

## **Development of a Public Diplomacy Model for Kazakhstan through the Analysis of the International Political Activity of the USA and China**

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### **Abstract**

Investigating the practices of the United States of America and China as pillars of two opposing models of diplomatic activity is useful and relevant in the light of the development of new strategies for public activity in the Republic of Kazakhstan and the implementation of best practices in the political sector of the state. The purpose of this study was to determine the best way to develop the model of public diplomacy for Kazakhstan by investigating the features and establishing the specifics of democratic and authoritarian methods of conducting international relations in the 21st century using evidence from the USA and China. The main method of scientific cognition used in this study was the method of system analysis, using which the following tasks were completed: the stages of public diplomacy of the United States and China were investigated, their specifics and orientation were determined; the effectiveness of two models of political activity was summed up,

proceeding from the results of which relevant solutions for updating the diplomatic doctrine of Kazakhstan were presented. The study results included the coverage of the specifics and methods of American and Chinese diplomatic activities; summary of the strengths and weaknesses of the democratic and authoritarian model of international political activity of the two countries; finding the best mechanisms, tools, and methods for introducing them into the diplomatic practice of Kazakhstan.

**Keywords:** *political war, propaganda, state body, information policy, diplomatic doctrine*

## 1. Introduction

After the end of the Cold War, as a result of the reformatting of the former world order system, in the early 1990s, there was a decrease in the global nuclear potential, the fall of the socialist regime in the member countries of the Warsaw Pact, and the disintegration of the Soviet Union into several independent states. It was for the young republics that the vital task was to form an image of new democratic states for the world community, based on a political system with collective decision-making and equal rights for all participants in this structure. The beginning of the 21st century was also marked by another round of transformational processes: as a result of numerous military confrontations (in Ukraine, Georgia), as well as economic and social upheavals (migration crisis), a new stage of development of the world security and stability system was launched, where the countries of the former Soviet Union occupy a strategically important place (Budjeryn, 2022). The creation of a favourable image and a positive impression of Kazakhstan's activities in the foreign policy arena contributes to the becoming of the Republic of Kazakhstan as a legal, reliable, and

friendly subject of global international events at the present stage of the development of the world order.

Urazaeva (2020) investigated the phenomenon of public diplomacy as an important vector in foreign policy and a modern tool for forming a dialogue with the public through the media. The differences and similarities between the two opposite models of public diplomacy – democratic and authoritarian – were considered by a group of researchers, including Kazakh specialists Kukeyeva *et al.* (2020). Burt (2020) covered the aspect of public diplomacy in the relations between the United States of America and China in the context of historical parallels and forecasts for the near future. Burt believed that the results of the interaction between the two countries will have global consequences. According to Albishri *et al.* (2019), analysing the visit of the 45th US President Donald Trump to Saudi Arabia, one can imagine the general structure of the country's public diplomacy, identify strengths and weaknesses, and understand how the state is trying to influence the moods of local citizens. Exploring the history and modernity of public diplomacy in China, specifically the phenomenon of “panda diplomacy”, Reed (2022) concluded that this tool is an excellent mechanism for Beijing to achieve its goals using the so-called “soft power”.

Digital diplomacy as a new and developing tool of public diplomacy in the 21st century was presented by Tassilova *et al.* (2018) as a future vector in international relations of the Central Asian countries. The authors were convinced that the diplomatic services of the states of the region need to use the digital aspect of relations to build a successful line in the international arena. Thanks to active cooperation within the framework of the Chinese initiative “One Belt, One Road”, according to Chiusi (2021), Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and neighbouring countries have the opportunity to use all the advantages of this strategy for the

benefit of their own image, provided a competent approach to the implementation of strategic goals in foreign policy.

According to Iztaeva and Abzhaparova (2017), public diplomacy includes such elements as public institutions and associations, international non-governmental organizations, contacts at the level of sister cities; for the country, the use of all possible mechanisms and tools of public diplomacy is the right way to recognition on a global scale. Kazakh specialists Abzhaparova and Sarsembaeva (2013) investigated the activities of Kazakhstan within the framework of Central Asian organizations. Rakhimov (2014) studied the work of the Republic as part of the initiatives of the United Nations. The main emphasis in the studies presented above was placed on the decisive role of the Republic of Kazakhstan in making important decisions by taking part in common missions under the auspices of global institutions and alliances.

