community highly appreciated the responsible and principled position of our republic [169].

According to the official representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Kazakhstan, A. Smadiyarov, the country pursued a fully independent policy on all issues on the agenda and sought to make a constructive contribution to the work of the Council in accordance with the main priorities of activities within the UN Security Council. Our membership was carried out according to the seven priorities outlined in the Political Address of President N. Nazarbayev to the UN Security Council called

“The Conceptual Vision of Kazakhstan on Strengthening the Global Partnership for Building a Safe, Fair and Prosperous World”. These priorities include such pressing issues as non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, settling international conflicts, strengthening security in Central Asia and Afghanistan, fighting international terrorism, achieving peace and security on the African continent, achieving sustainable development goals and reforming the UN [167].

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Kazakhstan noted that a thematic briefing of the UN Security Council on the theme: “Non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction: confidence-building measures”, held on January 18, 2018 became the central event of Kazakhstan’s chairmanship of the Security Council. Following the meeting, a statement was made by the President of the UN Security Council, which for the first time included questions aimed at the implementation of a number of foreign policy initiatives of the Head of State. The ministerial debates on “Building a regional partnership in Afghanistan and Central Asia as a model for the interdependence of security and development”, held on January 19 under the chairmanship of Foreign Minister K. Abdrakhmanov, also became an important event. As a result of these debates, a statement was made by the President of the UN Security Council, designed to enhance the effectiveness and coordination of the activities of interested countries and international structures in the Central Asian region. In addition, from January 12 to 15, at the initiative of Kazakhstan, the United Nations Security Council delegation visited Kabul for the first time in the last seven years, during which 15 meetings were held with more than 120 representatives of all sectors of Afghan society [165].

On September 28, 2018, in the framework of the 73rd session of the UN General Assembly, a Code of Conduct for a Peace Free from Terrorism was adopted, initiated by the First President of Kazakhstan N. Nazarbayev, which aims to establish a global counterterrorist coalition of states under the UN auspices. Today, the number of countries that joined the Code is 76.

One of the brightest legacies of our membership in the UN Security Council was that, for the first time in the history of the Armed Forces of Kazakhstan, a peacekeeping contingent of 120 people from our country was sent to the UN peacekeeping mission in the UN Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL). We view our membership in the UN Security Council, above all, as a huge responsibility to the world community. Our country pursued a fully independent policy on all issues on the agenda and sought to make a constructive contribution to the work of the Council in accordance with the main priorities of our activities within the framework of the UN Security Council.

Kazakhstan became the OSCE chairman after having established himself as a wealthy negotiator between the Muslim and European worlds, as well as the parties to some of the “frozen” local conflicts, initiated and implemented the idea of a peaceful settlement of the situation in Afghanistan. As a result, the peacekeeping and negotiation potential of the country was most clearly demonstrated during the signing of the Summit Declaration in Astana, when Kazakhstani diplomats managed to find acceptable language for Russia and Georgia regarding the status of Abkhazia and South Ossetia for 10 hours instead of the expected one and a half. And also to achieve a similar consensus on the part of Azerbaijan and Armenia on the assessment of the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh. Now Kazakhstan is actively working within the

framework of international organizations, is developing new methods for more effective interaction and makes documentary decisions of international importance. Kazakhstan's position on the world stage is improving every day.

Considered as one of the world's top branding consulting companies, Brand Finance, in collaboration with top specialists in the competitiveness research, IMD and the World Economic Forum (WEF), annually reports the world's top 100 most expensive country brands. The company specialists calculate Brand Strength Index (BSI). This indicator is based on the four components of the country brand. They are the production of goods and services, tourism, human capital, and investment. Consequently, each national brand is assigned a rating between AAA + and D like a credit rating. When assigning this rating, the GDP indicators of large countries are not taken into account in order not to distort, according to experts, the accuracy of the information. The brand "Kazakhstan" in report 2019 is estimated at 167 billion dollars. According to the results of the study, Kazakhstan is located on the 53rd place of the list, worsening its position by several positions compared with 2015. In 2015, the national brand was estimated at \$ 175 billion, taking the 44th place. At that time Kazakhstan was the only country in Central Asia that entered the top 50 most expensive brands [170].

Currently, one of the priorities of foreign policy is to ensure a "security belt" in its geopolitical space, that is implemented through the concept of "soft power" and cultural policy aimed at creating a positive image of the country abroad. Moreover, Kazakhstan intensively takes part in cultural exchange with various countries, specifically with India, Russia, the people's Republic of China and others. Kazakhstan has special cultural and educational centers that create a tolerant attitude to other cultures in the Kazakh society.

Kazakhstan's geographical position, which connects East and West, allows us to assume prompt economic development and political stability, which in the near future will turn the republic into one of the most visited countries in the world, given that it is also called the Main tourist - a product of Kazakh hospitality, originality and tranquility. Creating a positive and attractive image of Kazakhstan as a tourist country in the eyes of potential tourists, holding events to promote the tourism potential of Kazakhstan in the world tourism market, as well as promoting Kazakhstan's tourism service providers with access to international tourism markets are the main priorities that should be taken into consideration in the near future.

Every international exhibition has a huge cumulative impact on the development of the city where it takes place, as well as the development of the entire state. Despite that, for other aims of the international exhibition "Expo-2017" for Kazakhstan, which was discussed by individuals and numerous politicians and the public, experts, journalists and bloggers, this activity affected the image and branding of the country.

The branding task of the state is to create positive ideas about the country, its ability to create its role in global or regional processes, its products, its citizens - the aggregate of all life components of the whole country - and to consolidate. Mostly, the priority of national branding is to reveal data about the country. In addition, branding displays the identification of the country that the population accepts and places abroad. This is an overall complex of interrelated components, including symbols of the state,

which at the same time are connected by images and ideas that make it possible to distinguish this state from all others, to make it grateful and attractive. Thus, the advancement of a national brand performs two main functions: the approval of society and the formation of a common identity; the creation of an external (international) image of the country.

There is no doubt, that the activities of Expo 2017 were an effective image project of Kazakhstan, which increased the country's awareness at the international level. The event “Expo-2017” contributed not only to enhancing the positive image of the country, which is developing dynamically, but also to the establishment of a new image - the state that is set by the technological drilling [131, c. 6].

World scientific achievements in the field of “green economy” and renewable energy sources were presented in Nur-Sultan. The exhibition presented innovative projects, ideas and technologies related to reducing harmful emissions and improving the environment and energy efficiency and access to energy for all, taking care of resources, using slopes, etc. a Significant number of companies and scientists activities within the framework of Expo-2017 - conferences, symposiums, round tables, working meetings, etc. - with the participation of foreign opinion leaders, experts from world analytical centers, copper analysts, employees of foreign diplomatic missions, representatives of international non-governmental organizations, etc. The formation of a new image, of course, strongly influenced Kazakhstan. The cultural events organized as part of the exhibition were very important. Acquaintance of foreign people with the local traditions, culture and acquisitions of the Kazakh people, live communication, conversation, acquaintance with world achievements in music, theater, cinema, etc. We have contributed a positive image of Kazakhstan to the development of “people’s diplomacy” and to the communication of a foreigner with a visitor.

Now the Nur-Sultan has become one of the cities of the world in which similar activities took place, and the central object of the last exhibition is the symbol “Nur Alem”. The successful completion of the Expo in 2017 and the projects that are carried out on its basis, place the Kazakhstan as a state that is set a technological drilling in overcoming the energy problems of the 21st century. The Kazakhstan develops into a country which is best appreciated by the external public and is linked to innovation and technological development in the area of the green economy and the energy of the future.

For multinational Kazakhstan, a balanced national-cultural policy is an essential tool for maintaining socio-political, economic stability and social harmony. Such a policy is impossible without knowledge of the life of numerous nations in their entirety and real manifestations, scientific development of programs of cultural revival: language, folk traditions and customs. The Kazakhstan model of resolving issues of interethnic and interfaith harmony is based on a high degree of tolerance of the Kazakhs, a common historical past of the peoples living with them, friendship and joint work for the benefit of further development and prosperity of their native country.

So, today Kazakhstan is recognized by the world community and became one of the 30 most developed countries in the world, systematically following the Strategy-2050, the Plan of the nation “100 concrete steps: a modern state for all”, and “Rukhani Zhangyru” implementing a number of other programs and projects. The development

of any state is impossible outside the global world space. Since independence, our country has consistently strengthened its status and authority in the international arena. In the process of improving the positive experience of state building and strengthening the country's competitiveness, a modern image of the Republic of Kazakhstan has been formed. It arose and developed on historical, geopolitical, cultural, ethnic, religious, demographic and other grounds. A positive image is important for the well-being and prosperity of our state and for further strengthening our position on the world stage [132, c.11].

In modern conditions, the formation and use of attractive images of Kazakhstan can rightfully be attributed to the most important factors of the country's success in the international arena. The table considers the most important events in formation the country's image on the world stage in the following blocks: political, economic, cultural, sports, moderation and security (table 3.1).

Table 3.1- Most important events in formation the image of Kazakhstan in international arena

Image	The date	Events
1	2	3
Political	1991, December	- On December 8, 1991, the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) was created, the charter of which Kazakhstan ratified in 1993. - Kazakhstan was the chairman of the CIS twice - in 2006 and 2015
	1991, December	Agreement on joint measures for nuclear weapons between Kazakhstan, Russia, Ukraine and Belarus
	1992, March	Kazakhstan became a member of the two largest international organizations - the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and the United Nations (UN).
	1992-1995	Kazakhstan's entry into regional and international organizations (CICA, SCO, CSTO, OIC etc.)
	1994	The signing of the Memorandum of Security Guarantees to Kazakhstan by the depositaries of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons - Russia, the United States and Great Britain
	2011	Kazakhstan's Chairmanship in OSCE
	2011	The Chairmanship of Kazakhstan at the 38th session of the Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs (OIC Council of Foreign Ministers)
	2017-2018	Kazakhstan's Chairmanship in UN Security Council
Economic	1993, April	Holding the World Economic Forum, which brought together more than 100 leaders of major international and national companies, firms and banks from 30 countries.
	2000, October	- in Astana, the heads of state (Belarus, Kazakhstan, Russia, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan) signed the Treaty establishing the Eurasian Economic Community. - Entry of Kazakhstan into the Common Customs Space
	2014, May	Signing an agreement on the establishment of the Eurasian Economic Union

	2015, November	Kazakhstan has become a full member of the World Trade Organization (WTO)
	2018, June	By the initiative of the First President of Kazakhstan, the Astana International Financial Center, located in the EXPO exhibition complex, began to operate
Cultural	1999	Astana, the capital of Kazakhstan, has achieved worldwide recognition. The city was awarded the UNESCO City of Peace Award. This award is awarded to new cities of the planet that have achieved great results in socio-economic, political and cultural development in a short time. Today, the capital of Kazakhstan has become a platform for international political and cultural events.
	2017	International exhibition EXPO-2017
Sports	2002	Entrance to UEFA
	2011, January	Holding the VIIs Winter Asian Games. Kazakhstan won 70 medals, including 32 gold
	2017, January	Holding the Winter Universiade-2017
Security	1994	Kazakhstan, by signing the framework document, became the 19th member state of the NATO Partnership for Peace Program
	2013, February	The first talks on the Iranian nuclear program, in which 5 permanent members - UN states, as well as representatives of Iran, Germany and the EU countries took part. Kazakhstan moderated the negotiations
	2017	Negotiations to resolve the situation in Syria held in Astana

Note – Compiled by the author

A great achievement of Kazakhstan is the country's successes in the international arena, including initiatives in the field of Eurasian economic integration, regional economic and political leadership. Today, Kazakhstan is a member of leading international organizations – the UN, OSCE, OIC, SCO, CIS, EurAsEC, CU, CES, CSTO, OECD and other interstate associations. Over the years of independence, Kazakhstan has established diplomatic relations with 180 countries of the world, presided over such authoritative international organizations as the OSCE, OIC, EAEU, SCO, CIS, CSTO, CICA and the Turkic Council. It should be noted separately the establishment of positive and mutually beneficial relations with individual, most important for Kazakhstan, foreign states and blocs. With the Russian Federation – as one of the leading powers in the world and a neighboring country. With China as a neighboring country and a trade and economic partner with enormous potential, capable of giving even greater acceleration to the economic development of Kazakhstan. With the United States of America and the countries of the European Union – as states that determine the development of the main processes in modern world politics and economics, possessing all scientific and technical achievements, and trade and economic partners.

3.2 Analysis of the main and potential components of “soft power” of Kazakhstan at the present stage

Nowadays a variety of different countries including great powers, regional powers use an instrument of foreign policy such as soft power to achieve their goals in international relations. Though the economic leaders of the world do have enough amount of money to promote their languages, give scholarships for foreign students and grant loans for developing countries, the regional powers or, even more, developing countries which pursues a goal to join the club of privileged states have to allocate funds for the soft power. This chapter examines the main components of “soft power” of the Republic of Kazakhstan, a country, which desires to become a part of the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development and put itself in the line of 30 most developed states. So, what potential resources and tools of “soft power” Kazakhstan has:

1. The main resource of Kazakhstan’s “soft power” is the cultural and historical heritage. The inimitable synthesis of the steppe civilization’s cultures is a kind of a bridge of relationships between great cultures – East and West. Remarkable elements such as traditions and customs, art, science, acquisitions and experience in constructing a tranquil interreligious dialogue, boundless lands—all this marks Kazakhstan.

To the scientists’ point of view, the history of Kazakhstan is directly related to the great Turkic history. Professor S. Bulekbayev provides an example of it. To his mind, historically the Kazakhs who lived in the great steppe, began mostly in the center of Eurasia. It the place where the fundamental historical events that often change the course of world history took place, and they were locked up. They are one of the subjects of conversation of the great Turkic history. Thus, Kazakh history is inextricably connected with the Turkic history. In his study, the author comes to the second conclusion. The first conclusion is that the Turkic civilization is a huge, completely original and autarkic civilization. Moreover, it has been consistently underestimated for ideological reasons. His second conclusion is that the majority of historical materials of the Turkic history, culture and civilization have not yet been fully studied. The peculiarity of the Turkic culture, to which the Kazakhs belong, is that the worldview of the Turks was adapted to recognize the best that other peoples had. Based on this principle and, consequently, their tolerance, the Turks were able to borrow many useful things from other cultures and civilizations. However, on the other hand, they could create their own, which have a sign of uniqueness, originality and self-support. This is our opinion on one of the main principles of the "Soft power" project [133, c.3].

2. The nearest resource – the geographical position of Kazakhstan. Kazakhstan’s “soft power” occupies an Intercontinental position. Kazakhstan is a location where East and West meet. It is the country, where most of The Great Silk Road passes. Definitely, this is a unique sign of the relationship between these great cultures. From this point of view, the Silk Road Economic Belt Project is one of the fundamental projects of the 21st century. Due to its great significance for humanity, it is unparalleled for several reasons. First of all, it connects 42 States of the world by circulation and other relationships. Secondly, to some extent, it changed the architecture of the world economy and world politics. Another reason, it transformed the worldview and nature of international relations (the type of excerpt from the “Big game” project changes to the “Big benefit” philosophy); Furthermore, it opens up new opportunities and

prospects for the development of the economy and other spheres of society to many countries on The great silk road.

The most essential prospects and expectations that are gradually being realized certainly change many concepts of the world economy and world politics. Moreover, they fill them with new content. In addition, the nature of Kazakhstan is very original and attracts both tourists and researchers. As an example, we may say that It is no coincidence that such a popular American portal as The Huffington recommends traveling by mail to Kazakhstan.

Talking about this analysis, it provided 17 places for “epic” travel in 2017. Kazakhstan ranks third in this analysis. In addition, the country is advised to be visited not only by a tourist, but also by a researcher.

3. The success of socio-economic development of the Republic of Kazakhstan over the years of independence has been generally recognized as an inimitable model of intensive advancement of an independent state. These accomplishments are directly related to the identity of N. Nazarbayev –the first President of Kazakhstan. N. Nazarbayev’s phenomenon is an additional resource of Kazakhstan’s “soft power”, which is associated with their salaries in the transformation of fundamental reforms, the features of the political state of affairs, the intellectual and mental signals of the people and the promotion of Kazakhstan’s national brand [134]. “Kazakhstan has an inimitable case: a well - established vertical of power, but the country welcomes foreign investments from abroad -from Russia, Europe, the United States, and China. In other neighboring Central Asian countries, the conditions are worse...”, the article maintains. “Who can live without the USSR: results of the development of the former Soviet republics for more than 25 years” [172]. The Republic of Kazakhstan was able to enhance its economic growth and the welfare of its citizens after experiencing deep crisis since independence in 2000. If the Heritage Foundation in 1998 put Kazakhstan in the ranking of economic freedom on the 136th place in the world, now our country is on the 68th place and is ahead of such Western countries as France and Italy.

Even though, according to World Bank annual report on competitiveness of world economies in 2012 Kazakhstan took 51st place and that motivated Kazakh leader N. Nazarbayev to announce strategy “Kazakhstan-2050” with a main objective to join top 30 developed countries [173]. This aim has become a pivot of further initiatives of the President of Kazakhstan such as EXPO-2017 grounds on the concrete steps undertaken by Kazakh government to join the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development. Furthermore, OECD membership gives unique opportunities for obtaining foreign direct investments which is a core interest of Kazakhstan. One of requirements to enter the privileged club of developed countries is establishment and operation of ODA mechanisms within the country. This reason drove Kazakhstan to create ODA instrument in 2014. In the period of 4 years the country achieved some results being invited to participate in the 25th plenary session on governance of the OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC) in Paris. Kazakhstan for the first time took part in the session concerning the governance in 2018. This was saluted by the DAC members. In accordance with them, it is one more evidence of the deep interest of the Kazakh side in expanding of cooperation both with DAC and OECD.

