

THE EVOLUTION OF THE CONCEPT OF SOFT POWER IN THE WORK OF JOSEPH NYE: ANALYSIS OF THE MAIN STAGES

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Annotation: The article identifies four main stages in the evolution of the concept of soft power in the work of J. Nye in accordance with the emergence of new processes and relationships of political forces on the world stage. The first stage is connected with the aggravation of the nuclear confrontation between the forces of the USA and the USSR in the era of the Cold War, which gave impetus to Nye's development of the concept of soft power. The second stage falls on the period of the collapse of the USSR and the establishment of US hegemony on the world stage. During this period, Nye formulates the resource concept of soft power and considers it necessary to expand the use of soft power resources in the system of international relations. The third stage is associated with the emergence of the concept of smart power, which is a dialectical combination of soft and hard resources of influence in resolving international conflicts. The beginning of the fourth stage is due to the emergence of the concept of sharp power, which was associated with the processes of strengthening the information war and the widespread use of manipulative technologies in the modern communication space.

In conclusion, a formula is put forward showing the trajectory of the evolution of the concept of soft power in Nye's work, it is concluded that the American researcher is inclined to interpret hard power in the spirit of post-truth theory and practice.

Key words: Joseph Nye, concept, soft power, smart power, sharp power, international relations, post-truth, diplomacy

Basic provisions

In recent decades, international relations have undergone a great transformation and the development of new methods and tools for understanding processes and events in world politics. Today it is quite obvious that in the context of new realities, many concepts from the field of international relations need to be clarified and specified. Globalization and deglobalization, multipolarity, regionalization, digitalization, new actors have brought with them different ways of interaction, thus replacing the traditional power mechanisms. One of the answers in the modern system of international relations is the concept of soft power by J. Nye.

Through the prism of this concept, domestic and foreign policy has reached a new level of interaction. Soft power plays an important component, both in practice and in the theory of the study of the nature of power and force. The concept has aroused great interest in the scientific community, thereby formed a theoretical and methodological basis for its implementation at the regulatory level in the states, for example, such as the U.S., China, Russia, etc. In the concept of soft power resources for influence are the economic success of development, culture, historical heritage, foreign policy and political values.

Introduction

The concept of soft power has become widely popular in the international academic community, primarily due to the works of the American international political scientist Joseph Nye, who first formulated the essence of this concept in the article "Soft power" published in Foreign Policy magazine in 1990: "A state can achieve preferred outcomes in world politics because other states are willing to follow it or agree to certain situations that provide such outcomes. In this sense, in world politics, setting agendas and structuring situations is as important in certain cases as forcing others to change. This second aspect of power - which is manifested when one country gets the other to want what the first wants - may be called participatory, or soft, power as opposed to rigid, or commanding, power of command" [1, p. 166]. A very vague definition of soft power was given in that work; it was reduced to the ability to influence others in order to achieve the desired results, while using one's own attractiveness. The use of attractiveness tools was the main feature that distinguishes soft power from hard methods of managing political subjects operating on the world stage. However, it was the vagueness in the definition of the concept that became the reason for the subsequent emergence of various interpretations and methodologies for studying the phenomenon of soft power, which ultimately served as the basis for turning this category into an independent concept of the theory of international relations.

Over the past thirty years, many works have appeared in which attempts were made to systematically present the methodological principles for studying the concept of soft power by comparing it with an alternative concept of hard power [2-5 and others]. A number of studies have been devoted to the problem of adapting the concept of soft power to the national characteristics of different states [6-10 and others]. However, despite the existence of many diverse studies of the concept of soft power, the process of forming its methodological foundations and methods of measurement, studying specific cases of its implementation in international practices is still ongoing.

In this regard, it seems relevant to address the issue of the evolution of the concept of soft power, its methodological foundations. Here we should first turn to the work of Joseph Nye.

Description of materials and methods

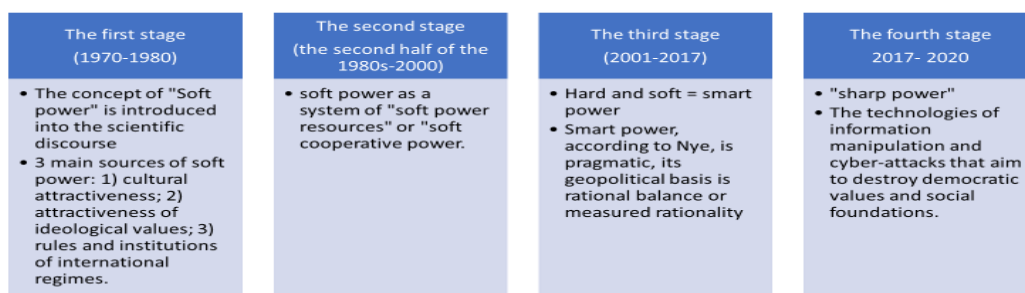
The research methods are general theoretical methods, institutional and systemic approaches, and the method of comparative analysis. At the general