The problem of this paper is the emphasis on the key features of the American and Chinese models of public diplomacy to identify the best tools and mechanisms for their implementation in the practice of popularizing the Republic of Kazakhstan as a successful, peaceful, and open state. The purpose of this study was to outline the dynamics of Kazakhstan's public diplomacy within the framework of its activities in the international arena through the lens of the analysis of the democratic and authoritarian type of this area of diplomacy and the selection of best practices for their implementation in the Republic of Kazakhstan.

## **2. Literature Review**

Studying the issues of public diplomacy, some researchers focused both on the entire system as a whole and on certain of its structural elements – information technology, cultural and traditional values, and the diversity of active participants in the process. International broadcasting, defined

as the use of electronic media by one society to shape the opinions of the people and leaders of another society for the purposes of public diplomacy, has been investigated by Osipova-Stocker *et al.* (2022). The authors illustrated the activities of news agencies using evidence from countries such as the United States of America, France.

Flew (2020) believed that excessive attention to the aspect of culture, traditions, and national identity in the question of building the image of the state in the international arena adversely affects the final result – the country is no longer perceived as a serious geopolitical unit. The main concepts, key terms, semantic messages and ideological vectors of different types and models of public diplomacy in the world at the present stage were investigated by Cull (2008). The author clearly distinguished the meaning of such policy instruments as cultural diplomacy and cultural exchange, information technology, etc. in the context of American scientific thought.

Ayhan (2019), analysing all known techniques and methods of conducting public diplomacy in the United States, concluded that the accumulation of services, as well as the mass of active participants in the process, creates confusion and difficulties in performing basic tasks of the vector, namely, clearly communicating the correct information to the audience. The authoritarian variant of conducting public diplomacy using evidence from China has been investigated by many experts. Thus, Jiang (2022) analysed the annual speeches of the President of China Xi Jinping within the framework of the “One Belt, One Road” initiative as a tool to influence public opinion on the activities of the state.

Huang and Wang (2020) tried to explain why the phenomenon of “panda diplomacy”, which was actively used by Beijing officials during international visits, was so in demand in the world at one time. Zhang (2022) considered such a phenomenon as Confucius Institutes to be an important platform for spreading Chinese culture and teaching Chinese

in Europe and the world, which, however, is now perceived rather negatively. The difficulties and promising areas in public diplomacy of the Republic of Kazakhstan have been summarized in several case studies. For instance, Vanderhill *et al.* (2020) considered the situation through the lens of the geographical location of the country in terms of being surrounded by strong and powerful neighbours. According to the authors, the positive aspects of such a situation still outweigh because China, which is nearby, having all the mechanisms to put pressure on Kazakhstan, nevertheless very subtly and competently builds a relationship with Astana.

Tjia (2022) predicted that the international economic and political activities of Kazakhstan in a strategic alliance with China will create a precedent for successful cooperation between the two states on the continent, which will bring excellent reputation dividends to the two countries. While the deliberate exclusion from the activities of other neighbouring countries will help the Republic of Kazakhstan avoid the fate of a state that supports the hostile foreign policy of some subjects, which will positively affect the international reputation. Omonov (2019) considered the “soft power” strategy (following the example of Chinese practices) the best way for ensuring foreign policy results and gaining recognition in the world for the countries of Central Asia. In addition, using evidence from Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan, the author gave examples of the fine work of certain institutions in the field of public diplomacy to achieve short-term goals.

### **3. Materials and Methods**

The main methods of scientific cognition that were used in this study included the method of system analysis, the historical-comparative method and predictive research methods. Using the method of system

analysis, the basic methods and means of conducting public diplomacy were classified using evidence from the United States of America and the People's Republic of China, and similar and different characteristics of the systems of this sphere of politics in the two countries were summarized, while conventional tools and mechanisms used in the Republic of Kazakhstan to create a positive image of the country abroad were emphasized.

Using the historical-comparative method, the specifics were analysed, and common and distinctive features of public diplomacy models in the United States, China, as well as Kazakhstan on the border of the 20th-21st centuries were identified. Furthermore, the level of effectiveness of methods of activity in the field of topics used in democratic and authoritarian systems of public diplomacy at different stages of historical development was determined.

The use of predictive methods contributed to the presentation of practical recommendations and working scenarios for the implementation of the best international practices in public diplomacy in the Republic of Kazakhstan. This served to stimulate further scientific research on the subject under study to obtain broader and more comprehensive results for the development of up-to-date guidance in the field of promoting the country abroad.

During the study, a variety of literature was used: scientific and analytical publications of Nye (2020) and Omonov (2019); critical reviews (Rakhimov (2014), Abzhaparova and Sarsembaeva (2013)); state strategies, plans and concepts (U.S. National Strategy for Public Diplomacy and Strategic Communication (PCC, 2007), On Approval of the State Program "Digital Kazakhstan" (Ministry of Justice, 2017)); methodological and statistical materials (Number of Internet Users in China from 2012 to June (Statista, 2022)).