Today, the Republic of Kazakhstan, having passed a thorny path since obtaining independence from the USSR, shows tremendous successes, both in domestic and foreign policy. Kazakhstan has made a unique way from a beneficiary, becoming a donor for many states.

In 2011, the Republic of Kazakhstan was recognized as a country with average incomes which entailed suspension of official development assistance for Kazakhstan from developed countries. Even though, foreign states continued to invest in infrastructure, as well as enhance the role of the rule of law and civil society in Kazakhstan. During the independence, Kazakhstan helped various countries, and this assistance was diverse: humanitarian, food, technical, etc. According to the UNDP Representative Norimasa Shimomura, Kazakhstan has given assistance to other countries in the amount of more than \$ 300 million after obtaining independence [160]. The creation of a specialized institute that would be mandated to conduct soft power policy of the country was designated in the “Concept of the foreign policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan for 2014-2020”, Concept of the foreign policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan for 2020-2030”. According to the document, one of the objectives of foreign policy of Kazakhstan is assistance for developing countries using the ODA instrument [142]. The new national brand, or KazAID, is established to create further favorable conditions for the successful implementation of programs and development strategies of the Republic of Kazakhstan that fully correspond to the ambitious initiatives to become a donor country [154].

4. The role of Kazakhstan as a mediator in conflict resolution. In this complex situation, the First President of the young country, N. Nazarbayev, became responsible for the whole international policy of sovereign Kazakhstan. According to domestic and foreign specialists, this situation prevented from loads of costs when consolidating Kazakhstan in the world political arena. President’s personal relations highly made a contribution to solving the most important tasks in the organization of Kazakhstan’s foreign policy. Back in 1992, N. Nazarbayev in his work “Strategy of formation and development of Kazakhstan as a sovereign state” postulates that Kazakhstan does not possess the right to focus on small regional problems. In his point of view, this is due to its geopolitical state and economic potential. It is unfathomable for our multinational population and the whole world community. Kazakhstan’s prospect is placed in Asia, Europe, East and West. In case if we carry out this policy, we will be able to eliminate all signs of security threats of Kazakhstan. “Over the years of leadership in Kazakhstan, there were loads of triumphs. These are the chairmanship of the OSCE, CICA, OIC, the voluntary assignment of nuclear weapons, the closure of the nuclear test site, mobility in the search for mechanisms to overcome the Ukrainian crises. participation in the Minsk negotiation process and Junior achievements – Kazakhstan’s election as a non-permanent member of the UN security Council, organization and implementation of the Astana process, implementation of the events of the image Universiade-2017, and the EXPO-2017 exhibition [124].

5. The next strategic assets and privileges of Kazakhstan are Multiculturalism and religious policy. If you cite the figures that were announced at the State forum of the Assembly of people of Kazakhstan (APK), they talk much about the fact that Kazakhstan has organized convenient living for people. In particular, Kazakhstan

provided comfortable living conditions for members of more than 100 nationalities and 17 faiths. Moreover, 962 ethno-cultural meetings, state Newspapers and magazines are issued in 15 languages, and theatrical products are shown in 7 languages. Activities of minor Assemblies work in Kazakhstan's every region. The Assembly of the Kazakh people is a distinctive establishment whose work is aimed at ensuring tolerance, interreligious and intercultural harmony. Over the independence years, he disproved the notion of forming this institution and the state's further development with the postulate that multi-ethnic groups are a weak participant in the state formation. Through years, Kazakhstan's model of a multi-ethnic state under N. Nazarbayev has been developing in favor of our country.

It is also necessary to take into account the policy of Kazakhs' repatriation. This policy is stated as one of the precedence of Kazakhstan's migration policy. After gaining the independence, the conditions for Kazakh cultural enhancement were created. These conditions include special programs, fees and conditions for studying the Kazakh language, everyday life and traditions. These activities, of course, have impact on international processes. In addition, it is essential to form an information and communication spaces for unhindered communication and advancement of Kazakh culture and language.

6. The main direction of the soft power policy of Kazakhstan is the humanitarian aid. First of all, we highlight the assistance for Afghanistan. The ongoing instability in the country affects the stable development within the region. Afghanistan brings threats of drug trafficking, terrorism and extremism therefore Kazakhstani ODA is mainly aimed to tackle these issues and help Afghan population to overcome difficulties of war. By helping Afghan people to recover and rebuild their economy, Kazakhstan government strives to demonstrate its inclusiveness in a process of peaceful resolution of Afghan problem as well as political and economic leadership in Central Asia. The main achievement of official humanitarian development assistance is the agreement between the two republics on cooperation in the field of education signed in 2009. According to this bilateral agreement, Kazakhstan provides grants and scholarships for Afghan students. Moreover, the clauses of the agreement articles contain commitments from Kazakh part to cover travel expenses and accommodation for the entire period of study. A total of 1,000 students will study at universities of Kazakhstan to obtain degrees in various specialties. By this program, Kazakhstan assists in preparation of future Afghan leaders who will serve for the prosperity and peaceful stability of this country. Kazakh government allocated \$ 50 million for implementation of this program [175]. In addition to the field of education, the ODA instrument of Kazakhstan concentrates on other aspects such as infrastructure, humanitarian aid, development of human rights and gender equality while providing with aid for Afghanistan. Kazakhstan adopted a joint action plan of \$ 2 million for the construction of schools, hospitals and roads, as well as \$ 1.5 million for the construction of 4 new bridges in Afghanistan. In 2014, a total amount of humanitarian aid to Afghanistan was \$2 million [176].

Another ambitious project upheld by the Republic of Kazakhstan was a decision to give \$ 2 million for projects supporting the Afghan security forces, since the United States announced that a gradual withdrawal of NATO forces from Afghanistan would

be implemented. The pilot project of KazAID also connects with Afghanistan and determines to steadily increase the economic independence of women in the country. Kazakhstan hosted a regional conference with a main theme of women empowerment within the region On September 5, 2018. During this conference, in her speech Head of European External Action Service Federica Mogherini announced a new €2 million program that will train and educate Afghan women in Central Asia. This program, to be executed jointly by the EU, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Afghanistan will contribute to “empowering them economically and making them more independent” [176]. Another prominent step undertaken by newly created KazAID institution was a two-week workshop in maternal and child healthcare for public health professionals from Afghanistan commenced at Nazarbayev University in April 2018. The aim of the project was to test the Kazakh ODA initiative by building the capacity of the Government of Kazakhstan to design and implement development projects, as well as expanding economic independence and building the capacity of Afghan women. Kazakhstan shares experience and best practices with Afghan colleagues in the field of maternal and child health. During the seminar, the participants learned from leading specialists of the Nazarbayev University Medical School, the National Laboratory of Astana and the National Research Center for Maternal and Child Health. The workshop focused on affordable and easy maintenance of equipment and techniques to enhance the relevance of the knowledge gained during the workshop, taking into account the Afghan context [174].

At a whole, the non-profit corporation “KazAid” was established in 2014 in accordance with the Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan “On Official Development Assistance” of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kazakhstan. KAZAID’s main functions are: the implementation of measures aimed at promoting the socio-economic development of partner countries and improving the well-being of its citizens; provide assistance from the Republic of Kazakhstan to partner countries free of charge or preferentially; assist in solving global and regional problems of sustainable development (problems of poverty, international crime, drug trafficking and illegal migration); development of political, economic, educational, social, cultural and scientific ties with foreign countries; strengthening authority and promoting a positive perception of the Republic of Kazakhstan in the world community etc.

The second major recipients of Kazakhstan’s foreign aid are neighboring countries within the Central Asian region. Kazakhstan proceeds from considerations of the border security and national sovereignty, as well as the use of “soft power” in the matter of resolving, for instance, water disputes in Central Asia. Moreover, Kazakhstan is still playing a dominant role in the region, hence, giving foreign aid will increase dependence of the respective states from Kazakh loans in order to perpetuate comfortable status quo for Kazakhstan that obtains a major foreign direct investments. Despite this fact that the First President of Kazakhstan N. Nazarbayev announced that an issue of rivalry between Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan was over during the meeting with his counterpart Sh. Mirziyev, a risk of new wave of “silent rivalry” for leadership and investments flows is on the ground as Uzbekistan is opening its economy for the world and revising relations with Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan. Kazakh ODA should adequately respond to maintain leadership of the country in Central Asia.

The main objectives of soft power policy in next decades should be enhancing operations of KazAID in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. These countries are vulnerable to political crisis and terrorist attacks therefore Kazakhstan needs to be ready to lend a helping hand in order to conserve internal stability. Kazakh government was active in assisting Kyrgyzstan when a revolution occurred in the country in 2010. During that year, the Republic of Kazakhstan allocated \$ 13 million to restore political stability in neighboring Kyrgyzstan. During the visit of former president A. Atambayev Kazakhstan in 2014, N. Nazarbayev noted that the “brother country” will provide Kyrgyz Republic with \$ 100 million in stages for assisting in joining the EEU [155]. Nevertheless, during the diplomatic row between two states A. Atambayev officially refused to receive this foreign aid from Kazakhstan. Former president announced his abandonment while criticizing Kazakh government, particularly his counterpart N. Nazarbayev, for interfering into Kyrgyz presidential elections held in 2017. Contrary to Kyrgyzstan, the Republic of Tajikistan willingly takes foreign aid from Kazakhstan. Kazakhstan is interested in peaceful development of Tajikistan as another civil war or attempt to establish Islamic caliphate will bring instability and devastation. Kazakhstan understands the geopolitically important place Tajikistan occupies within the region as buffer zone between Kazakhstan and Afghanistan. For the reason of maintaining regional stability Kazakhstan needs to support stable development of the neighbor even two countries do not have common borders. Kazakhstan sent \$ 4.7 million of humanitarian aid to neighboring Tajikistan in 2015 [158]. There was interesting fact mentioned by the Embassy of Kazakhstan in this country that Tajikistan did not indicate Kazakhstan as one of foreign donors in annual report titled “Socio-economic situation of Tajikistan”. This fact also assumes reluctance to recognize Kazakhstan as predominant country in Central Asia by Tajikistan.

The third dimension of official humanitarian assistance of Kazakhstan covers post-Soviet countries, other European and Asian states. Moreover, in terms of political engagement of Kazakh government to resolve sensitive issues within Eurasian continent, Kazakhstan aids plain people of Ukraine to overcome nightmare of the civil war in which the Ukraine was involved after referendum on the Crimean peninsula and changes of political course in favor of close ties with the European Union rather than Russia. Kazakhstan provided the Ukraine with humanitarian aid in the amount of \$ 380 thousand on January 2015 [159]. Kazakhstan supports peaceful resolution of the Ukrainian crisis, upholding activities of the OSCE Special Mission in east of the country. Also, as both countries are familiar with the problem concerning atom, Kazakhstan helps the Ukraine to eradicate consequences of Chernobyl tragedy occurred in the past century. Kazakhstan gave 2 million euros for the construction of Chernobyl protective structures and contributed 3.5 million euros to the Shelter Fund, formed for the needs of people living in the emergency zones near Chernobyl. This fund is aimed to construct shelter near Nuclear power plant.

In addition to Ukraine, the Serbian Government thanked Kazakhstan for the humanitarian assistance given in the amount of 37 million tenge to reconstruct the country after catastrophic flood in 2014. Kazakh soft power played its role successfully in Serbia. During the participation of ENU delegation in the first youth forum of CSTO, where Serbia is an observer, Kazakh students noticed that Serbian citizens associated

Kazakhstan with powerful country within Eurasia and 60% of population with whom they interacted knew name of the President of Kazakhstan. Even President of the respective country A. Vucic appealed to Kazakh government to invest in Serbian economy and highlighted that all conditions would be created for Kazakh businessmen. It means that Balkan country admits a role Kazakhstan serves in Eurasian affairs. It was impossible to assume that any European country would invite Kazakh investors two decades ago. This proves a successful role Kazakh soft power instruments play in the process of promotion of the country.

Nevertheless, Kazakhstan is still unknown country for potential tourists who can bring additional incomes to Kazakh economy. Kazakhstan heavily relies on individual cases of some persons who accomplished in different areas such as sports, music and arts to realize its policy of nation-branding. The state lacks adequate nation-branding program and has almost lost a place of the most attractive place to visit in Central Asia. In this regard, soft power instruments of Kazakhstan should operate to develop a model of touristic country which will help to rebuild economy which heavily depends on resources. This attitude should be taken into consideration while operating in the third dimension because Europeans and Asians are potential visitors of the country.

The fourth, no less important direction of official humanitarian development assistance of the Republic of Kazakhstan is the Middle East, which is stuck in incessant wars and political crises. Modern threats, such as terrorism, extremism and refugee crises, pose new challenges to the national security of Kazakhstan. Hence, the fight against destructive phenomena should be carried out not only by military means, but also soft power. Humanitarian aid to Syria sent to refugees by the Kazakh government was aimed to help civilians affected by the horrors of war. For instance, in 2012, Kazakhstan allocated 400 thousand dollars to assist Syrians through the Organization of Islamic Cooperation. After the negotiations of the Syrian opposition in Astana in October 2015, Kazakhstan kindly provided with 300 thousand euros of humanitarian aid for refugees of the respective country [156]. In this regard, Kazakhstan demonstrates that it is not excluded from global processes and wills to end prolonged conflict of Syria. The core interest of Kazakhstan lies on the desire to eschew appearance of terrorist groups from the Middle East in the country. Therefore, Kazakhstan will continue to assist further de-escalation of the conflicts in the Middle East.

The foreign policy component of the image of a state leader representing his country in the international arena is becoming increasingly important in the interconnected world. Trying to comply with the requirements of international law and the values defended by international organizations, state leaders in one way or another embrace the ideas of democracy and progress and become their agents in their countries.

7. Foreign students today receive scholarships to study at Kazakh universities, with the expectation that these specialists will stay in Kazakhstan after graduation. This is one of the soft power tools in our country's foreign policy. This principle is based on the experience of leading universities in the world. At the same time, we remind that in Kazakhstan it is planned to set up supervisory bodies in all state higher education institutions by the end of 2020 in order to give universities academic freedom. Freedom

and responsibility are the main principles of university management. To strengthen responsibility, a corporate governance system is being introduced and supervisory boards are being created. We have already set them up at 10 universities today, and we plan to set up supervisory boards at all of our state universities by the end of the year.

In Kazakhstan, foreigners and stateless persons are also granted an “Abai Kunanbaev” scholarship, which the Admissions Committee recommends for the start of the relevant program. The scholarship is funded by Nazarbayev University and covers the cost of tuition fees. L.N. Gumilyov Eurasian National University is the developer of the Abay center program and is considered the hub for the development of the center’s activities and promoter of this program.

The five-year education program for young people in Afghanistan has trained more than a thousand Afghans in Kazakhstan. Every year 100 people entered the country’s higher education institutions. This program has now been completed and reduces the program to 30 Afghans. This should not affect the number of young people in Afghanistan who want to receive training, as they can study not only in Kazakhstan, but also in Uzbekistan, Japan and Europe.

8. Information and communication policy. The implementation of the project “100 new faces of Kazakhstan” in light of the program article of the First President N. Nazarbayev “Vzglyad v budushee: modernizatsiya obshchestvennogo soznaniya” is based on the need, the desire for knowledge, competitiveness, personal growth and professional in society to promote the country’s human capital as key elements in its configuration.

The project aims to streamline the overall simultaneous occurrence of socio-economic, political, moral, religious views, behavioral norms, customs and traditions, values and ideals of the nation using the example of specific stories of people who made a significant contribution to the years of independence Development of modern Kazakhstan.

9. Informal international cultural policy, i.e. its three major components: cinema, entertainment, and media. Movies and entertainment are important elements of informal international cultural policy. Because film and show means are very widely used among different population sectors, they play a vital role in the state’s image formation worldwide.

Formal diplomacy is restricted by the state’s politically ideological nature, and the configuring of the international relations system. Moreover, it restricts opportunities to communicate with unofficial structures. Accordingly, it makes it less efficient. On the other hand, there is Informal diplomacy that engages constructing a communication with other countries with the involvement of informal people. By saying informal people, we mean scientists, journalists, former diplomats, military personnel, etc., making this diplomacy field more versatile. In this regard, an essential role is assigned to different NGOs, whose position is becoming increasingly crucial in the globalization context.

We are familiar, that the process of informatization is also widespread phenomenon. With the transfer to an information society, in addition to traditional media, the dissemination of cultural values and political ideology occasionally occurs. This happens through different global network tools, such as social networks, blogs,

and numerous media platforms. They are becoming widespread with nearly majority population groups in different countries. As an example, there is official statistics saying that in 2019 the monthly auditorium of Facebook, one of the most widely recognized social networks reached 2.50 billion users.

10. Providing support to Kazakhs abroad. Kazakhstan began to carry out serious work on positioning our country and its culture abroad. This is due to the approval by Kazakhstan's Government of an Action Plan to support ethnic Kazakhs abroad for 2018-2022.

So, the plan provides for the development of a scholarship program for training representatives of the Kazakh diaspora in educational institutions of Kazakhstan. In 2019, more than 47 million tenge was spent on this, in 2020–219 million tenge, in 2021 it is planned – 407 million tenge. About 19.2 million tenge will be sent to provide Kazakh schools and Kazakh cultural centers abroad with textbooks and teaching aids in the humanitarian field [177].