theoretical level, the works and speeches of Joseph S. Nye were considered, the significance and place of the soft power concept in international relations were identified with the help of institutional approach, a systematic approach allowed us to identify the stages of the formation of the soft power concept, a comparative analysis enables to identify the conceptual peculiarities of the views of the author of the identified features Joseph S. Nye at the first stage and in modern discourse. The method of analysis of secondary literature was also used. Secondary literature, including books, articles, and conference papers that have analyzed, evaluated, and built upon Nye's contributions, can also provide valuable insights into his work. This can include critical evaluations of his contributions, as well as syntheses of his ideas and the ways in which they have influenced the field of international relations.

Research questions: 1. What is soft power? 2. Why is the concept of soft power being actively studied in contemporary international relations? What are the advantages of developing the concept of soft power in foreign policy? 3. How to learn to apply the soft power concept? How do we learn how to use these resources?

Results

In this paper, we single out four stages in the evolutionary development of the concept of soft power in the works of J. Nye. Each stage is characterized by the emergence of new perspectives for the analysis of this concept, associated with certain changes and innovations in the configuration of international relations (Pic. 1).



Picture 1 - Stages of the evolutionary development of the concept of soft power

The first stage (1970-1980) is the time when J. Nye, together with R. Keohane, developed the theoretical foundations of the concept of neoliberalism in the system of international relations [11]. During this period, the United States began to lose its position in the nuclear confrontation with the USSR: the test of an intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) did not give the expected results for delivering a forceful strike against Soviet missile positions. R. Keohane and J. Nye noted in their works that the nuclear confrontation between the USA and the USSR, the threat of nuclear mutual destruction became the basis for creating the theory of interdependence and non-violent methods of interaction. At that time, J. Nye's participation in the

development of nuclear disarmament programs gave impetus to the development of the concept of soft power. It was in the development of this concept that J. Nye saw the theoretical substantiation of the new US political strategy. During these years, he identified 3 main sources of soft power: 1) cultural attractiveness; 2) attractiveness of ideological values; 3) rules and institutions of international regimes.

The second stage (the second half of the 1980s-2000) can be designated by the term "Americanist". During this period, the bipolar world ends, characterized by the confrontation between the forces of the USSR and the USA during the Cold War. Because of the radical reforms of M.S. Gorbachev, and then B.N. Yeltsin, the USSR and the entire Eastern European socialist bloc disintegrated. The resource potential of the once main enemy of the United States is significantly reduced. As a result, the U.S. objectively found itself in the position of the only leading force on the world stage, possessing the most powerful resource base. For J. Nye at this stage, the main problem was the question of the effective and correct use of the favorable international situation the USA had found itself in. During this period, Nye viewed soft power mainly as a system of "soft power resources" or "soft cooperative power". He did not consider the widespread use of "hard power," which requires a large financial investment, to be advisable at the time. According to Nye, it is "soft power", which includes in its arsenal universal cultural resources, as well as the ability to establish the necessary balance between domestic and foreign policy, can provide and maintain the influence, power and leadership of the United States on the world stage.

The third stage (2001-2017) of the development of the concept of soft power in the works of J. Nye is connected, first, with the events of September 11, 2001 and the increased threat of international terrorism, and, second, with the use of military force by the United States in resolving the conflicts in Iraq, Yugoslavia and Afghanistan. Nye considered the negligence of soft power in dealing with foreign policy issues a great omission of American foreign policy in those years. In this regard, he published a series of works in which he concluded the importance of a flexible combination of soft and hard power tools in dealing with foreign policy issues. He designates this dialectical combination with the term "smart power" [12; 1].

Smart power, according to Nye, is pragmatic, its geopolitical basis is rational balance or measured rationality. J. Nye notes: "Hard and soft power sometimes reinforce each other, so a reasonable approach, taking into account the specific situation, to the question of their interaction in different circumstances is important" [1, p. 61]. The task of smart power is aimed at the preservation and development of national-state strategic priorities, and it is important to take into account the trends of global development, which have a complex relationship and structure. J. Nye notes that harmoniously combining and transforming hard and soft power into smart power is not an easy task.