In addition, to provide more complete and extensive research results in terms of analysing the legislative framework and regulatory documents of the United States, China, and Kazakhstan on public diplomacy, a wide range of regulatory and constituent acts was investigated and conceptualized. For instance, the United States International Broadcasting Act of 1994, according to which there was a serious reorganization of the international broadcasting system existing at that time in the States, the creation of an independent body responsible for the information policy of public diplomacy. Furthermore, the document “On Approval of the Action Plan to Support Ethnic Kazakhs Abroad for 2018-2022” (Ministry of Justice, Kazakhstan, 2018), which describes the full significance of the activities of the Kazakh diaspora for the international reputation of the Republic of Kazakhstan and building a positive image of the country according to citizens of other states. “On the Concept of Foreign Policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan” (Ministry of Justice, Kazakhstan, 2019), which proclaimed the tasks for the coming years, namely strengthening Kazakhstan’s international positions and forming a positive image of the country in the world community, ensuring information independence and security.

#### **4. Results**

In internationally accepted practice, the term “public diplomacy” refers to any of the various government-sponsored initiatives aimed at direct communication with a foreign public. Public diplomacy includes all official efforts to persuade target segments of foreign public opinion to support or tolerate the government’s strategic goals; synonyms of this expression are national policy, social diplomacy, people’s diplomacy. Public diplomacy is a complex mechanism that includes many methods.



The American analyst of political processes Cull (2008) called the following the main instruments of national policy in the 21st century: protection of interests, exchange, and cultural diplomacy, international broadcasting. In certain periods of history, public activity within the state has had different names – both official, documented in legislative and statutory documents, and unofficial, appearing among the population of the United States of America (USA), the People’s Republic of China (PRC) or other states (Table 1).

**Table 1** Different Interpretations of Public Diplomacy in the USA and China

Country	Official name	Unofficial name	Images
United States of America	Cultural diplomacy and public (social) diplomacy	Propaganda “charm offensive”	“Gunboat diplomacy”, “Carrier diplomacy”
People’s Republic of China	Public diplomacy, people’s diplomacy	Soft power	Panda diplomacy

Source: Urazaeva (2022). Presently, the classic examples of opposing models of public diplomacy are the United States – the image of a democratic model and China – as an authoritarian system.

#### ***4.1. The Democratic Model of Public Diplomacy Using Evidence from the United States***

The United States has long sought to influence the populations of different countries through public diplomacy. After the end of the Cold War, the States intensified their efforts to develop an effective strategy for promoting democratic and liberal values. The state’s efforts in the field of public diplomacy at that time were carried out, first of all, by the United States Information Agency (USIA), established in 1953, as well as by various broadcasting institutions under the auspices of the agency.

USIA was a basic tool for coordinated and extensive work in the field of public diplomacy. It covered over 170 countries and was broadcast to over 100 million people; the alliance also published books, magazines, organized courses for learning English, opened libraries, exhibitions, showed films, programs, promoted cultural and scientific exchange for millions of citizens from around the world. The USIA was a key information resource of the United States within the framework of projects under the auspices of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and in those countries where the States were particularly active. In 1999, the Law on Restructuring and Reform of Foreign Affairs abolished the USIA and transferred its responsibilities to the State Department, but with a much smaller budget (U.S. Department of State, 1999). After the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, and the US military operations in Iraq and Afghanistan, interest in public diplomacy as an instrument of foreign policy and national security resumed. At the end of the 2010s, new trends in the world order and changes caused by the widespread penetration of the Internet and digital technologies created unusual conditions for the development of the vector in the country, specifically, the intensification of discussions of world events on the pages of online blogs and social networks, as well as the strengthening of public influence and control over activities in national policy. There was an urgent need to develop a fundamentally new concept of public diplomacy, which would differ favourably from the old form of conducting politics in the 20th century (Table 2).

This need appeared because the method of delivering and receiving information has fundamentally changed; it has become literally instantaneous, taking seconds of time. Social networks (Twitter, MySpace, Facebook, Telegram) now allow people to communicate with each other on a global scale, discuss major events among themselves, bypassing the main source of information (Jia and Li, 2020).