If we talk about the results for 2018-2020 the results of Action plan to support ethnic Kazakhs abroad for 2018-2022 during two years (2018-2020), measures were taken to provide legislative support for the development of a scholarship program for training in educational institutions of Kazakhstan for representatives of the Kazakh diaspora; provided Kazakh schools and Kazakh cultural centers abroad with textbooks and teaching aids in the humanitarian direction; provided Kazakh cultural centers abroad with humanitarian literature upon request; preserve the cultural, literary and spiritual values of the Kazakh people, familiarization of ethnic Kazakhs living abroad with the sights of Kazakhstan, with the projects of the multifunctional virtual map “Sacred Geography of Kazakhstan of Nationwide Significance”, the online encyclopedia “Abai Alemi”, the multimedia project “Qazaqstan 3D” , mobile applications “Zheti Kazyna” through the Embassy of the Republic of Kazakhstan; created conditions for cultural and humanitarian ties with the Kazakh diaspora living abroad; conducted a small kuryltai of Kazakhs on interaction with the Kazakh diaspora living abroad etc.

Foreign compatriots will be given special scholarships and quotas for studying at universities of Kazakhstan, they will provide foreign Kazakh cultural centers and schools with national clothes, musical instruments, necessary textbooks, history, language and culture manuals, and children will be sent free of charge to Kazakhstan summer camps during the holidays.

Kazakh centers abroad are culturally much more efficient than our embassies. Diplomatic missions cannot directly interact with Kazakh communities. In this regard, cultural centers cope much better with the task of promoting the image of Kazakhstan and Kazakh spiritual values. They can become our “cultural embassies” abroad.

So, as we have seen, there are many examples of potential “soft power” of Kazakhstan: talented people in the field of culture (rebirth of spirituality and culture), the city of Turkestan – the spiritual center of Turkish civilization (cultural and historical), the international program “Bolashak” (international education), agriculture (food and national cuisine), beautiful nature – Kaindy and Burabai lakes, Charyn Canyon, UNESCO World Heritage Site (tourist value), steppes, Caspian Sea and Eurasian interaction (competitiveness) economically - all this is part of an integral state

capital of Kazakhstan, and if this capital is used efficiently, it builds Kazakhstan’s reputation as a major nation and defines its “soft power” (figure 3.1).

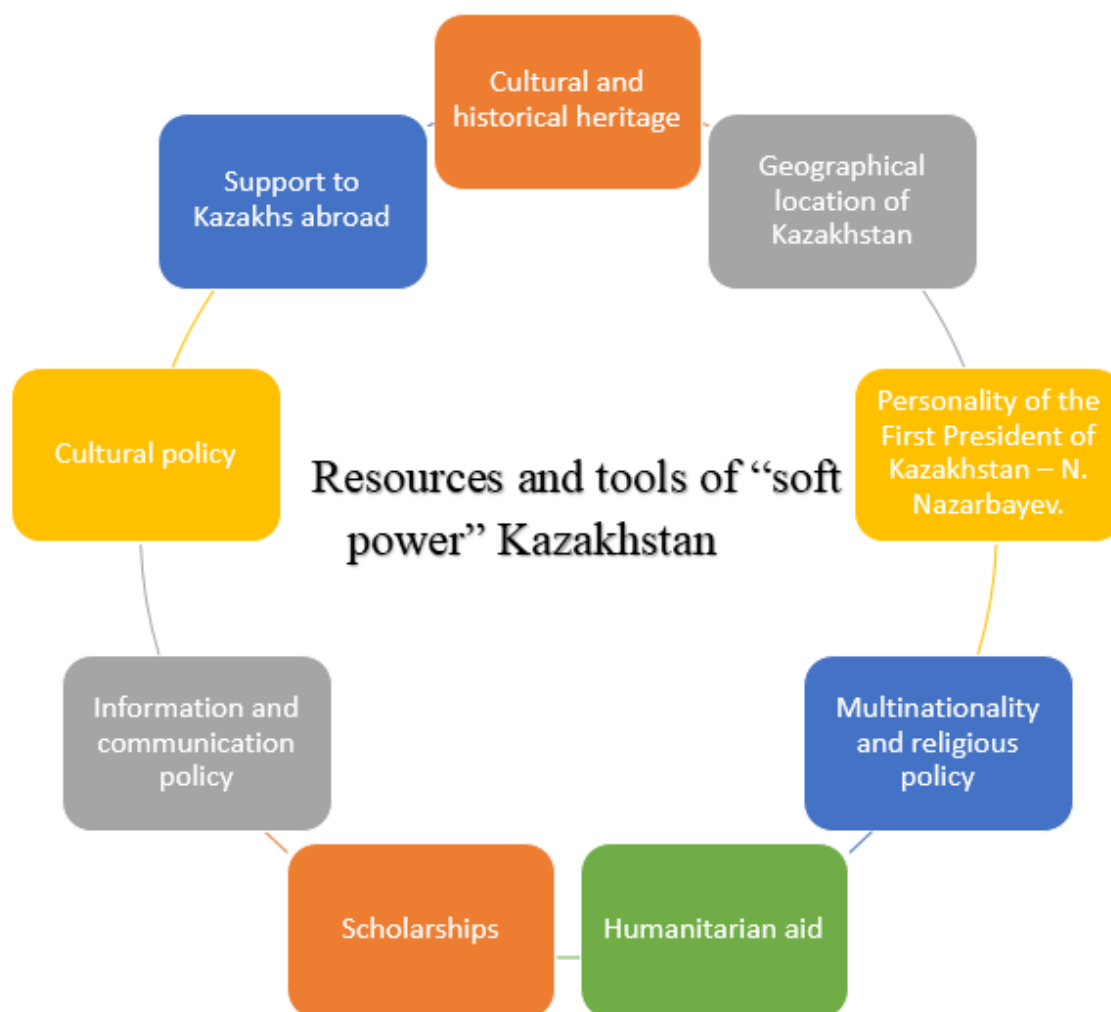


Figure 3.1–Potential resources and tools of “soft power” of Kazakhstan
 Note – Created by the author

Earlier, the First President N. Nazarbayev proposed “Sovremennaya kazakhskaya kultura v globalnom mire” – a project that is part of the Modernisation of Kazakhstan’s Identity program and that is aimed at promoting Kazakhstan’s cultural achievements on the world stage. It acknowledges the potential of Kazakhstan’s vast cultural reserves, from popular Kazakh artists like conductor Alan Buribayev and singer Dimash Kudaibergen, to the “Kyz Zhibek” and “Birzhan Sara” national operas. For example, the worldwide fame of Dimash Kudaibergen has become a powerful factor in the cultural influence of Kazakhstan abroad and the singer’s phenomenon has already acquired the character of the so-called “soft power”.

Some of the country’s cultural diplomacy events have seemed as oriented toward pleasing a domestic audience as building an international reputation, but governments also require a degree of reputational security among their own citizens. The range of film festivals which have been tried, such as the Eurasia International Film Festival, which launched in 1998; “Shaken’s Stars” International Film Festival (aimed at young

filmmakers), which began in 2003; the International Astana Action Film Festival (the only one dedicated to the action film genre), which ran from 2010-2012; and the Almaty Indie Film Festival, which began in 2017. Such events have even drawn visits from Western film stars. An image of Nicolas Cage as a Eurasia Festival guest looking dazed in Kazakh costume was a brief Internet meme in the summer of 2017. Yet they also reflect an attempt to build Kazakhstan into an international media conversation.

The desire to develop its reputation certainly underpinned the interest of Kazakhstan in international expositions. This began in 2005 with Kazakh participation in the Aichi, Japan Expo. Energetic Kazakh contributions to the Saragossa Expo in 2008 and Shanghai Expo followed in 2010. With a South Korean Expo at Yeosu on the horizon for 2012, Kazakhstan embraced the notion of hosting an expo as a mechanism and platform to engage with the world. In 2011, the country launched its bid to host the 2017 Expo in Astana. In the summer of 2012, during the run-up to the voting for the 2017 host city, Kazakhstan delivered a spectacular contribution to the Yeosu Expo. Although the theme of oceans was unpromising for a landlocked country like Kazakhstan, the country finessed the issues by focusing on traditional music and dance. Astana's eventual bid beat out that of Liege, Belgium in the voting that autumn. The Kazakh contribution to the Milan Expo of 2015 was even more accomplished. The pavilion included a traditional music and art performances (including live sand painting), a virtual reality over-flight of the country, a feature of agricultural difficulties such as desertification and an excellent restaurant with horse meat proudly atop the menu.

“Sovremennaya kazakhskaya kultura v globalnom mire” is another string to Kazakhstan's bow. The nation seeks to be recognised not only for its oil reserves and conflict mediation skills, but for its cultural successes as well. This will be achieved through a more targeted approach in promoting culture abroad; increased state investment in encouraging the creation of cultural assets; and greater use of innovative and technological platforms and channels. Kazakhstan has set itself an ambitious goal of becoming a top 30 global economy by 2050. The value of “Sovremennaya kazakhskaya kultura v globalnom mire” in meeting this goal shouldn't be underestimated. It is with an understanding of soft power – and how to deploy it effectively – that Kazakhstan will continue to achieve its objectives, both at home and abroad.

To make conclusions, Kazakhstan is on the way to enhance a comprehensive approach of using soft power to achieve its foreign policy goals. The bulwark of future development of Kazakhstan connects with transformation of economy, according to the National Program Kazakhstan-2050 and maintaining stability in Central Asia, Eurasia and the whole world. Also, it is crucial to understand as if economic situation concerning devaluation of tenge and continuation of confrontation between Russia and the West which definitely affects Kazakh economy as Kazakhstan is a member of the Eurasian Economic Union it will be difficult task for Kazakh government to keep on giving aid and grants to foreign countries as public opinion in the country will be concerned with own welfare. Nevertheless, further allocations for the objectives of soft power will have a long-term effect on not only economy, but also security as well as prosperity of the country. Moreover, this research showed that developing countries

could enhance its own program of soft power. Despite this fact, Kazakhstan needs to concentrate on developing nation-branding instruments to become one of the 50 most developed states.

3.3 The influence of culture and education as a factor of “soft power” on the creation of a positive image of Kazakhstan in the international arena

Kazakhstan, like other states that want to raise the level of their own geopolitical subject, can through its humanitarian, cultural and educational potential, ensure the effectiveness of soft power instruments in the long term. The increasing importance of education in soft power tools in the international arena is due to the changing modern world order, where competition is gaining a mental, cultural and civilizational dimension, with an emphasis on cultural influence, on creating an attractive image of the state. And cultural and educational programs are one of the most frequently used and effective.

The training of international students is followed by the dissemination of the language, values, humanitarian mores, and state worldview in which learners' study.

Providing educational services to international students is one of the most essential “soft power” tools of the state. The main benefit of educational services provision over the rest of economic and political toolkits is the skill to impact the establishment of foreigners' values and worldviews, that is, the confrontation for future elites' minds of nearby states.

It has already been postulated that educational exchanges are the fundamental basis for setting and enhancing relations at the human level. Therefore, an amount of foreign scientists claim that the exchange educational programs realization leads to the establishment of long-term relations at the expense of society, and that it is primarily about involving learners to progressive and reputable specialties that enable us to expect that over time they will take leading positions in their states' political and business circles. It is clear that higher education in any country, in this case Kazakhstan, can act as an effective tool of “soft power” only if the universities providing them meet the quality criteria. Foreign students are an integral part of the modern education system in Kazakhstan. Foreign students are the guides of the Kazakh language and traditions of the Kazakh culture in their countries.

As a good example is Kazakhstan's program of aid to Afghan youth – Afghan youth got the opportunity to study for free in professions that are in demand in the national economy in the best universities in our country. Kazakhstan has provided versatile assistance to Afghanistan. Our country has launched an educational program unprecedented in scale in Central Asia for training Afghan citizens in Kazakhstani universities. In accordance with it, from 2010 to 2018, it was planned to educate a thousand Afghan students in Kazakhstan. This program aims to provide Afghan youth with the opportunity to receive a quality education and to make an important contribution not only to the rehabilitation process of this country, but also to reducing the spread of the ideology of extremism and terrorism.

This program has already finished, but Kazakhstan with partners, including the European Union, are extending it from next year with an emphasis on women. Training is conducted not only for students, but also for existing specialists. In April 2019

women from the field of medicine came to study the experience of Kazakhstani colleagues and technology in obstetrics. According to the international agency Statista, Afghanistan is the country with the highest infant and maternal mortality rates. But the problem is not only in the poor equipment of medical institutions –but it also aggravates the situation and the situation of women in this Muslim country. Composing almost half of the population, only 12% of them can read and write. Their earnings are also half that of men.

Moreover, the project of a scholarship program for foreign citizens “Education in Kazakhstan” has been launched in 2019. It is developed by the ministry of education and science. 160 grants have been allocated for student education. This was stated by participants in the regional forum “Internationalization of Education”, which was held in Almaty. Over 8 years, within the framework of short-term academic mobility programs, 14 thousand Kazakhstani students received the opportunity to study in foreign universities. In turn, domestic universities accepted about 4 thousand foreigners during this time.

The quality and accessibility of education is a key factor in the competitiveness of Kazakhstan and the success of its development in the context of the unfolding 4 industrial revolution. Today, Kazakhstan has entered the final stage of modernizing education in line with global trends in accessibility, improving the quality of educational content, improving infrastructure and material and technical base, technical equipment, introducing new technologies with the aim of creating a highly educated intellectual nation. The success of modernization of education in Kazakhstan is recognized in the UNESCO Education Monitoring Report of 2017, according to which the country entered the four leaders. The current stage of world development is determined by the rapidly developing processes of the Fourth Industrial Revolution, in which the role of human capital is becoming increasingly stronger. The most important component of human capital is education, its accessibility and quality.

Today, in connection with the global processes of the development of a new scientific and technological revolution, the role of education is growing. “Nowadays, the competitive advantages are no longer determined either by the size of the country, or by rich natural resources, or by the power of financial capital. Now everything is decided by the level of education and the amount of knowledge accumulated by society” [139, p.27]. From the category of social expenditures of the state, education has become the main factor in economic growth, and investment in education has become a contribution to the country’s better future. According to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), an increase in the duration of studies for residents of a particular country by only one year leads to an increase in its gross domestic product (GDP) by 3-6%. A 1% increase in spending on education leads to an increase in the country's GDP by 0.35%. For a long time, world practice considers public spending on the development of education as a very profitable investment. Therefore, in the Address of the President of the RK to the people of Kazakhstan “Rost blagosostoyaniya kazakhstancsev: povyshenie dokhodov i kachestva zhizni” (Growth in the welfare of Kazakhstanis: improving income and quality of life) it is provided: “Within 5 years, it is necessary to bring the costs of education, science and healthcare from all sources to 10% of GDP” [139, p.28]. According to the United Nations Human

Development Reports in the education category, aspects such as coverage and access to education, its quality, as well as the level of education of the economically active population are evaluated; in global competition in the conditions of Revolution 4.0, countries that systematically promote their educational potential and improve its quality win. Today, it is the quality of education that is becoming the leading trend in world development. From the first years of independence in the Republic of Kazakhstan, the reform of education was aimed at creating a training system that is consistent with international best practice and covers all levels – from preschool to higher and postgraduate.

Education is one of the most important priorities, which is enshrined in all government documents and strategic programs. The First President of the Republic of Kazakhstan N.Nazarbayev has special and exclusive attention to education issues. The leader of the country emphasizes: “Knowledge and professional skills are key guidelines of the modern education system. Kazakhstanis must become a highly educated nation in the world; otherwise we will not achieve the goals that we set” [178]. In the Address of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan dated October 5, 2018 are called the most important component and the key to success of the state. The main goals and objectives of the development of education are formulated in the State Program for the Development of Education of the Republic of Kazakhstan for 2011-2020, they are: “improving the competitiveness of education, developing human capital to improve the material and spiritual well-being of citizens, sustainable economic growth by ensuring the availability of quality education for everyone” [152]. As a result of efforts to develop education, Kazakhstan in the ranking of human development in 2017 was included in the list of countries with a very high level of HDI, which is a significant achievement. In the category “education”, the country showed rather good results, the literacy rate of the population exceeded 99.7%. According to the Education Index in the World Countries (Education Index), which is a combined indicator of the UN Development Program for 2015 and published in 2016, Kazakhstan took 39th place among 188 countries of the world [179, p.76]. The index measures the country's achievements in terms of the level of education of its population in terms of the adult literacy index (2/3 of the weight) and the index of the total share of students receiving primary, secondary and higher education (1/3 of the weight). In the final Index, these indicators are summarized and standardized in the form of numerical values from 0 (minimum) to 1 (maximum). In the Education Index 2016, the indicator of Kazakhstan was 0.805. Australia took the first place in the Rating with 0.939. In addition to Australia, TOP-5 includes Denmark (0.923), New Zealand (0.917), Norway (0.916) and Germany (0.914). The United States is in 8th place, Britain closes the top ten. Of the post-Soviet countries, Lithuania has the highest rate - 14th place, 16th place in Estonia, 25th place in Latvia and 26th place in Belarus. Russia with an indicator of 0.816 took 34th place. Among the post-Soviet countries, Kazakhstan takes 6th place, slightly ahead of Ukraine, which took 40th place in the overall ranking. Among the countries included in the Eurasian Economic Union, Kazakhstan ranks 3rd after Belarus and Russia. The gap between the leader of the ranking Australia and Kazakhstan is 0.134. And between our country and China (108th place) - 0.174. In the Global Competitiveness Index 2015-2016 of the World Economic Forum (WEF),

Kazakhstan took 42nd position among 140 countries of the world [179, p.61]. Education and science in this ranking are evaluated by 12 indicators. In 8 of them, the country has made progress. This applies, first of all, to such indicators as the quality of the education system and research organizations, access of schools to the Internet, access to research and educational services. Significantly higher are the results of Kazakhstan, noted in the annual Report of UNESCO on monitoring education for all for 2017, according to which our country is in the top four of the leading countries according to the Education Development Index (IRO). The Republic of Kazakhstan achieved high positions in the ranking as a result of compulsory and free pre-school education and eleven-year secondary education, 100% coverage by secondary education and the absence of gender discrimination.