It should also be noted the value of Nye's conclusions regarding what specific tasks and problems of international politics can be solved by the smart practical use of soft power resources. These are, first, the development of international institutions, alliances and partnerships; second, the problems of global development;

third, the creation of conditions for economic integration and free trade zones; fourth, the solution of problems of public diplomacy; fifth, ensuring energy security and environmental issues [13, p.84].

The fourth stage in the development of the concept of soft power in the work of J. Nye can be considered the beginning of 2017 - the time when researchers Christopher Walker and Jessica Ludwig in the report of the National Endowment for Democracy introduced the term "sharp power" [14]. They used the term to describe technologies of information manipulation and cyber-attacks that aim to destroy democratic values and social foundations.

J. Nye quickly responded to the emergence of a new term with his article in the journal *Foreign Affairs* for 2018, in which he gave it the following definition: sharp power is "the use of falsified information for hostile purposes" [14]. According to J. Nye, the purpose of sharp power is to destroy Western democratic processes and denigrate the brands of democratic countries. In this work, he singles out the following characteristic features of sharp power, which distinguish it from soft power and smart power: 1) the speed of dissemination of misinformation; 2) low cost of creating and promoting fakes; 3) the reliability and safety of the use of manipulative technologies using bots and paid trolls.

A certain summing up regarding the author's development of the concept of soft power can be considered Nye's article, published in 2021, entitled "Soft power: the evolution of the concept", which provides justifications and explanations for various critical statements heard against this concept [14]. It notes that many researchers often identify power with resources, which is a mistake. The possession of resources is not a guarantee of achieving the desired results; moreover, it is necessary to take into account the context of what is happening, which implies the methodological significance of using a situational approach in analyzing the soft impact of one actor on another. It is important to transform the available resources into a strategy of practical actions and define the final goal. Only then effective implementation of soft influence can be achieved.

In this paper J. Nye clarifies how the mechanism of soft power works, which can be direct, without the inclusion of elements of deliberate influence of the agent, or indirect, associated with the use of manipulative information and communication technologies. In the latter case, soft power turns into sharp force, the task of which is not to establish a regime of truth, because this force stems from the agent's intention to provide the addressee with initially given semantic content, which can be either true or false [15, p. 9].

Thus, acute power is interpreted by J. Nye in the spirit of the post-truth theory, for which the fundamental importance is not the establishment of truth, but the effectiveness of the produced emotional impact on the public consciousness.

Discussion

Joseph Nye's concept of «soft power» has made a significant contribution to the theory of international relations. Here are a few key ways in which his work has impacted the field:

– **Expansion of the Concept of Power.** Nye's concept of soft power expanded the traditional understanding of power in international relations, which was primarily based on hard power (military and economic capabilities). Nye argued that a state's ability to attract and co-opt other states through its culture, political values, and institutions was an equally important form of power in international politics.

– **Emphasis on Attraction and Persuasion.** Nye's work emphasized the importance of attraction and persuasion in international politics, as opposed to coercion and military force. He argued that soft power was a crucial tool for states to achieve their goals and influence the behavior of other states.

– **Importance of Culture and Ideology.** Nye's concept of soft power put a spotlight on the role of culture and ideology in international relations. He argued that a state's cultural appeal and the attractiveness of its political system and values were important sources of soft power.

– **Recognition of Non-State Actors.** Nye's work also recognized the role of non-state actors, such as international organizations, transnational corporations, and civil society, in shaping international power dynamics. He argued that these actors could wield significant soft power and influence international politics in ways that were not always directly linked to state power.

Overall, Nye's concept of soft power has added a new dimension to the study of international relations and has provided a useful framework for understanding the role of attraction, persuasion, and non-coercive influence in shaping international politics.

Conclusions

In conclusion, let us summarize some results of the analysis of the evolutionary transformation of the concept of soft power into the concept of sharp power in the works of J. Nye.

Firstly, the main impetus for Nye's development of the concept of soft power was the aggravation of the process of nuclear confrontation between the USA and the USSR, when the question arose of the need to transform international relations by developing and strengthening soft mechanisms of interaction and communication on the part of foreign policy actors.

Secondly, the concept of soft power initially meant a system of resources of soft influence, to which Nye referred, first of all, cultural, ideological and institutional resources. At the same time, soft power was considered as an alternative to hard power, which is associated with the use of armed, economic and other violence. Unlike hard power, soft power uses the mechanisms of attractiveness, and cooperation in its arsenal.

Thirdly, Nye's critical attitude to the processes of unleashing foreign policy armed conflicts by the US authorities eventually led to the development of the concept of smart power, which is understood as the ability of international actors to skillfully and effectively apply various tools of soft and hard power in specific circumstances. At the same time, it is important to take into account all the factors

of the current situation, the legitimacy of actions, as well as perceptions of threats from another state.