**Table 2** The Essence of the US Public Diplomacy Strategy in the 20th and 21st Centuries

Strategy of the 20th century		Strategy of the 21st century	
Purpose	Army, state, state institutions, heavy industry	Purpose	Ruling elite, civil society, cultural values, traditions, history, public institutions
Tools	Military, political, economic, diplomatic	Tools	Psychological, informational, political, economic, diplomatic
Means	Military clashes, armed conflicts, blockades, blackmail	Means	Informational and psychological impact

Sources: Kukeyeva *et al.* (2020); Osipova-Stocker *et al.* (2022).

The essence of the transfer of useful data has changed dramatically, and it is proceeding from this fact that the United States began to develop an updated strategy of public diplomacy. Currently, there are four principal legislative acts regulating public diplomacy activities in the United States: United States Information and Educational Exchange Act (1948), State Department Basic Authorities Act (1956), Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act (1961), United States International Broadcasting Act (1994).

Even though their adoption took place quite a long time ago, they are still the principal regulatory instructions, according to which all the tasks of public diplomacy in the United States are coordinated and accomplished. The correction of these documents takes place by introducing minor adaptive acts and revisions of existing norms.

#### *4.1.1. Structure of US public diplomacy*

As of 2021, there are about 20 different departments at the cabinet level in the United States and more than 50 independent agencies and commissions that take part in at least one form of official national policy in the United States. This creates a certain oversaturation of the system

and begets difficulties in achieving the goals set. The recommendations of some analysts are aimed either at reducing the number of responsible bodies, or at excluding functions in the field of public diplomacy from some organizations and institutions. Today, the State Department Basic Authorities Act (1956) manages the planning, financing, and implementation of public diplomacy programs through the Deputy Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Relations. Their duties include leading the overall efforts of the US government in the field of public diplomacy, strengthening the influence of educational and cultural exchange, developing and using new technologies to improve the effectiveness of public diplomacy programs (Gallarotti, 2022). The following institutions operate under the auspices of the Department:

1. Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (ECA). Main functions: appointment of sponsoring organizations that implement international exchange programs; control over organizations for compliance with federal rules relating to each exchange category; analysis and solution of problems that may arise with participating international exchange students in exchange programs.
2. Bureau of International Information Programs (IIP). Main functions: managing programs for providing information about foreign policy, society, and American values to a foreign audience through the media; political and technical support in outreach through US embassies and consulates in more than 140 countries.
3. Bureau of Public Affairs (PA). Main functions: organization of briefings for the domestic and foreign press; management of web resources of the State Department; holding town meetings on foreign policy; preparation of historical studies on US diplomacy and foreign affairs.

4. Office of Policy, Planning and Resources (R/PPR). Main functions: strategic planning and evaluation of the effectiveness of all public diplomacy programs and public relations initiatives.
5. Office of Private Sector Outreach (R/PSO). Main functions: support of relations with private sector leaders in American companies, organizations and foundations to promote foreign policy goals and to strengthen international education.

The work related to US public diplomacy in other countries is also very active. Each US Embassy has a public relations department to manage information and cultural programs in the host country (Albishri *et al.*, 2019). The responsible departments are tasked with explaining the policies and actions of the US government to officials, the media, and the people of this country. In 1998, Congress passed a law establishing the Broadcasting Board of Governors (BBG, known as the United States Agency for Global Media (USAGM) after 2018) as an independent organization of the executive branch, abolishing the USIA. Since 2003, BBG has been responsible for overseeing, directing, and controlling the activities of the International Broadcasting Bureau (IBB). IBB, in turn, controls the worldwide broadcasting services of the *Voice of America* and various television programs. Since 2010, BBG also has an impact in territories such as Tibet, Burma, Somalia, North Korea, Venezuela, Cuba, and Iran. In Iran, *Voice of America* broadcasts seven hours a day on satellite television and, through two radio networks, reaches about one-third of Iranian adults every week; in the early 2020s, active debate began on an even larger expansion of the rights of BBG in the field of public diplomacy to increase influence on the countries of the Asian region (Güleç, 2021).

While the State Department is the recognized leader of US public diplomacy efforts, a number of government agencies are involved in

communicating with the foreign public by virtue of their missions. These include the US Department of Defense, Agency for International Development (USAID), etc. Furthermore, in the field (e.g., in most universities, companies, institutions) there are special departments whose activities are related to the tasks of public diplomacy, but most of them lack the full set of powers to carry out this work. The administrations of Presidents Barack Obama, Donald Trump and Joe Biden continued the previously established tradition of conducting public diplomacy by providing information to the process of creating an exceptionally positive image of the state, playing on contrasts with other countries, especially with the PRC. The presentation of the American lifestyle, traditional values, and democratic aspirations through active interaction with foreign societies through the Internet and social networks is the main feature of the American model of public diplomacy in the 21st century (Humeniuk, 2022).