In 2017, the number of state organizations of technical and vocational education amounted to 454, in which 281.9 thousand students were enrolled. In 2017, the number of people accepted into these educational institutions amounted to 101.2 thousand, 85.4 thousand people graduated [179, p.54]. In the Address of the First President of the Republic of Kazakhstan the task was set: “to update training programs in technical and vocational education with the involvement of employers and taking into account international requirements and digital skills. It is necessary to continue the implementation of the project “Free Vocational Education for All” [152]. This project will create conditions for the social integration of youth; will become an “elevator” to a better future. To date, the implementation of the project has begun in all regions of Kazakhstan, the first working profession is available free of charge to everyone. Another key trend of our time is the increase in enrollment in higher education, which is growing particularly rapidly in countries with developed economies. According to UNESCO, the number of students in the world over 40 years has increased 6 times. In Kazakhstan in the academic year 2017-2018, the number of universities was 122, in which 496,209 students were enrolled [138, p.5].

Gross enrollment in higher education in 2017 was 54.29%. Compared to 2000, this indicator grew by 16.53 points. This is a rather high indicator, but still insufficient, given the needs that are developing in trend 4 of the industrial revolution of the economy. The dynamics of changes in the gross enrollment of young people in higher education in Kazakhstan demonstrates strong volatility. In 2000, this indicator had the smallest values, in 2005 - the maximum (57.16%). By 2010, it fell to 49.5, by 2015 - to 48.44%. In 2016, there was an increase of 2.7 points, in 2017, growth continued [138, p.6]. As a transition to a qualitatively new level of higher education is taking place, it is likely that the percentage of enrollment in them will become a long-term trend. A key area in the development of higher education in Kazakhstan in line with global trends is the quality of training. The number of grants for specialties in demand in the conditions of the 4th industrial revolution was increased in the country. Only those universities that provide high quality education should remain on the educational market, and the criterion for the success of the university is the provision of employment and employment of graduates. The First President of the Republic of Kazakhstan N.A. Nazarbayev said: “Only those that provide high quality education should remain on the market. It is important to develop partnerships with leading universities in the world, attracting the best foreign top managers according to the

experience of Nazarbayev University. I consider it necessary to create a new regional university based on the existing educational infrastructure, following the example of Nazarbayev University” [152]. Further development of higher education in Kazakhstan in accordance with world trends will be carried out along the path of internationalization, close integration with science, production, business, massification and high quality that meets the best international standards. Thus, the high quality and accessibility of education at all levels are key factors in the country’s competitiveness and success. Today, Kazakhstan is modernizing education in order to become a society with high quality human capital in the 21st century, a highly educated and intellectual nation with the knowledge, skills and competencies to build a better future.

Moreover, we need to consider that currently the race between national University systems and universities has significantly increased. Nearly all universities take part in the competition for the top candidates. For example, in Kazakhstan, universities compete not only with each other, but also with international universities, including elite educational institutions in the United States and the UK, where cost for education is not quite cheap, as well as with universities in Central and Eastern Europe, where cost for education, on the contrast, is affordable.

According to the data of the Center for International Programs, 14 thousand foreign students are studying in Kazakhstan, by 2020 it is expected that their number will increase to 50 thousand.

Foreign students are interested in Kazakhstani education. Kazakhstan also pays significant attention to the development of educational tourism and attracting foreign students.

A Central Asian educational hub is being created in Kazakhstan. The Center for International Programs attracts foreign students at the annual Days of Kazakhstan Education in Central Asia. For instance, on April 9 (2019) the educational exhibition began in Uzbek city of Navoi, where 25 leading universities of Kazakhstan were represented there.

According to the Center for International Programs, of the 14,000 foreign students in Kazakhstan, the majority are citizens of Uzbekistan (3,683 students), 3,290 are from India, 1320 are from Turkmenistan, 1290 are from China, 1026 are from Kyrgyzstan. The leaders in international education are still the United States, Great Britain, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, Germany and France. They account for more than 60% of mobile students. In addition to financial benefits, there is another plus.

In order to attract foreign students, it is necessary to improve the educational system by including English. Already today, we may speak about the end of work on institutional assistance for the State program realization for the education enhancement in Kazakhstan for the years 2011-2020, the fundamental mandates of which are trilingualism, Eurasian multiculturalism, communication and technocracy [144]. The government program for the enhancement of languages is conducted in three phases. Firstly (2011-2013), a Set of measures was implemented aimed at improving the regulatory and methodological framework for the next operation and development of languages. As a part of second stage (2014-2016), It is planned to implement a kit of practical activities to introduce new tools and methods in the study and application of the state language, as well as to preserve linguistic diversity. At the third phase (2017-

2020), the result will be united with the help of tracking the demand level for the state language in all spheres of public life, the quality of its correct use and the level of proficiency, while further maintaining positions of other languages. According to the results of the program, the share of the adult population who speak the state language will be 20% by 2014, by 2017 - 80%, by 2020 - 95%. The share of Kazakhs who speak Russian will be at least 90% by 2020. The proportion of the population of the republic who speaks English: 2014 - equal to 10%, 2017 - 15%, 2020 - 20%. The proportion of the population who speaks three languages (state, Russian and English) by 10% by 2014, by 12% by 2017, and by 15% by 2020 [138, p.5].

It is important to mention that in Kazakhstan large-scale financing of programs of external academic mobility of students at Kazakhstani universities has begun. During the academic period, they will be studying abroad at the expense of the state. In world practice, Kazakhstan is the only state that provides funding for academic mobility. Undoubtedly, training programs within the framework of students' academic mobility should be integrated into the multilingual training system. This is an effective way of training multilingual staff, as students of all specialties; all regional universities of the country are involved in the program of academic mobility. Learning in three languages and, as a result, mastering them almost perfectly will contribute to the academic mobility of students, their ability to navigate freely in the international space, in the culture and traditions of different nations.

Internationalization process of University education and its impact on universities regarding globalization may be seen on statistical data. From the data, it became evident that over the past three decades the amount of those who study outside their country (or "mobile students" according to the UNESCO classification) has more than quadrupled (from 0.8 million in 1975 to 3.7 million in 2009). Between the period of years 1975-2004, UNESCO noted three more considerable increases in mobility of foreign students. During the first boom (1975-1980), the whole number of "mobile students" grew by nearly 30% - from 0.8 to 1.04 million people. A sharp increase was seen from 1989 to 1994. Over this period, the quantity of "mobile students" reached 34%. From 1999 to 2004 there was a third rise - almost 41% [180, p.19]. Over the past ten years international student mobility has increased further dramatically. According to forecasts this number until 2020 will reach 5.8 million people and 8 million people - until 2025.

Currently, we can watch the fourth wave of "University education internationalization", which demonstrates the modern globalization and internalization processes of the economy and society. International student mobility is carried out under various programs (in Europe, these are Erasmus, Nordplus and Sokrates programs), it is fueled and can take various shapes: from full-cycle programs at foreign universities to language programs. After the rise of student and international academic mobility, mostly with the help of the activities of specialized export promotion services for training services and academic exchange of teachers and students, such as French Edu France, German DAAD or Egide. Over the past fifteen years, new internationalization forms have emerged along with international mobility of students and University students, and they are actively being enhanced, marked by cross-border mobility of universities or University programs. Software mobility may include, for

example, distance learning courses offered by foreign universities. University mobility involves the opening of foreign branches by universities or the establishment of a fully new University with capital from a foreign University. With the enhancement of globalization and internationalization of education, the social, economic and political role of universities has risen fundamentally. The model of the so-called global research University has become very popular all over the world: “Within its framework, universities are not only involved in the production of new knowledge, but also in their dissemination and use in innovation activities for active participants” [180, p.17]. It is impossible to imagine a modern University without science. It is no coincidence that the Bologna explanation explicitly emphasizes that education should be based on scientific research. This offers that in universities a mechanism should be created to introduce innovative scientific developments as quickly as possible in the training process.

On October 26, 2017, the First President N. Nazarbayev makes a statement and signs a decree on switching to the Latin alphabet, which should be completed by 2025. This has caused a great wave of political debate. For the first time since the collapse of the Soviet Union, the government of Kazakhstan is taking such an unprecedented step. But among the many arguments in favor of transferring the Kazakh script to the Latin script, the main and decisive ones are strengthening the national identity of the Kazakh people. In early 1920s, N. Tyuryakulov, the Chairman of the board of the Central Publishing House of the Peoples of the East (Tsentrizdat), member of the Presidium of the All-Union Scientific Association of Oriental Studies, defended the Latin alphabet and argued: “We cannot answer the question without careful study endure, we will not forcefully introduce the Latin alphabet. Cultural progress cannot be delayed because people are not used to it. It is necessary to switch to the Latin script. From a printing point of view, it is more convenient and cheaper for us” [184].

As the cultural history of a number of modern nations shows, writing is no less important for the formation of national identity than the language itself. For Chinese, hieroglyphs are the cultural code that unites the Chinese nation, the various parts of which express themselves in different variants of the spoken language, which is a significant obstacle to oral communication. For Russians, Georgians, Armenians, Jews, Arabs, the writing they use is not just a graphic expression of their language, but also an expression of their religious, cultural and, more broadly, national identity.

The Kazakh imaginary community began to form in the late 19th century, but its development was halted by the October Revolution. In the Soviet period, the development of the Kazakh imaginary community took place on the basis of its ideologization and Russification associated with it, an element of which was the translation of the Kazakh language into Cyrillic. Printed products, on the basis of which an imaginary community is formed (that is, a nation), were fully recruited in Kazakhstan and continue to be recruited in Cyrillic. But writing as a material speaker of the language in the formation of an imaginary community is by no means of secondary importance. It promoted and promotes the orientation of the Kazakh national consciousness towards the Russian language and Russian culture. As a result, the Kazakh identity as such remains largely uncertain. In this regard, the transition to the Latin alphabet will allow forming a clearer national identity of the Kazakhs. The

transition to the Latin graphics in Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan, which have cultural and historical experience similar to Kazakhstan, should be viewed from this angle.

Kazakhstan is implementing a national policy aimed at the formation of a single nation as a socio-political community based on the common Kazakhstan citizenship. Such a community is called a civic nation, which should be formed around the leading, or state-forming, ethnic group – the Kazakhs. This situation occurs not only in Kazakhstan, but it is also a worldwide practice. National construction according to this model can be successful only if the remaining ethnic groups living in this state recognize the leading role of the state-forming ethnic group. But for this, the largest ethnic group must have a strong identity. In Kazakhstan, the formation of a civic nation is complicated in many respects by the fact that the Kazakhs, as the leading, state-forming ethnic group, do not have their own distinct, not affected by other cultures, identity. The transition to the Latin alphabet should help overcome a significant influence; one might say dominance, on the Kazakh national identity of Russian culture and Russian language.

Here there can be an objection that Kazakh script should not be translated into Latin and thereby divide the leading ethnic groups of Kazakhstan along one more line. The Cyrillic alphabet is the cultural foundation that unites all peoples of Kazakhstan on the way to forming a single nation. Such a consideration has its ground and, for this reason, the translation of the Kazakh language into Latin script did not occur earlier, in the 1990s, as was the case in the Turkish states mentioned above. Cyrillic as a script of the Kazakh language bears the stamp of the colonial past of Kazakhstan. The choice of Cyrillic was not a free choice of the Kazakh people; it was introduced from above by a totalitarian state. The translation of the Kazakh language into Latin script will introduce new elements in the relationship between the Kazakh and Russian languages. In the future, this measure will lead to strengthening the position of the Kazakh language as a state language, but in the near future there may be difficulties with the use of Latin by middle and older people, which may contribute to a certain tension in the Kazakh ethnonational environment.

In general, the fears of the Russian-speaking (including a considerable part of the Kazakhs) that the Russian language will be ousted from Kazakhstan are exaggerated. In Kazakhstan, Russian-Kazakh bilingualism is a long-term trend. Even the reduction of Russians and other peoples of European origin in the overall composition of the population of Kazakhstan will not lead to the disappearance of the Russian language from the sphere of ethno-linguistic communication. As a world language with strong cultural and historical roots in Kazakhstan, it will continue to be the language of interethnic communication, although the role of the Kazakh language in the same capacity will invariably grow. Therefore, it will be necessary to preserve signs, names of streets, cities, squares, townships, both in the Latin script and in Cyrillic. The translation into Latin script will set the task of preserving the rich cultural heritage of the Kazakh people, written in Cyrillic, in Latin. This task is not easy, but quite solvable. Its solution will require considerable financial resources from the state.

Within the framework of the “Ruhani zhangyru” program, the State Language Development Fund presents a digital project - the Qazaq Latyn Keyboard mobile

application of the Kazakh keyboard with Latin letters on smartphones and tablets. In the program “Ruhani zhangyru”, the First President of the State defined a phased transition of the Kazakh language to the Latin alphabet. Today, 70% of world information is in Latin. The project “Qazaq Latyn Keyboard” allows you to use the Kazakh language on the Latin keyboard as standard in all applications. For the convenience of users, a transliteration of the keyboard set has been created. Using this function, you can enter Kazakh words in Cyrillic, after which the program will automatically translate them into Latin graphics in the text entry window. The advantage of the application “Qazaq Latyn Keyboard” are the following functions: the Latin alphabet on the keyboard, the choice of interface language, easy installation, the choice of topics, feedback from the developer. This application “Qazaq Latyn Keyboard” will promote the training of young people in the new alphabet and is designed for large masses of users.

The role of the Russian language is still vital in Kazakhstan, it is acting as the language of international communication. The concern for preserving the national culture of the Kazakhs without infringing on the rights of national minorities is clear. Various draft laws on the development of the national question are being implemented, and associations on minority problems are being created (the Assembly of people of Kazakhstan in 2007), which emphasize the preservation and enhancement of Kazakh cultural values. In the newly independent Kazakhstan, historical research received great support from the authorities. In Kazakhstan, the issue of forming a civil identification “we are Kazakhstani” is acute. This problem is largely complicated by the dual composition of Kazakhstan's society, the majority ethnic groups of which are Kazakhs and Russians.

The self-identification of the Kazakh people historically had a hierarchical (multi-layered) nature. Nowadays, the ratio of traditional identities with ethnic and civil types of identification becomes a reason of hardship in the minds of Kazakhs. This is due to the issue of correlation between traditional (genealogy) and modern objects (Kazakhs as a nation) of identification. According to some researchers, the issue of the significance of the object of identification is mainly contextual and situational in character. A policy is being implemented that promotes the development of the country's residents, regardless of nationality and religion, a single civil Kazakh identity. Formal identification is defined by Kazakhstani citizenship status and the "nationality" column is saved in the passport. In the framework of ethnic and political processes, religion, language, mass media, and changes in the ethnic demography of the Republic play a significant role.

These cultural features are “ethno-distinctive” only to the extent that they are drawn by the intellectuals’ attempts. Consequently, so-called ethnic ideas have little influence on real social strategies, focusing mostly in the declarative rhetorical practice sphere.

One of the ways to preserve traditional culture is, of course, government support. In Kazakhstan today there are targeted programs to support the national culture, as well as projects for its development. Such activity helps to solve one of the difficult tasks – to integrate and adapt the national culture in modern life. That is why the projects are associated with many ethnic, folklore and art festivals, and mass traditional holidays.

The organization and holding of such events testify to the possibilities of introducing a large number of people to the folk culture, on the one hand, and preserving traditional culture, on the other.

In December 2017, a large-scale international project of the Ministry of Culture and Sports of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the National Museum of the Republic of Kazakhstan “The Procession of the Golden Man” in the museums of the world was launched. The goal of the project is to familiarize the foreign spectator with the cultural heritage of the Great Steppe of the Early Iron Epoch. The project route includes countries of the CIS, Asia, Europe and America. The “Golden Man” procession began in Belarus in 2017. In 2018, the project was presented in the All-Russian Museum of Decorative, Applied and Folk Art in Moscow, the National Museum of Azerbaijan (Baku), the Historical Museum of Shaanxi Province (Siyan, China), in the Gdansk National Museum (Poland) and the National Museum of Korea (Seoul). In 2019, the exhibition visited Tatarstan, Kazan. And it is also planned in the museums of Japan, Georgia, Great Britain, Spain and Turkey. In 2020, the exhibition will move to the museums of the United States, Italy, Austria, France and Germany. And in 2021, the exhibits will visit the Associations of National Museums Grand Palais (France) and the Art Museum of Austria.

The All-Russian Museum of Decorative, Applied and Folk Art of the city of Moscow became the second temporary “home” (after Belarus) for the distinguished guest. 175 masterpieces of jewelry art were presented in halls decorated in the style of original yurts. The exhibition “The Legacy of the Great Steppe: Masterpieces of Jewelry Art” in Moscow achieved its goal, revealing Kazakhstan to the world from a new perspective, raising the image of our homeland, introducing people [126]. The further way is through the Caspian Sea, to the ancient city of Baku, to one of the best museums of the city - the National Museum of the History of Azerbaijan.

The Kazakh folk-ethnographic ensemble “Sazgen Saz” became the decoration of the opening of the exhibition. All residents and guests of the city had the opportunity to admire the gold and silver ornaments of Saka culture and the XIX-XX centuries. Were also presented woven carpets – the best examples of Kazakh weaving and, of course, gold, which for two thousand years was hidden under the thickness of the earth in different parts of Kazakhstan, including the now world-famous Issyk.