Fourthly, the emergence of the concept of sharp power in Nye's work is largely associated with the process of aggravation of the information confrontation and the expansion of the zone of information wars on the world stage. Post-truth technologies are increasingly becoming the key tools of informational influence, due to which the priority methods of influencing the minds of the broad masses are not systems of evidence, arguments and proven facts, but vivid pictures that make a strong impression on users.

Thus, the process of evolution of the concept of soft power in the works of Joseph Nye can be represented as the following development trajectory: from the resource interpretation of soft power, associated with the mobilization of mechanisms of influence through voluntariness, attractiveness and cooperation, to the concept of smart power, considered in the form of a successful combination of tools soft and hard impact, and then to the concept of sharp power, embodying the wide spread of ideas and methods for constructing post-truth in the conditions of modern information warfare.

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ДЖОЗЕФ НАЙ ЖҰМЫСЫНДАҒЫ ЖҰМСАҚ КҮШ КОНЦЕПЦИЯСЫНЫҢ ЭВОЛЮЦИЯСЫ: НЕГІЗГІ КЕЗЕҢДЕРДІ ТАЛДАУ

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Аңдатпа. Мақалада әлемдік аренада саяси күштердің жаңа процестері мен қарым-қатынастарының пайда болуына сәйкес Дж.Нье еңбегінде жұмсақ күш концепциясы эволюциясының төрт негізгі кезеңі анықталған.

Бірінші кезең «қырғи-қабак соғыс» дәуіріндегі АҚШ пен КСРО күштері арасындағы ядролық қарама-қайшылықтың шиеленісуімен байланысты, бұл Найдың «жұмсақ күш» тұжырымдамасын дамытуға серпін берді. Екінші кезең КСРО-ның ыдырауы және әлемдік аренада АҚШ гегемониясының орнығу кезеңіне келеді. Осы кезеңде Най жұмсақ күштің ресурстық тұжырымдамасын тұжырымдайды және халықаралық қатынастар жүйесінде жұмсақ қуат ресурстарын пайдалануды кеңейту қажет деп санайды.

Үшінші кезең халықаралық шиеленістерді шешуде ықпал етудің жұмсақ және қатты ресурстарының диалектикалық үйлесімі болып табылатын ақылды билік концепциясының пайда болуымен байланысты. Төртінші кезеңнің басталуы ақпараттық соғысты күшейту процестерімен және қазіргі коммуникациялық кеңістікте манипуляциялық технологияларды кеңінен қолданумен байланысты өткір күш ұғымының пайда болуымен байланысты.

Қорытындылай келе, Найдың жұмысындағы жұмсақ күш концепциясының эволюциясының траекториясын көрсететін формула алға тартылды, американдық зерттеушінің қатал күшті посттравттық теория мен практика рухында түсіндіруге бейімділігі туралы қорытынды жасалады.

Тірек сөздер: Джозеф Най, концепция, жұмсақ күш, ақылды қуат, өткір қуат, халықаралық қатынастар, ақиқаттан кейінгі, Қырғи-қабак соғыс

ЭВОЛЮЦИЯ КОНЦЕПЦИИ МЯГКОЙ СИЛЫ В ТВОРЧЕСТВЕ ДЖОЗЕФА НАЯ: АНАЛИЗ ОСНОВНЫХ ЭТАПОВ

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Аннотация. В статье выделяются четыре основных этапа эволюции концепции мягкой силы в творчестве Дж. Ная в соответствии с появлением новых процессов и взаимоотношений политических сил на мировой арене.

Первый этап связан с обострением ядерного противостояния сил США и СССР в эпоху «холодной войны», что дало толчок к разработке Наем концепции «мягкой силы». Второй этап приходится на период распада СССР и установления гегемонии США на мировой арене. В этот период Най формулирует ресурсную концепцию мягкой силы и считает необходимым расширить использование ресурсов мягкой силы в системе международных отношений.

Третий этап связан с появлением концепции умной силы, которая представляет собой диалектическое сочетание мягких и жестких ресурсов влияния при разрешении международных конфликтов. Начало четвертого этапа связано с появлением концепции резкой силы, что было связано с процессами усиления информационной войны и широкого использования манипулятивных технологий в современном коммуникативном пространстве.

В заключении выдвигается формула, показывающая траекторию эволюции концепции мягкой силы в творчестве Ная, делается вывод о склонности американского исследователя к трактовке жесткой силы в духе теории и практики постправды.

Ключевые слова: Джозеф Най, концепция, мягкая сила, умная сила, острая сила, международные отношения, постправда, Холодная война

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