On January 3 of 2019, the First President signed a new Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan “On Cinematography”. As the former Minister of Culture and Sports of the Republic of Kazakhstan A. Muhamediuly notes, this extensive document is aimed at establishing the legal framework in the field of cinematography. For more than three years they took the creation and development of a draft law, and now it has been adopted. This is a conceptually important law for the industry, solving three main tasks – support for the national filmmaker, promotion of national cinema in a wide distribution and active access of Kazakhstani cinema to the world film market. According to him, very serious expectations of Kazakhstan people are caused by the norm, which obliges to duplicate either to subtitle, or to provide for all Kazakh language films in voice-over to the Kazakh language. The translation will be provided at the expense of the distributor – the copyright holder of the rental and in his own interests should not affect the date of the premiere shows. The translation will be

carried out either from the original language or from the already completed Russian translation for the Russian market – this point is also at the discretion of the copyright holder. The exception will be made by pictures of so-called limited hire. As for the rental of national films, it will be carried out in the Kazakh language and, if necessary, in other languages.

The concept of cultural policy that defines the priorities for the development of the industry was approved by decree of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan. All primary directions of the concept are consonant with the general strategy of social modernization of the country and reflect the prospects for the development of the cultural sphere until 2030. A long-term strategic document in the field of culture was adopted for the first time in the history of independent Kazakhstan. The new concept is aimed at the formation of a competitive cultural mentality of Kazakhstanis and the development of modern cultural clusters, achievement of indicators of the cultural sector of developed countries by 2030. The main directions of the development of domestic culture are clearly formulated in the President's Address to the people of Kazakhstan, where the industry has been given a new powerful impetus, relevant in light of the large-scale tasks of social modernization to increase the competitiveness of the nation [151].

A vivid example of soft power of Kazakhstan can be called Dimash Kudaibergenov, which shows that there is an acute shortage of bright faces, idols and, above all, those in the country of whom one can be proud and who not only know your neighbor in the stairwell, but also the whole world. Chinese state media welcomed him as a “symbol of cultural exchange”. Dimash became famous in the Chinese show singer hit competition, which is seen by more than 95 million Chinese viewers. After his first appearance, Dimash's popularity skyrocketed. There are many other talented young people in the fields of culture and sports, science and education that the state should acknowledge and support without waiting for foreign countries to do so.

Kazakhstan's UNESCO World Heritage Sites, which have existed for many centuries, can be converted into “soft power”. These historical sites of UNESCO can be summarized as deep Turkish history from Turkestan and used as Islamic “soft power”. Kazakhstan's spiritual shrines include the mausoleums of Khoja Akhmet Yassaui and Arystan-Baba in Turkestan, the ancient monuments of Taraz, the Beket-Ata underground mosque and many other cultural monuments.

Abay Kunanbaev's 175th birthday was celebrated in 2020. He is an excellent poet and thinker of our people. Abay's philosophy has become an integral part of our people's culture and national identity. He was ahead of his time and formulated a vision system that, in difficult times, could unite people around the national values of their mother tongue and culture. The first President of Kazakhstan has repeatedly stressed that Abay's deep thoughts and revelations should form the basis of our daily affairs. This will be evidence of fidelity to the wise covenants and awareness of the duty to remember the nation's teacher [130]. Today Kazakhstan is implementing its own modernization agenda that fully reflects the poet's ideas. Abay Kunanbaev is a great poet and composer, thinker, enlightener and a public figure. Abai became a major global phenomenon not only thanks to his literary quest. It was not limited to its scope. For him, literature proved to be a kind of golden gate into the limitless world of the

universal spirit. It offered the opportunity to penetrate into all areas of the fundamental being, into all endless phenomena of the world, man, nation, history and spirit in their inseparable unity, integrity, harmony and the limits of human knowledge.

A radiant personality, the second teacher after Aristotle is Al-Farabi. In 2020, Kazakhstan is celebrating the 1150th time of the scientist, the philosopher Abu Nasr al-Farabi. The corresponding decree establishing the State Commission for the preparation and implementation of the anniversary was signed by the President of Kazakhstan K. Tokayev. In Kazakhstan, the name al-Farabi has been called the largest educational institution – the Kazakh National University. There is a library on its territory, which is also named after the great philosopher. In Shymkent, the Pedagogical Cultural Institute is also named after al-Farabi. In August 2019, al-Farabi's Ethnographic House Museum was opened in Istanbul. The opening of the House Ethnographic Museum is dedicated to the celebration of the 1150th anniversary of al-Farabi. Al-Farabi research and education centers have been opened and are successfully operating at the leading universities in Turkey, Jordan, Italy, China, Egypt, Bulgaria and other countries. The 1150th anniversary of Al-Farabi will be celebrated in 2020 under the auspices of UNESCO on an international level.

3.4 Opportunities of cultural-humanitarian cooperation as the main instrument of “soft power” of Kazakhstan and recommendations for its further implementation

In a multipolar world, one of the key factors necessary to maintain state sovereignty, territorial integrity of the country, consolidate society, create the conditions for successful resolution of internal problems, and, accordingly, make it possible for the state to pursue an active foreign policy, is the need to create “soft power” potentials as the main means of ensuring national and international security.

Over a short historical period, in the early 1990s, Kazakhstan achieved notable successes in the field of foreign policy: Kazakhstan sovereignty was recognized by almost all countries of the world and international organizations, a multi-vector foreign policy was formed, and the country's authority in the world community increased.

Kazakhstan's foreign policy aimed to be reasonable and pragmatic, aimed at ensuring real independence of the country in relation to fluctuations in the world market and varied global and regional trends. Already at the stage of formation, foreign policy comprehensively took into account geopolitical factors, transit situation, lack of direct access to maritime communications. The geopolitical features of the country located at the junction of Europe and Asia, contributed to a multi-vector foreign policy, the establishment of mutually beneficial relations with various countries.

In the sphere of foreign policy of Kazakhstan, close ties are developing with Russia, China, the USA, the European Union, the countries of Central Asia and the Muslim world. Today, neither in Central Asia, nor in the international community there is a state that threatens the security and national interests of Kazakhstan.

Given its position, Kazakhstan is pursuing a multi-vector policy in the international arena. The foreign policy of Kazakhstan is developing in line with multilateral diplomacy, which allows the Republic of Kazakhstan to successfully maneuver and defend its interests in the face of more powerful players, such as China,

the United States and Russia. The multi-vector nature of foreign policy means the development of friendly and predictable relations with all states that play a significant role in world affairs and are of practical interest to Kazakhstan.

Kazakhstan pursues a peaceful foreign policy aimed at developing mutually beneficial, multilateral and equal cooperation with neighboring states – primarily with Russia and China, and with all interested countries, as well as with international political and financial organizations. Kazakhstan, which has declared the peaceful nature of its foreign policy, naturally links the issue of ensuring national security with the creation of an atmosphere of mutual trust and cooperation both in the region and around the world.

Kazakhstan continues to strengthen the position of the most consistent supporter of the development of integration processes between the post-Soviet countries of the region. Without a doubt, the new initiative proposed by the head of state on the creation of the Union of Central Asian States has brought a certain impetus to the quiet external environment of the region and is called upon to play a key role in both its economic and political potential.

For three decades, Kazakhstan has pursued a constructive, balanced and multi-vector foreign policy. The conceptual foundations of this policy were laid by the First President N. Nazarbayev and are part of the unique Kazakhstan development model. Over the past time, Kazakhstan has become a full member of the world community, has established itself as a responsible and reliable partner in international relations.

The newly elected President of Kazakhstan, K. Tokayev, in his inaugural Address on June 12, 2019, assured that this foreign policy course will continue and the country's foreign policy activities will bring concrete benefits to the country, national business, and every citizen. In recent days, President Tokayev has taken a number of measures aimed at bringing public services and structures in line with the new challenges facing the country in the field of foreign policy.

So, on March 6, 2020, the decree of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan approved the foreign policy concept of the Republic of Kazakhstan for 2020-2030. This document is a system of fundamental views on the principles, goals, priorities and mechanisms for implementing the country's foreign policy in the period 2020-2030. As a diplomat, Tokayev pays special attention to the area of foreign policy and this concept became the first document at the relevant level, which he approved since the beginning of his term as head of state. In addition, the official term of the former foreign policy concept of the Republic of Kazakhstan for 2014-2020 ended this year.

Concept for 2020-2030 differs from the previous one by a thorough analysis of the current situation in the system of international relations. The main focus is on identifying challenges and threats such as a crisis of confidence and an increase in conflicts between different international actors. This refers to the confrontation with sanctions, the intensification of hybrid, cyber, trade and currency wars, the intensification of terrorism, extremism and arms race. In this case, Kazakhstan makes it clear, understands and takes into account the ongoing processes at global and regional level of world politics under the ambiguous conditions at international level, how important and advantageous it is to position yourself as an “active and responsible participant in the international community and one make an important contribution to

ensuring international and regional stability and security ” with a focus on friendly, predictable and mutually beneficial relationships with foreign partners [143]. This suggests that Kazakhstan will maintain a policy of multi-vector and pragmatism that will enable it to build relationships with other countries and international organizations in accordance with its interests and on an equal basis – which is the key principles of Kazakhstan’s foreign policy, are.

It is upsetting that the Concept of Foreign Policy of Kazakhstan on the term of 2020-2030 did not include the concept of “soft power”, which could bring a new meaning to the economic and humanitarian dimension of Kazakhstan’s foreign policy. It was assumed that Kazakhstan’s “soft power” would be based on values such as social stability, inter-ethnic and inter-religious harmony, simple business dealings, innovative education, etc. Although the draft decree of the President “On the Concept of the Foreign Policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan” mentioned that Kazakhstan must implement its own concept of “soft power” based on values such as peaceful foreign policy, political and social stability, stability and dynamism should economic growth, effectiveness of the model of inter-ethnic and inter-religious harmony, attractiveness of the investment climate, easy business, innovative education.

In this case it is necessary to highlight the position of Head of the “Synergy” analytical center of “AlmatyManagementUniversity” R. Kurmanguzhin, who was interviewed by the author of this dissertation research. So, expert believes that Kazakhstan needs the formation and effective implementation of its own “soft power”. In addition, not only in the interest of promoting a positive image of the country at the international level, but also in contrast to an active influence of information from outside. In addition, the expert suggests projecting Kazakhstan’s “soft power” onto other countries and even the entire world community, leveraging the country’s independent development achievements that were previously primarily intended to solve internal problem. Accordingly, such recommendations should apply to the process of international cooperation in Kazakhstan, especially in the areas of culture, education, science, tourism and sport.

The new Concept also reflected some changes in Kazakhstan’s foreign policy priorities. This initially concerns the positioning of Kazakhstan in the regional context. As we know, in the previous Concept, Kazakhstan presented itself as a country that carries out its role and responsibility and is striving to develop intra-regional integration in Central Asia. In the new Concept, it openly explains its intention to consolidate its status as a “leading state in the region” [143]. Strengthening the leadership position and promoting long-term interests in Central Asia rank second among Kazakhstan’s strategic goals in the area of foreign policy. To achieve this goal, Kazakhstan gives relations with other Central Asian countries a strategic character and brings them to the same level with geopolitical actors such as China, Russia, the United States and the European Union, whose potential is more ambitious; also its stands for the expansion of multilateral dialogue and cooperation in Central Asia and agrees to contribute to strengthening the existing formats of interaction between the countries of the region with external partners.

Speaking about the “soft power” of Kazakhstan, it is necessary to mention that today in Kazakhstan, it can be specified several existing institutions of “soft power”

and public diplomacy: the political elites of Kazakhstan, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Kazakh diasporas and irredentas, a number of international Kazakhstani organizations, individual NGOs, civil society institutions, individual international media, leading universities of Kazakhstan. The capabilities of Kazakhstan, the initiatives of our state in strengthening peace, security and stability, it should be noted that “soft power” is not fully developed. As mentioned above, O. Leonova states that each state has its own “soft power”, Kazakhstan has resources, tools – but they work inefficiently.

Despite the participation of Kazakhstan in international and regional organizations, active participation in international affairs, etc. – it is difficult to talk about the recognition of the country by other states. Due to its peaceful, multi-vector foreign policy, Kazakhstan has a positive image in the international arena, but does not have the influence of “soft power”.

The author of the dissertation research examined the popularity of Kazakhstan in search systems Google and Yandex. To identify the dynamics of Kazakhstan’s prevalence on the Internet, statistical data from the search companies Google and Yandex from 2018 to the present have been taken. The search phrase “Kazakhstan” was used as a keyword and queries made without reference to a specific country (from anywhere in the world) were taken into account (figures 3.2 and 3.3).

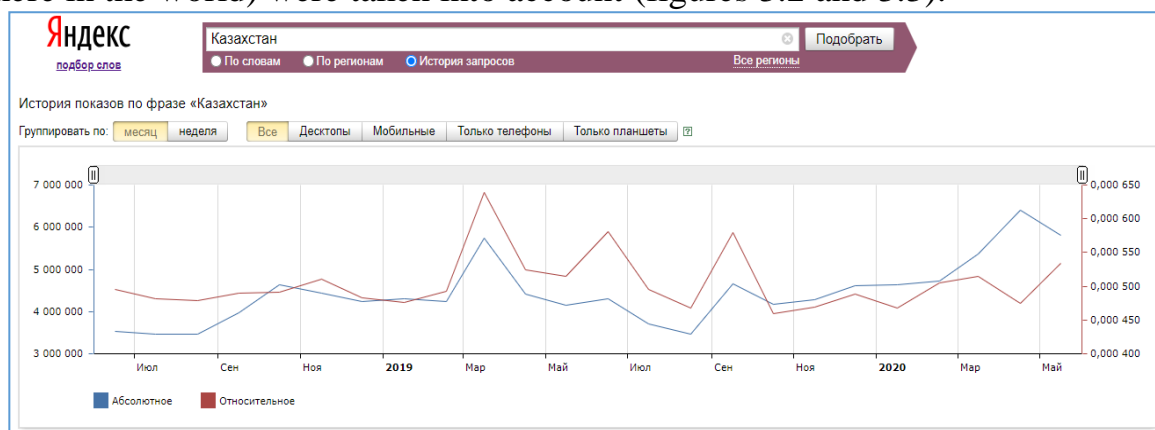


Figure 3.2–Dynamics of popularity of Kazakhstan in Yandex (2018-2020)

Note – Created by the author

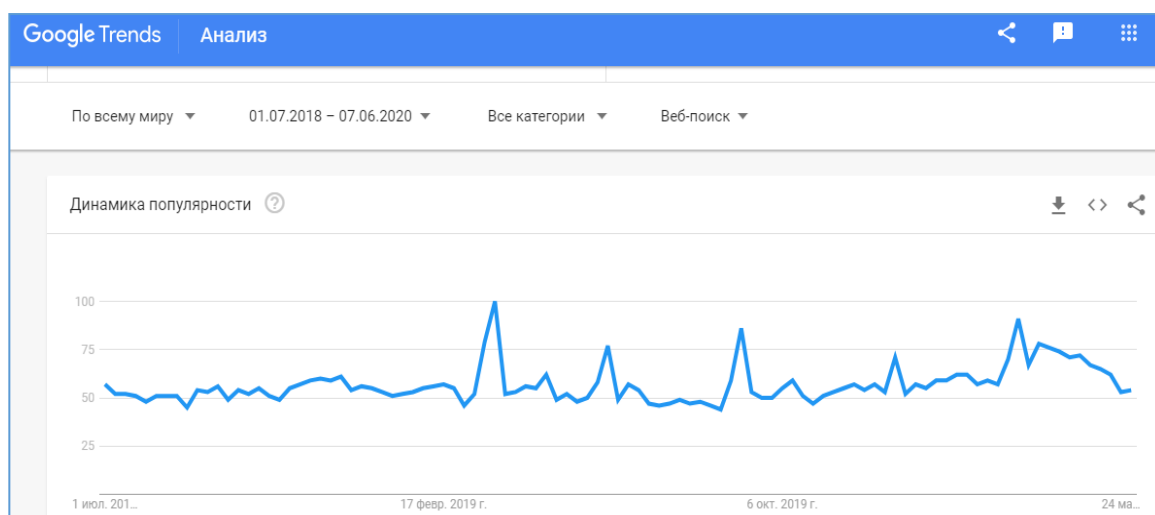


Figure 3.3- Dynamics of popularity of Kazakhstan in Google (2018-2020)

Note – Created by the author

In general, judging by the frequency of mentioning the word “Kazakhstan” in search queries for the specified period, both Google and Yandex show surges in the interest of Internet users in Kazakhstan in the same periods: March 2019, June 2019, September 2019, December 2019, March 2020. Each surge of interest can be explained by certain events in the life of the Republic:

- March 2019 - First President of the Republic of Kazakhstan N.A. Nazarbayev announces resignation;
- June 2019 - elections of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan;
- September 2019 - the first Message to the people of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan K. Tokayev;
- December 2019 - Bek Air plane crash;
- March 2020 – Covid-19 pandemic.

If we analyze the countries of origin of search queries (popularity by region), then statistics show that, in addition to users from Kazakhstan itself, requests were sent mainly from countries in Central Asia and the CIS. It should be noted that the bulk of requests (90 out of 100) were sent by users from Kazakhstan itself.

The first 10 countries (except the Republic of Kazakhstan) from which search queries related to Kazakhstan were sent (in order of decreasing interest): Kyrgyzstan; Turkmenistan; Uzbekistan; Tajikistan; Russia; Belarus; Ukraine; Azerbaijan; Bulgaria; The Republic of Korea.

A comparative analysis of the mention of Kazakhstan in foreign print media such as the New York Times and The Guardian was also conducted.

From 2018 to today, 27 articles have been published on the New-York Times website that mention Kazakhstan in one way or another. The main topics are political events (N.A. Nazarbayev’s resignation and K. Tokayev’s rise to power), economic news (in terms of Kazakhstan’s participation in OPEC) and accidents (Bek Air plane crash). The Guardian posted 27 articles with similar topics over the same period.

This research demonstrates that Kazakhstan is not of adequate interest to the world’s leading powers, and Kazakhstan is still a sales market. Before pursuing its own policy of “soft power” and trying to exert cultural influence, the improvement of the image, recognition and brand of its country in the world community is necessary for Kazakhstan. In this regard, the author proposed his own theory of “attractiveness power” (“representative power” or “branding power”), which can be implemented in Kazakhstan’s foreign policy in order to enlarge the role, significance and positive image of the country in the international arena, before influencing other countries. This theory should be developed within the framework of the new Concept of Kazakhstan’s foreign policy for the period 2020-2030 by activating “humanitarian diplomacy”, popularizing the country’s positive image in the world community and rich historical and cultural heritage of the Kazakh people, including in the framework of the program “Rukhani Zhangyru”. It is important for Kazakhstan to develop characteristics of a “soft power” strategy model that ensures the transition from “presence” to “influence”.

The structural elements of the “soft power” model should be developed as a model-a system of interrelated forms of organization of work in the main areas of “soft power”. Within the framework of the concept of “power of attractiveness” (“representative power” or “branding power”), proposed by the author of the dissertation research, to enrich the image, effectual implementation of its own “soft power” in the future, it is necessary to create “unifying links”: development of the regulatory and legal framework; resource support; development of coordination mechanisms; special visa regimes; as well as communication and PR strategy.

Sad to say that in Kazakhstan only little attention is paid to the creation of a country brand. The launch of the campaign to promote the national brand of Kazakhstan was established by the First President of the Republic of Kazakhstan N. Nazarbayev in 2006, the key priorities of Kazakhstan's positioning in the world market were identified: successful integration of Kazakhstan into the world economy – the basis for qualitative progress in the country's economic development; further modernization and diversification of the economy of Kazakhstan as the basis for sustainable economic growth; realization of a national security strategy that is adequate to modern threats and challenges; further implementation of a balanced and responsible foreign policy, considering the interests of Kazakhstan and the dynamics of regional and global development, etc.

It is evident, that the task of integrating Kazakhstan into the world economy is one of the priority ones, but it is impossible without improving the image of the state, thus, in February 2007, the Department of International Information was created within the Ministry of foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kazakhstan, whose main function was to form the image of abroad, testifying the seriousness of the country’s leadership’s intentions to promote the national brand of the republic. In 2007, two major global PR agencies participated in improving the image of Kazakhstan, and a well-known specialist in the field of country branding, Saimon Anholt, advised on the creation of the brand of Kazakhstan.

Unfortunately, despite the ongoing work on the country’s brand, Kazakhstan still does not have a clear image of its history, unlike other countries that have their own concept of history, which is actively used in the formation of the country’s brand. In this regard, the author of the dissertation research suggests the concept of “branding power” (“attractiveness power” or “representative power”) in relation to Kazakhstan. Kazakhstan is not included in any of the global soft power ratings (Persuaders, Portland, Ernst and Young, etc.), but currently Kazakhstan is ranked 61st in the list of “Best Countries in the World” by Newsweek magazine.

So, investments are being made by various states, political-diplomatic, trade, economic, cultural and humanitarian cooperation with all countries has been established, but we do not extend our “soft power” to these countries. Not all states know the culture, traditions, geopolitical location of Kazakhstan. In Central Asia, in particular in Kazakhstan, in the era of globalization, the number of players is growing under whose cultural influence the population of Kazakhstan falls. The main ones are the USA, Europe, Russia and China. We talked about the “soft power” of these states in the second chapter of the dissertation.

An example of the worthy use of “Soft Power” is the international activity of the Republic of Kazakhstan, which does not have great military power, but thanks to its authentic culture and large-scale communication events, a recognizable national brand.

The institutions of “Soft Power” include: the leadership of Kazakhstan, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, diasporas and wanderers of Kazakhstan, several international organizations with the participation of Kazakhstan (UN, OSCE, SCO, ICO, etc.), individual NGOs, civil society institutions, individual international media, leading universities of Examples of the use of “Soft Power” in Kazakhstan are: the Association of Kazakh Students Abroad “KazAlliance” within the framework of the national movement “Kazakhstan-2050”, KazAid – the organizational leader of “Soft Power” in Kazakhstan and EXPO-2017 - the largest international exhibition of the latest scientific findings-technical achievements with special attention to the traditions and cultures.

Table 3.2- SWOT Analysis on “Soft Power” of Kazakhstan

Strengths	Weaknesses
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - natural resources: Kazakhstan can increase exports and produce more indigenous products; - the existence of gigantic rural areas, agricultural areas; - Tolerance towards the population, cordiality and kindness; - short-term and long-term strategies and programs for the development of the country (“Kazakhstan 2030”, “Kazakhstan 2050”, “Green economy” etc.) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Dependence neighboring countries (Russia, China); - There are many difficulties and there is no one well pondered strategy to use the fund’s wealth. - Absence of a real and effective strategy, of people and capital for the use of space; - Lack of innovation and new technologies; - Failure to achieve the broader goals of political, economic and social reforms
Opportunities	Threats
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - geographic situation; - the advantages of new information technologies and telecommunication technologies for a large, but thin, populated country; - Support for reforms of foreign states and carrier states; - tourism development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - fast resource utilization; - non-integrity and instability of the legislation; - small growth of national savings and capital accumulation which were to become the floating force of the economy

Note – Compiled by the author

This indicates that there are not yet enough institutions and platforms in Kazakhstan, including regional ones, that could offer effective and qualitatively high-value international projects that fit a wide spectrum of young people and experts. The economy is also not associated to a large extent in humanitarian and public projects of an international nature.

Based on the analysis of the theoretical and conceptual approach of “soft power”, on the example of the USA, EU, Russia and China, the author makes the following *recommendations* for the development and promotion of “soft power” of Kazakhstan:

To the Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan:

1. For the successful implementation of “soft power”, most states begin with their inner circle, respectively, for Kazakhstan– it is necessary to actively implement soft power tools primarily in the Central Asian region. The weight and influence in the region should be accompanied and confirmed by the accepted, not rejected recipients in the countries of the region instruments of soft power.

Moreover, in the meaning-producing corporations (cultural, scientific and analytical communities) of the Central Asian states there is a pronounced social request for the formation of a common, Central Asian agenda, pragmatic integration, new recognition of each other. The unsystematic and inconsistent use of individual elements of “soft power” in three key areas, about which its theorists – culture, political values, foreign policy – cannot and will not allow achieving the desired results.

2. It is necessary to organize the Institute for the Study of Central Asia in Kazakhstan. To the institute staff on a systematic basis to attract researchers, analysts (political scientists, economists, sociologists) from Uzbekistan, Russia, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Afghanistan on the basis of contracts.

3. It is necessary to clearly distinguish measures to create a positive image of the state and “soft power”. A positive image is created naturally, on the basis of the country’s economic and scientific achievements, the level of development of culture, science, balanced internal and legitimacy of foreign policy, etc. If the country’s natural successes are also reinforced by the systematic efforts of the involved country image makers – recognized domestic and foreign political consultants on building a national brand image of the state, national identity and reputation, then this is doubly effective.

Of course, the activity on creating the brand of Kazakhstan began naturally from the moment of gaining independence, when the state faced a number of large-scale tasks: from restructuring the economy and transforming the political system to the formation of the whole complex of state institutions. But now we see that most foreign journalists writing about Kazakhstan still use the standard set of stereotypes.

4. It is necessary to designate the “soft power” of the Republic of Kazakhstan in some conceptual documents on the formation of new foreign policy priorities of the country. This could become some kind of hidden form, but quite clear in content, of a message for a number of our foreign policy partners who continue to actively project the well-known elements of their previously tested practice of their own, including political development, onto Kazakhstan.

It should be noted that the emergence of such a Kazakh “soft power” was made possible primarily due to the entire course of the historical development of peoples living in a vast territory. Over the centuries, here has developed its own “steppe consciousness”, its own “steppe philosophy” and “steppe civilization”, which are in no way inferior in depth and wisdom to other European and Asian counterparts.

5. Due to the fact that there is no cooperation between government bodies (the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Education and Science, the Ministry of Culture and Sports of the Republic of Kazakhstan, etc.), the Embassies and

representative offices of Kazakhstan abroad, it is necessary to coordinate work in this direction, develop coherent regulatory documents, conduct jointly organized events and etc.

6. It is necessary to develop regional cooperation, strengthen work, first of all, with the joint Regional Institute of Central Asia created in Bishkek; Central Asian Institute for Strategic Studies. Within these structures provide jointly with the Central Asian states to conduct joint research that will lead to new pragmatic and innovative ideas to solve the problems facing the society of the Central Asian region.

To the Ministry of Foreign Affairs:

1. In order to strengthen the personnel policy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kazakhstan– on the basis of the Institute of Diplomacy, it is necessary to conduct mandatory initial training with a period of 1 year (on the example of the Academy of Law Enforcement Agencies under the Civil Code of the Republic of Kazakhstan). This measure applies to those who first come to work in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kazakhstan. In the course of preparation, to study more the cultural and humanitarian component of Kazakhstan’s cooperation with other countries, courses on the “soft power” of the Republic of Kazakhstan and promoting the image of our state abroad.

2. The embassies of Kazakhstan abroad need to strengthen work with the diaspora abroad and maximize their involvement in promoting the image of the Republic of Kazakhstan in the countries where they live / study, familiarize themselves with the culture, traditions, and cuisine of the Kazakh people.

3. It is necessary to revitalize KazAID, an organization created in Kazakhstan on the model of the leading US organization USAID. KazAID was created on the basis of the adoption of the Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan dated December 10, 2014 “On official development assistance”. KazAID is a conduit organization for the soft power of Kazakhstan, enshrined in Decree of the First President of the Republic of Kazakhstan dated January 31, 2017 No. 415 “On approval of the main directions of the state policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan in the field of official development assistance for 2017-2020”. The purpose of this document was to “identify the main goals, principles and directions that the Republic of Kazakhstan should adhere to strengthen its position as a donor, increase the recognition and effectiveness of development assistance and fulfill its international obligations. In accordance with the Kazakhstan 2050 Strategy, this will strengthen confidence in Kazakhstan and demonstrate its commitment to solving global and regional problems. The document clearly states that Kazakhstan has the greatest comparative advantages in the field of technical and organizational knowledge and experience accumulated by its experts. Improving human and institutional capacity, providing basic services and applying advanced technologies are some of the most important conditions for development. That is why a special emphasis in the policy of Kazakhstan in the field of development assistance is placed on training, knowledge transfer and exchange of experience. National workshops, as well as educational and training institutions, can play a key role in building such capacity in partner countries. In particular, Kazakhstan can offer its know-how in the areas of economic and social development (including education and health), agriculture, water management, environmental protection and public

administration reform. For the indicated period, KazAID, as far as one can judge in the media reports, provided the following assistance.

4. Fully implement the order of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan K. Tokayev on the development of the Kazakh language and the transition to the Latin alphabet. For this, it is necessary to open special centers for the study of the Kazakh language, not only within Kazakhstan, but also abroad, which can function under the Culture Departments of the Embassies of the Republic of Kazakhstan abroad.

To the Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Kazakhstan:

1. It is necessary to actively involve employers, in particular representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kazakhstan, in the development of educational programs, in order to train highly qualified personnel who will be fully prepared to represent Kazakhstan abroad working in the Embassies and Consulates of the Republic of Kazakhstan. This proposal follows from the fact that future diplomats need to know not only the theoretical basis, but also the practical one. Disciplines should be specific, not only relating to foreign policy and diplomacy of the Republic of Kazakhstan, but also directly related to the popularization of culture, art, traditions, customs of Kazakhstan abroad.

2. As we have already stated, providing educational services to international learners is one of the state's fundamental "soft power" sources. There is an interesting fact of the considerable benefit of the provision of educational services over other political and economic tools. Firstly, it is related to the skill to impact the formation of citizens' values and worldviews of other states. In other words, this means the confrontation for the minds of future elites of neighboring ones. In this case we can launch programs of student, scientific exchanges, scientific internships, postdoctoral programs in Kazakhstan called "Farabi Exchange", modeled on the European program Erasmus+ or the American Fulbright.

It has already been postulated that educational exchanges are the main platform for formation and enhancement of relations on a human level. Therefore, some foreign scientists claim that the exchange educational programs realization leads to the creation of long-term relationships at the expense of societies. Moreover, it is, firstly, about involving students to advanced and reputable specialties that give opportunity to hope that over time they will take leading positions in political and business circles of their countries.

Kazakh educational policy has been similarly oriented to building an international reputation and preparing citizens for global engagement. The country has an extensive system of sending students overseas for higher degrees and is also seeking a place in a global academic conversation.

2. It is necessary to organize grants for students from Central Asian countries and Russia to travel to Kazakhstan. For senior school children from the Central Asian Republics and Russia, quarterly allocation to 5 states – Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan for a certain number of travel grants for visiting major cities of Kazakhstan, with a well-considered educational program, first of all, and only then with a cultural program. The grant should cover all costs for participants from each country. Given the launch of the program, only in the first year, we would have at least 400-500 families in each country who would have their own ideas about

Kazakhstan, albeit based on a short visit, that would have emotional affection through the impressions of their children to Kazakhstan. Accordingly, with the growth of the program, the number of families will also grow.

3. It is necessary to create associations in the fields of school education, higher education, medicine, pharmaceuticals, construction, advocacy, and many others. The interstate nature of such organizations and the principle of selecting the best of the best can also become an effective anti-corruption filter. Perhaps the first step on this path is the Eurasian Business Council, which is the assignee of the Association “EurAsEC Business Council”, created in 2002 under the EurAsEC Integration Committee. A positive effect is also expected from the creation of a network of EAEU representative offices in various countries.

4. It is necessary to create, within the framework of the EAEU, special directions for interaction with scientific, professional and public organizations. It is possible to include in the list of functions of this unit the establishment and development of relations with existing organizations, the promotion of the creation of specialized analytical centers of Eurasian themes, the implementation of soft power mechanisms and the promotion of the Eurasian project. In this division, it is also possible to analyze and process the results of activities in these areas and transfer the results to the relevant departments of the EAEU.

5. It is necessary to increase the effectiveness of the implementation of the state programs of the Republic of Kazakhstan abroad (Rukhani Zhangyru, Uly Dalanyn Jeti Kyry (“The Seven Sides of the Great Steppe”). In particular, in the framework of the “Tugan Jer” program, attract ethnic Kazakhs, immigrants from Kazakhstan, successful Kazakhstanis living in the territory of another country to invest in the education and economy of Kazakhstan.

6. Due to the fact that there are no open work plans for the “Bolashak” program on the image of Kazakhstan abroad, it is necessary to carry out active work to attract students to universities in Kazakhstan.

7. It is necessary to improve the program of academic mobility, as there are difficulties in the programs for training in this program, a lot of discrepancies in disciplines with foreign universities.

8. President of the Republic of Kazakhstan K. Tokayev in his speech in May 2020, noted the need to open branches of foreign universities at universities in Kazakhstan, as well as the opening of branches of Kazakhstani universities abroad on the example of the University of Kazakhstan in Kyrgyzstan. These measures will strengthen academic mobility, international cooperation, etc.

9. It is necessary to intensify work on grants for the first time allocated in 2019 at three levels of education for foreign citizens (Center of the Bologna Process), and to conduct joint research programs “Newton Al-Farabi”, “Abay Vern Program”.

To the Ministry of Culture and Sports of the Republic of Kazakhstan:

1. It is necessary to promote the international project “Abay Centers”. Today, Kazakhstan needs to focus in detail on development and promotion in the cultural and information space. The development of the cultural and spiritual sphere of society is important, since it depends on how carefully and effectively the country’s cultural, ideological and informational security is ensured. The Abay Center project is a network

of international cultural and educational centers created by Kazakhstan to disseminate the Kazakh language and culture abroad, including in collaboration with foreign Kazakh study centers modeled on Goethe Institutes, Confucius Institutes, Cervantes Centers, etc. The purpose and mission of the project will be the formation in the border countries, and in foreign countries of a favorable, loyal environment to Kazakhstan, public opinion; conducting scientific and educational and educational events aimed at promoting the Kazakh language and culture; popularization of values and traditions of modern multi-ethnic Kazakhstan, the rich history of Kazakhstan, its modern political, economic, social achievements; support for international cooperation in the field of culture, interethnic and interfaith harmony; formation of a comprehensive picture of Kazakhstan abroad through information on cultural, social and political life; supporting intercultural dialogue, strengthening the structure of civil society and developing mobility.

2. In order to become meaningful, Kazakhstan needs to learn to take more measures to incorporate internal cultural heritage narratives into its external relations programs, and to focus more and more on determining its soft power. For example, the extensive integration of young talents, unique historical cities, UNESCO World Heritage Sites for the historical Turkish civilization, products of national cuisine, wonderful natural sites and Eurasian networking is a positive national capital of Kazakhstan, which is still unfulfilled to this day remains.

3. Support for public, academic, educational organizations dealing with issues related to the Kazakh language, history and modern achievements of Kazakhstan, its values; interaction with Kazakh diasporas and irredents, promoting the establishment of a climate of interethnic respect and peace; creating a system of expert support for the humanitarian dimension of Kazakhstan's foreign policy; creation of scientific, expert and political channels for the development of bilateral relations with foreign countries and international organizations; Promotion of export of Kazakhstani educational services; development of international relations of the regions of Kazakhstan; facilitation of expert, scientific and educational exchanges; support for Kazakh-language media and information resources abroad.

4. It is necessary to strengthen work with NGOs and realize "soft power" of Kazakhstan through the Non-governmental organizations.

To the Ministry of Information and Public Development of the Republic of Kazakhstan:

1. Moreover, it is mandatory to concentrate on issue analysis in the realization of this kind of foreign policy. Firstly, Kazakhstani science is characterized only by a step-by-step study of the concept of "soft power". In other words, there is no extensive research. Consequently, there is no extensive strategy for building "soft power" in both cases: at the regional and global.

Consequently, we can sum up that there are no "soft power" institutions and components, that would increase Kazakhstan's attractiveness worldwide. The information and communication element or modern public diplomacy (public diplomacy Web 2.0) in foreign policy is not enhanced at the appropriate degree to regularly be in touch with the target foreign audience online in their native language

on famous Internet platforms; the Financial expenses of developing the national brand “Kazakhstan” surpass the income.

2. It is necessary to implement an analogue of the Chinese policy of tying “a thousand threads”. The essence of the “thousands of threads” policy is to build a network of horizontal relationships through the formation of points of contact at the expert, academic, cultural and social levels. One of the priority tasks should be the creation of professional communities of the Eurasian scale.

3. It is necessary for develop one of the essential elements of the informal component of cultural policy: the media, the Central element of which is television, through which public opinion is mostly established and the products of the show are allocated.

In this context, the significance of several TV channels aimed at a global audience is being upgraded. with the help of these channels, countries show their opinions on different global issues, as well as form their own favorable image for them. Examples of kind of TV channels are the Russian channel Russia Today, the Qatari channel Al Jazeera, the Chinese channel CCTV News, the British channel BBC World News, the American channel CNN International, the French channel France 24, and others.

4. Due to the fact that there is no openness, insufficient information about Kazakhstan, the work of centers, action plans, etc. on the websites of Kazakhstan’s embassies and representative offices abroad, it is necessary to develop and improve digital and public diplomacy of Kazakhstan in the framework of the Kazakhstan Foreign Policy Concept for 2020-2030.

The suggested recommendations and these measures are aimed at the consistent implementation of Kazakhstan’s foreign policy, which allows ensuring its national interests based on the principles of pragmatism, openness and multi-vector approach in the context of forming a new polycentric system of international relations (figure 3.4).



Figure 3.4–Recommendations for the development of “soft power” of Kazakhstan
 Note – Created by the author

In spite of all these issues, it can be stated that the ice has melted. This means that current interests of Kazakhstan are concentrated on the solution of the strategic goal of connecting Kazakhstan to the list of 30 industrial countries. Furthermore, investing in “soft power” does not lead to direct results. In contrast it leads to a deferred effect. In the framework of this new reality, which is manifested during the soft power project conversion, there are loads of theoretical and practical problems. Moreover, it is necessary to resolve from the very start. It is the major priority, and the fundamental mechanism is our opinion after the modernization program of Kazakhstan, that was declared in 2017 in the First President’s speech.

Being a modern state, Kazakhstan is shifting together with world trends in international relations. Consequently, gaining enough experience and enhance things that are known by the global community as distinctive. Over the years, everything has been explained to Kazakhstan: from the state of independence to the extensive value status. For the complete enhancement of state sovereignty, it is mandatory to be aware of the General rules of this process, to be in the needed position of sociological and political Sciences, and most of all, the theory and practice of international relations. In our opinion, the analysis and demonstration of these issues is the main speech of Kazakhstani scientists conducting interdisciplinary study in this area.

The task of creating a positive image of the country and its leader in the international arena is especially important for Kazakhstan, which must provide itself with information support to enter the world economic and political relations. At the same time, the challenges that Kazakhstan faces in addressing this issue are quite serious and ambitious. This is, first of all, the lack of a conceptual framework, including in the form of official documents that determine the content of the image of Kazakhstan. Currently, there is a need to search for new methods and mechanisms of foreign policy interaction, search for new forms of optimization of the country's international image.

The learning process provides a huge selection of life activities: science, sports, business, IT, creativity. Each direction assumes its own characteristics of activity and requires specific skills and abilities. For sure, if your favorite thing is difficult, it does not mean a wrong choice. This means that a person needs to make maximum effort to achieve the goal.

Therefore, it is obvious that, the proposed concrete steps, with a high level of organization and a systematic approach, may become efficient and relatively low-budget mechanisms for using Kazakhstan's soft power, which would work both in Central Asia, Eurasia, and in other countries.

Summing up, we can say that Kazakhstan is on the way to improving an integrated approach to the use of “soft power” to achieve its foreign policy goals. The mainstay of the future development of Kazakhstan is related to the transformation of the economy in accordance with the National Program “Kazakhstan-2050” and maintaining stability in Central Asia, Eurasia and around the world. It is also important to understand that the economic situation with the tenge devaluation and a continuation of the confrontation between Russia and the West, which definitely affects the economy of Kazakhstan, as Kazakhstan is a member of the Eurasian Economic Union, for the government of Kazakhstan will be a challenge to keep providing assistance and

grants to foreign countries, because public opinion in the country will care about their own well-being. However, further allocations for the objectives of soft power will have a long-term impact not only on the economy, but also on the country's security and prosperity. Furthermore, this study showed that developing countries can strengthen their own soft power program. Nevertheless, Kazakhstan needs to focus on developing national branding tools to become one of the 30 most developed countries.

Conclusion on the third chapter

Along with the successful positioning of the country in the international arena, potential instruments of the Kazakh “soft power” (cultural and humanitarian cooperation, educational programs, multinational and religious politics, humanitarian aid, etc.) were presented.

Based on the results of the third chapter, it was concluded that the “soft power” of Kazakhstan differs in a number of parameters from the described concept of “soft power” by J. Nye. Here we see a few major limitations. The first refers to the definition of “soft power” proposed by J. Nye. According to the American political scientist, “soft power” is the ability to achieve foreign policy goals using the attractiveness of the country itself, which, in turn, is based on the attractiveness of culture, as well as political ideals and values. On the example of modern Kazakhstan, we see the absence of transmitted political values and ideals outside our state. Modern Kazakhstan is in an obvious crisis of political self-determination, which is expressed in the fact that our society does not understand what fundamental values should underlie it, what geopolitical identity Kazakhstan has and in what strategic direction the country should move, etc. In this regard, the United States has a solid ideological foundation for its foreign policy: it imitates itself as a “bright city on a hill”, which should bring the values of freedom to the whole world. But even though Kazakhstan may not be able to offer states attractive political values, nevertheless, the country has the same important resource as cultural-humanitarian cooperation.

The second limitation is associated with the peculiarities of political regimes inherent in some post-Soviet states (Central Asia, Azerbaijan, Belarus). The fact is that the classical concepts of “soft power” mainly imply influence on civil society, public opinion in each country and cooperation with various groups of the political, intellectual, and business elite.

In addition, it is difficult to talk about a successful national brand of the country, in none of the six indicators proposed by Simon Anholt does Kazakhstan occupy a certain position in the world ranking (the only exception is our cultural heritage). For this reason, the author of this study proposed his own concept of the “power of attractiveness” (“representative power”, the “power of branding”), which can be applied in the foreign policy of Kazakhstan for recognition, increasing the role, significance and image of the country in the international arena before having an impact on other countries.

Despite the above restrictions, Kazakhstan has the potential of cultural-humanitarian component of “soft power”, that is, the ability to use intangible resources to achieve its foreign policy goals. First of all, it is necessary to try to have influence at the regional level – in the countries of Central Asia, Kazakhstan is generally

perceived positively as a friendly country, an important ally, a progressive and developed state with a modern economy and political system.

As a result of the research through a comprehensive analysis, the author determined that the term “soft power” is currently losing its relevance, whatever the “soft power”, it is still pressure from one state to another. In modern realities, states need to speak the language of friendship and look for common ground to withstand global challenges and threats; should focus on the desire to join forces. In this case, the coronavirus pandemic has shown that we are all interdependent. A striking example is humanitarian aid between countries, especially China’s assistance in purchasing materials to combat a pandemic, in training specialists, in sharing experience and in joint work on the development of drugs, etc.

CONCLUSION

A huge amount of studies on the concept of “soft power”, as well as the fact that this theory was quickly transformed from analytical works and authorities, note the attractiveness of this concept, however, at the same time, the widespread use of the term does not always mean absolute insight into the essence of the phenomenon. This research is devoted to the analysis of the phenomenon of “soft power” as a specific power strategy, technology and resource, as well as the process of building such resource potential. The set goals and objectives have been completed in full.

“Soft power” is gradually becoming a widely acknowledged notion due to the fact that it considers such processes of international relations as the growing interdependence of countries, the increasing role of the socio-humanitarian factor and general informatization, which have become integral elements of world politics in the period of globalization. Some countries have begun to give “soft power” a vital role in the realization of foreign policy objectives.

This dissertation research analyzes the cultural-humanitarian components of “soft power” of Kazakhstan. The Republic of Kazakhstan has established itself as a reliable partner and mediator in crisis management. The values of tolerance, religious tolerance and hospitality are also of great importance. The tools of cultural-humanitarian and event diplomacy are used by Kazakhstan in the development of the state’s foreign policy.

The value of the dissertation research is that the author offers an illustration of the Kazakh model of “soft power”. This model includes: complexity (a wide range of applied forms of work and tools); “interconnectedness” and “complementarity” of instruments (a single institution for adjacent clusters + flexibility in the distribution of forms); multifunctionality; stability, consistency, regularity and consistency of actions, the most efficient allocation of resources. The author concluded that if we adhere to all the above requirements of the model, Kazakhstan will be able to use its “soft power” resources more effectively at the regional and global levels.

It is necessary for Kazakhstan to study and apply the influence on various target groups in partner countries: 1. authorities: national, regional, and sectoral structures. 2. Business: large enterprises, business associations, small and medium-sized businesses. 3. Institutions: universities, cultural institutions, academies of Sciences, schools. 4. Civil society: NGOs, diasporas, compatriots abroad, researchers, students, active youth.

Consequently, as a result of the research, the author came to the following **conclusions**:

1. The phenomenon of “soft power” was introduced into scientific circulation by the American researcher J. Nye. In his works, the author characterizes the concept of “soft power” as a relationship between power agents, when one of them affects the other, and the result of the agents’ behavior is very important. Attraction and persuasion are key tools of soft power. A scientist highlights that “soft power” resources are the ability to attract allies, whereas “hard power” resources are associated with coercive behavior. Therefore, J. Nye calls mass commercial advertising an

important tool of the “soft power” of American hegemony. For instance, material symbols of America (Coca-Cola, jeans), as well as American pop culture, etc.

2. In terms of theory and practice, a lot of attention is paid to the concept of “public diplomacy”. As claimed by J. Nye, public diplomacy has the following parameters: daily communication, which is designed to clarify political and administrative decisions in the sphere of domestic and foreign policy, with an emphasis on foreign press to create state’s foreign image; strategic communication, engaging development of symbolic activities and communications during the year to deliver a certain brand to Central themes; forming long-term cooperation with foreigners over the years during different conferences, seminars, exchanges, and media access. You should realize that public diplomacy is an activity, and soft power is a resource that you may consume for this type of activity. Accordingly, public diplomacy is an activity designed to enhance and accumulate the soft power capacity.

3. “Soft power” has been identified as a way of exercising power that involves creating an enabling environment and includes three dimensions. The main goals of using “soft power” technologies are highlighted, as well as its features: long-term, partial non-control by the state, dual nature (as a result of influence and process), the need for a serious material base for non-material influence, and the urgent need to take into account the target audience, since different cultures, different dimensions of “hard” and “soft” power can simultaneously cause attraction and rejection. It is proposed to rank the scale of “soft power” from local to global, and to have “soft power” on a global scale, all three of its dimensions are necessary (attractiveness, ability to set a legitimate agenda, rules and institutions, formation of preferences), as well as the corresponding “hard power” potential.

4. Comparative analysis demonstrates that the USA, EU, Russia, and China use different tools and instruments in implementing the policy of “soft power”. The mechanism of US foreign policy in the use of methods and means of “soft power” in two main directions: official and unofficial. Official institutions mean institutions or a system of institutions that organize and support the exercise of political power, ensure its establishment and maintenance, and transmit political information and exchange actions between authorities and other areas of political life.

One of the main institutions of the US government that implement foreign cultural policy is the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs in the structure of the US State Department, which is the institution that is primarily responsible for developing the country’s foreign policy. United States. “Unofficial” institutions for the implementation of “soft power” refer to the uncontrolled flow of American culture, which is sent by the United States through the media channels to the whole world. This leverage is indirect, but extremely efficient.

The EU is not a state unit, and European “soft power” means “collected or coordinated power”. Thus, the European “soft power” cannot be considered as the power of individual national states. European “soft power” is characterized as “attractive power”. Government, culture, and information act as objective indicators of soft power technology and education.

“Soft power” of Russia is founded on various elements. Firstly it is based on the promotion of cultural and historical heritage. Secondly, interaction with the Russian-

speaking diaspora abroad. Thirdly, improving the standard of living in the country, using both traditional and new institutions for the implementation of “soft power”.

In Russia, in recent decades, we can observe the process of consolidating certain norms and practices related to the use of “soft power”. Moreover, special institutions are being created. These institutions specialize in performing functions within related activities. Therefore, we can talk about the existence of institutions for the implementation of “soft power” in Russia. It is necessary to pay attention to such a tool of the Russian “soft power” as the public fund “Russkyi Mir”, Rossotrudnichestvo, A.M.Gorchakov Public Diplomacy Support Fund, which is attributed to the cultural and educational factor.

China’s modern cultural strategy at the international level is being realized through building a dialogue of cultures, which involves improving mutual understanding between countries. One of the tools of this strategy was the “soft power” of Chinese culture, which performs a translational and transformational function as a new communication strategy. The translation function is manifested in the PRC's desire to increase the attractiveness of the values of Chinese culture, lifestyle, and understanding of Chinese culture in the world. Transformational is aimed at positioning the image of a “powerful cultural power”, spreading the values of a “harmonious world” as a resource for civilizational development. In other words, the modern cultural strategy of the PRC at the international level is built in the traditional pragmatic way and is reduced to the desire to expand the cultural presence of the PRC in the world in the future. In foreign practices of implementing the soft power of culture, the PRC builds its strategy from the standpoint of multiculturalism and the dialogue of cultures.

5. The fundamental resource of Kazakhstan’s “soft power” is its cultural-humanitarian cooperation and historical heritage. An extravagant cultural synthesis of the steppe civilization, art, science, achievements and experience in constructing tranquil interfaith communication, bondless lands full of minerals, the place serving as a bridge between two great cultures – East and West – all this marks Kazakhstan

Another source is Kazakhstan’s geographical position. Kazakhstan’s “soft power” lies in its transcontinental position. Kazakhstan is a meeting place of East and West, where majority of the Great silk road goes by, serving as of sign of the relation of these great cultures. So, the silk road economic belt project is one of the fundamental projects of the XXI century.

The success of Kazakhstan’s socio-economic development over the years of independence has been widely acknowledged as a distinctive model of accelerated growth of a sovereign state. These accomplishments are mainly connected with the First President of Kazakhstan - N. Nazarbayev. The phenomenon of N.A. Nazarbayev is an additional “soft power” source of Kazakhstan. Furthermore, it is related to various factors. Firstly, N.Nazarbayev’s merits in conducting significant reforms and the features of the political situation in The Republic. In addition, another factor is the mental and psychological peculiarities of the population and the enhancement of the Kazakhstan’s national brand.

Multiculturalism and religious policy are the following strategic resources and advantages of Kazakhstan. The country provides a comfortable living for different nationalities. Representatives of more than 100 ethnic groups and 17 faiths live in

Kazakhstan, 962 ethno-cultural associations operate in the country. In addition, newspapers and magazines are published in 15 languages, and theatrical productions can be seen in 7 languages. Small assemblies work in every region of Kazakhstan.

The main focus of Kazakhstan's soft power policy is humanitarian assistance, such as assistance to Afghanistan; neighboring countries in the Central Asian region; resolution of water disputes in Central Asia; humanitarian assistance to Ukraine; the middle East, etc.

Currently, foreign students receive scholarships to study at Kazakh universities with the expectation that these specialists will remain in Kazakhstan after graduation. This is one of the tools of soft power in our country's foreign policy. This principle is based on the experience of the world's leading universities.

Information and communication policy of Kazakhstan through the implementation of the project "100 new faces of Kazakhstan". The project aims to organize the general simultaneous emergence of socio-economic, political, moral, religious views, norms of behavior, customs and traditions, values and ideals of the nation on the example of specific stories of people who have made a significant contribution to the years of Independence and the development of modern Kazakhstan.

Unofficial foreign cultural policy, i.e. its three main elements: cinema, entertainment, and media. Cinema and entertainment are important components of unofficial foreign cultural policy. Since film and show products are very popular among various segments of the population, they play a significant role in shaping the image of the state on the world stage.

Serious work has begun in Kazakhstan to position our country and its culture abroad. This is due to the approval by the government of the Republic of Kazakhstan of the action plan to support ethnic Kazakhs abroad for 2018-2022.

Foreign compatriots will be provided with special scholarships and quotas for studying at universities in Kazakhstan, they will provide foreign Kazakh cultural centers and schools with national clothing, musical instruments, necessary textbooks, textbooks on history, language and culture manuals, and children will be sent to summer camps in Kazakhstan for the holidays for free.

6. Formation of Kazakhstan's positive image in the framework of the international world order conversion is one of the fundamental objectives of Kazakhstan's foreign policy. Over 29 years of independence, Kazakhstan has received a large distinctive experience and created mechanisms that request profound insight and constructing further successful work to strengthen its position in the world.

As a result of different processes, the tools and sources of power are altering. Moreover, the priorities of influence are changing from conventional models to new forms. It is well-known that conventional influence tools in world politics were related to force. Military power, force, atomic arms, and economic pressing, in current international relations are known as hard power. Currently economic success, ideological propaganda, and cultural attractiveness of the state are highly used. These are tools of "soft power". In addition, these tools are considered as trends in the system of international relations.

7. The training of foreign students relates to the spread of the language, values, humanitarian traditions and state worldview of the state in which students are involved in learning process.

Provision of educational services to international students is one of the most vital sources of the state “soft power”. There is an interesting fact about fundamental benefit of provision of educational services over other political and economic tools. This is due to the fact that there is the opportunity to impact the establishment of foreigners’ values and worldviews of citizens of other countries. In other words, there is the confrontation for the minds of the future elites of nearby countries.

A bright example is the Kazakhstani program of assistance to Afghan youth – Afghan youth got the chance to get education for free in specialties that are highly demanded in the national economy in the best universities of our country.

8. As a “soft power” of Kazakhstan, several existing institutions of “soft power” and public diplomacy can be singled out: political elites of Kazakhstan, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Kazakh diasporas and irredentas, a number of international Kazakhstani organizations, individual NGOs, civil society institutions, individual international media, leading universities of Kazakhstan. Opportunities of Kazakhstan, initiatives of our state in strengthening peace, security and stability, it should be noted that “soft power” is not fully developed yet.

To conclude, we can assume that Kazakhstan is a full member of the world community, a subject of multilateral political, commercial, industrial, financial, information and other interactions, including permanent membership in major international organizations, as well as an initiator and active participant in new integration processes on the Eurasian continent. Kazakhstan has adopted the concept of a unitary, democratic and secular state as the basis for state-building, which is enshrined in the country's Constitution.

The colossal use of information and innovative technologies in the field of culture as part of the task of promoting the country’s “soft power” policy is also a vital factor in the development of new forms of cultural communication in terms of uniting cultural space at the national level.

Using the cultural-humanitarian policy and tools of cultural diplomacy within the framework of “soft power”, Kazakhstan should observe a certain neutrality in relation to cultural trends from the outside, striving to preserve and enhance its own historical and cultural heritage. Therefore, the leadership of Kazakhstan needs to make efforts to create a positive international image of the state, for which it is necessary to conduct a consistent and purposeful policy in this direction.

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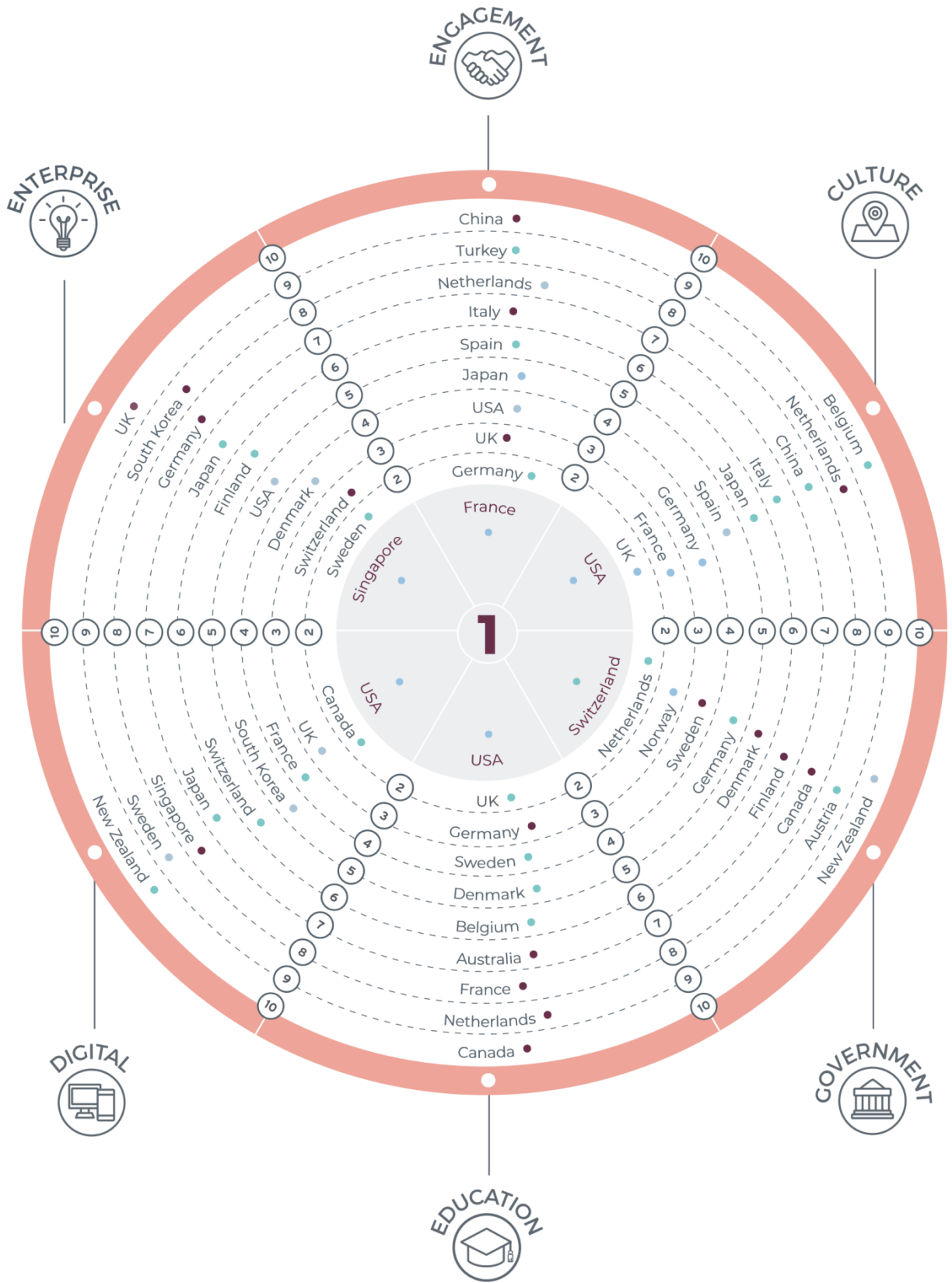
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APPENDIX A

“Soft power” resource index by Portland



Sub-indices explanation by Portland



GOVERNMENT

The Government sub-index includes metrics that capture political values such as freedom, human rights, democracy, and equality. It also includes measures of government effectiveness and broad metrics on citizen outcomes like Human Development Index scores. Nordic and Northern European countries regularly top global rankings for government effectiveness, human development, and the protection of civil rights. This year, Switzerland takes the top spot in the Government subindex, followed closely by the Netherlands and Norway.



ENGAGEMENT

The Engagement sub-index measures the reach of countries' diplomatic networks and their commitment to international development and environmental challenges. France continues to top the Engagement subindex, with its extensive embassy network and the highest number of memberships to multilateral organisations. Germany overtakes the UK this year to come in second. The three countries have taken a strong lead in climate action, and are among the top ODA donors. However, the impact of structural changes to the UK's Department for International Development and the Foreign & Commonwealth Office amidst Brexit remain to be seen.



EDUCATION

The Education sub-index focuses primarily on higher education, with metrics on the quality of universities, their ability to attract international students, and contributions to academic research publishing. The US continues to dominate the Education sub-index, with more than double the number of top universities and international students compared to the UK and Germany, and as one of the top contributors to academic research publications. The UK returns to second place after falling behind Germany in 2018. Despite concerns around the impact of Brexit, the UK saw an increase in the number of international students, and remains home to the second highest number of global top universities.



DIGITAL

The Digital sub-index comprises a mix of metrics that capture a country's digital connectivity, the effectiveness of government online services, and the use of digital diplomacy. The US retains its top spot, as American tech giants expand their global influence, and President Trump commands an unrivalled international social media following. Canada, the UK, and France follow behind with strong performances in digital governance and digital diplomacy metrics. South Korea takes fifth place, with the fastest internet connection in the world.



CULTURE

The Culture sub-index measures the quality, international reach, and appeal of a country's cultural production. The US tops the Culture sub-index, outperforming other countries across art, film, music, sport, and tourism. Boosted by Hollywood, and more recently media groups such as Netflix, American culture has achieved tremendous global reach. The UK follows closely behind, helped by the global success of the British music industry and football leagues. France, home to the most visited museum, maintains third place with the highest numbers of tourist arrivals and Michelin-starred restaurants, while Japan makes an impressive jump from fourteenth to sixth.



ENTERPRISE

The Enterprise sub-index aims to capture the attractiveness of a country's business model, its capacity for innovation, and its regulatory framework. Singapore tops the sub-index for the fourth year in a row, maintaining its lead on Switzerland. The citystate, known for its economic competitiveness and favourable business environment, is also an important hub for the growing Southeast Asian economy, making it an ideal headquarter location for global giants and start-ups. Singapore also performs well in innovation measures, with high rates of R&D spending and hightech exports.

ANNEX B

Expert interview

Question 1. It is necessary to clearly distinguish between measures to create a positive image, the image of the state and “soft power”. A positive image is nevertheless created based on the country’s economic and scientific achievements, the level of development of culture, science, and balanced domestic and foreign policy. In this regard, I would like to ask, does Kazakhstan have soft power? If so, is it systemic? And how effective, in your opinion?

Answer:

Question 2. What, in your opinion, are the main soft power tools that are used or can be applied by Kazakhstan?

Answer:

Question 3. Can we say that the leadership of Kazakhstan, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Kazakh diasporas and irredentas, a number of international Kazakhstani organizations, individual NGOs, civil society institutions, “thought factories”, individual international media, and the leading universities of Kazakhstan act as active institutions of “soft power” of Kazakhstan?

Answer:

Question 4. As we all know, the increase in the importance of education in soft power tools in the international arena is due to the changing modern world order, where competition is gaining a mental, cultural and civilizational dimension, with an emphasis on cultural influence, on creating an attractive image of the state. And cultural and educational programs are one of the most frequently used and effective. Can Kazakhstan, like other states that want to raise the level of their own geopolitical subjective, through their cultural and educational potential, ensure the effectiveness of soft power tools in the long term?

Answer:

Question 5. It is customary to attribute the country’s language and culture, the sphere of its education and science, the attractiveness of the socio-economic model, diplomatic authority and basic political values to the factors of direct soft power of a state. What can you tell about the concept of soft power of Kazakhstan, what does it include?

Answer:

Question 6. What is the image of Kazakhstan in the Central Asian states? Are these issues studied systematically and consistently?

Answer:

Question 7. Continuing the theme of Central Asia ... some experts believe that there are still important areas, niches that are "not yet occupied" and have not entered publicly into the area of soft power. These are Islamic religious and theological educational centers in each of the states of Central Asia. Here we are not talking about the classic, having centuries of authority, which gave the world Islamic thought of many theological scholars’ centers like Bukhara and Samarkand. In the context of an increase in religiosity, a kind of Islamic renaissance, the number of practicing Muslims, and its negative consequences in the form of radicalization of Islam, not a single Central Asian state can say or propose or declare its leadership in religious education and training for Islamic denominational institutions. Meanwhile, this is an important, yet undisclosed soft power resource in Central Asia. What is your opinion?

Answer:

Question 8. According to some Kazakhstani experts, EXPO was a manifestation of the soft power of Kazakhstan in 2017. Developing the exhibition infrastructure, culture, communications, Kazakhstan has significantly improved its image and is actively integrating into world processes. And in this regard, what can you say about the new concept of EXPO diplomacy that arose during the exhibition and in preparation for it?

Answer:

Question 9. As you know, now Kazakhstan “for the first time began serious work on positioning the country and its culture abroad”. This is due, first, to the approval by the Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan of an action plan to support ethnic Kazakhs abroad for 2018-2022. The government of the country is laying a huge amount of money (for 2019 more than 47 million, for 2020 - 219 million, for 2021 - 407 million tenge). The plan provides for the development of a scholarship program for training representatives of the Kazakh diaspora in educational institutions of Kazakhstan. What are your forecasts for the development of this area as one of the tools of “soft power” in Kazakhstan?

Answer:

Question 10. Do you think that the creation of Kazakh centers abroad in cultural terms is much more effective than the activities of our embassies? Diplomatic missions cannot always directly interact with Kazakh communities. In this regard, cultural centers cope much better with the task of promoting the image of Kazakhstan and Kazakh spiritual values. Perhaps they could become our “cultural embassies” abroad?

Answer:

Question 11. According to the judgments of J. Nye, “language” is the main instrument of “soft power”. Central Asian governments recognize the ability of a language to determine the region’s relationship with the rest of the world, both culturally and geopolitically.

Currently, three languages - Russian, English and Chinese are actively competing in Central Asia (also in recent years, the Turkish language has been fighting for influence in the region). What are the forecasts for the constraint of the above languages among themselves in the region? What are the prospects, in particular, for Kazakhstan?

Answer:

Question 12. What recommendations can you give for the effective development of the “soft power” of Kazakhstan?

Answer:

APPENDIX C

Act of implementation in the educational process of Khoja Ahmet Yassawi Kazakh-Turkish international university

Ф-ББ-004/001

ҚОЖА АХМЕТ ЯСАУИ атындағы
ХАЛЫҚАРАЛЫҚ ҚАЗАҚ-ТҮРІК
УНИВЕРСИТЕТИ

КХОЖА АХМЕТ YASSAWI
KAZAKH-TURKISH
INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY

Turkestan, Kazakhstan



АХМЕТ ЯСАУИ
УНИВЕРСИТЕТИ

HOCA AHMET YESEVI
ULUSLARARASI TÜRK-KAZAK
ÜNİVERSİTESİ

МЕЖДУНАРОДНЫЙ
КАЗАХСКО-ТУРЕЦКИЙ УНИВЕРСИТЕТ
ИМЕНИ ХОДЖИ АХМЕДА ЯСАВИ

Республика Казахстан, Туркестан

Мекен-жайы: Қазақстан Республикасы, 161200, Түркістан қаласы, Б.Саттарханов даңғылы №29, ректорат ғимараты
Tel: (72533) 6-38-48, 6-36-36 Fax: (72533) 6-38-49, 6-37-45. e-mail: info@ayu.edu.kz

№ 3/22

.. 17 .. 06 2021 ж.

АКТ о внедрении результатов диссертационного исследования Курамаевой Гульназ

Международный казахско-турецкий университет имени Х.А. Ясави изучая материалы диссертационной работы докторанта Академии государственного управления при Президенте Республики Казахстан Курамаевой Гульназ Нурмаханбетовны, на тему: «Cultural-humanitarian cooperation as a tool of soft power: Case of Kazakhstan» («Культурно-гуманитарное сотрудничество как инструмент мягкой силы: Кейс Казахстана») подтверждает заинтересованность в использовании материалов исследования в учебном процессе.

Результаты диссертационного исследования Курамаевой Г.Н. обсуждены на учебно-методическом совете университета и рекомендованы для использования в учебной и учебно-методической деятельности Международного казахско-турецкого университета имени Ходжи Ахмеда Ясави при проведении занятий на программах магистратуры и докторантуры.

Материалы исследований апробированы и рекомендованы для включения в программы обучения. Основные положения диссертации докладывались на заседаниях кафедр и научном семинаре университета.

Международный казахско-турецкий университет имени Ходжи Ахмеда Ясави рекомендует использовать результаты научных исследований Курамаевой Г.Н. в учебном процессе в качестве лекционных материалов и проведения практических занятий для студентов, магистрантов, аспирантов, научных работников, преподавателей, международных партнеров, а также лиц, интересующихся современными направлениями формирования казахстанской модели мягкой силы.

Вице-президент Международного
казахско-турецкого университета
имени Х.А.Ясави.


Ш.Есимова



3338*

Act of implementation in the educational process of Kazakh Ablai Khan University of International Relations and World Languages

АБЫЛАЙ ХАН АТЫНДАҒЫ
ҚАЗАҚ ХАЛЫҚАРАЛЫҚ ҚАТЫНАСТАР
ЖӘНЕ ӘЛЕМ ТІЛДЕРІ УНИВЕРСИТЕТІ
Акционерлік қоғам



Акционерное общество
КАЗАХСКИЙ УНИВЕРСИТЕТ
МЕЖДУНАРОДНЫХ ОТНОШЕНИЙ
И МИРОВЫХ ЯЗЫКОВ ИМЕНИ АБЫЛАЙ ХАНА

KAZAKH ABLAI KHAN UNIVERSITY
OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND
WORLD LANGUAGES
Joint Stock Company

№ 4-2-7/746 от 11 03.2020
на № _____ от _____

АКТ о внедрении результатов диссертационного исследования Курамаевой Гульназ

Казакский университет международных отношений и мировых языков имени Абылай хана подтверждает практическую значимость полученных результатов исследования Курамаевой Гульназ Нурмаханбетовны на тему: «Cultural-humanitarian cooperation as a tool of soft power: Case of Kazakhstan» («Культурно-гуманитарное сотрудничество как инструмент мягкой силы: Кейс Казахстана»).

Материалы силлабуса по дисциплине "Soft Power" in International Relations" (на английском языке) включают в себя программу, тематический план занятий, примерные перечни тем лекционных и семинарских (практических) занятий, ситуативные задачи, вопросы рубежного контроля, а также приложения, включающие рисунки, извлечения из нормативных правовых актов, словарь терминов и были использованы в учебных процессах для студентов, магистрантов, докторантов, научных работников, преподавателей, международныхников, а также лиц, интересующихся современными направлениями формирования казахстанской модели мягкой силы.

Проректор по учебной работе
КазУМОиМЯ им.Абылай хана,
профессор

Чакликова А.Т.