In summary, it can be argued that in the new millennium, the structurally saturated apparatus of public diplomacy in the United States works for one goal – the dissemination of exclusively positive information about the state, its traditions, values, and lifestyle. The scale of the policy and the quality of the results of the activities indicate that the bodies responsible in the States for public diplomacy approach the tasks seriously, with an understanding of the importance of spreading information about the democratic values of the United States around the world.

#### *4.1.2. Advantages and disadvantages of the model*

The main advantages of American public diplomacy include a few components. The first one is a strategy of activity to reduce the level of attractiveness of extremism for the population. Using the media, the United States opposes the statements of hostile radicals (jihadists,

neo-Nazis, and other extremists) whose activities threaten the national security of the state, especially after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 (Flew, 2020). By providing an opportunity for the population to channel their energy into solving political issues peacefully, the American authorities thus expose the recruitment calls of these groups and weaken their growing influence. The basic tool here is to provide an alternative for the younger generation of Americans – the opportunity to get a first-class education, a well-paid job, to determine their life and professional path, which is not in the appeals of radical groups (Gallarotti, 2022). Such tactics negate all efforts to destroy the democratic system and reduce the level of influence of extremists in the country.

The second component – systematic aid to friendly countries in improving the quality of everyday life in the “American” style. In the era of the development of information and communication technologies, the United States strives to use all physical and virtual platforms to tell the history of America as convincingly as possible (Boyd-Barrett, 2023). For this purpose, in the early 2000s, the so-called “American Corners” program was developed in the United States, the purpose of which is to provide maximum access to materials that explain America in simple words, touching on topics such as the democratic system of government, guarantees of freedom of speech and freedom of religion, the values of American culture (Burt, 2020). There are other programs (such as American History and American Educational Tourism) that promote transnational entrepreneurship, education, and other business opportunities. The results of such work are especially noticeable in African countries, where American activity is more than active; the main slogan there is – tomorrow can always be better than today.

The third component is a principle of “direct” communication with the population of states, and not only with their governments. The idea

of “bottom-up” cooperation, when the people of the country clarify it for the authorities what they need right now, is the basic postulate on which American public diplomacy has been built for centuries (*ibid.*). It expands the US presence in a constructive, non-threatening way, forming a positive perception of the United States as a leader in many areas through direct communication with an ordinary citizen of any country (Abudaqa *et al.*, 2019). The national policy is negatively affected mainly by the oversaturation of the public diplomacy apparatus; many areas of activity create difficulties in various factors, namely:

- the issue of leadership (both the President of the country and the responsible departments have the decisive word; this creates confusion in some situations);
- obsolete national strategy of public diplomacy (the general up-to-date document dates to 2006);
- exchanges and other outreach activities (a large number of participants in public diplomacy creates difficulties in the way of coordination and concerted actions in this area; often the statements of some representatives contradict each other);
- rights, duties, and interdepartmental coordination, personnel and organizational issues (the weighted mechanism of national policy in the United States entails a pile of overlapping functions, which also creates the problem of an overcrowded staff and spending budget funds).

#### ***4.2. The Authoritarian Model of Public Diplomacy in China***

Recently, China’s activities in the international arena have become more visible and active, work has intensified to adapt to the growth of economic demands and events on the world stage (Reed, 2022). Apart from the fact that Beijing plays an essential role in world affairs through



its multi-level and complex system of contacts, today it is taking many actions aimed at creating a certain way of thinking among the world community (Jia and Li, 2020). For these purposes, state officials make frequent visits abroad, receive foreign delegations, and the Chinese leadership actively uses the media to convey its initiatives and narratives.

During its development as a state, the PRC created unique systems and strategies based both on the borrowed practices of other countries and on its own cultural and historical traditions; this fact also applies to the sphere of public diplomacy (Chiusi, 2021). However, the combination of these factors and national characteristics creates an original model, unlike others. The main difference between the Chinese model of people's diplomacy is its initial development from traditional political propaganda, which was created under the conditions of a one-party regime in an authoritarian state (Jia and Li, 2020). If Western democratic systems of diplomacy proclaim freedom of speech, actions, thoughts, then the Chinese model, proceeding from exclusively centralized power, acts rigidly, is controlled by the authorities, leaving very little room for initiative by other participants in the activity (Omonov, 2019).

Public diplomacy in China is aimed at creating a positive image of the state, namely: a country that is peaceful, reliable, easy to contact, developing, caring about its population, and advocating entirely for building a national "harmonious society" with the transfer of these qualities to the global level (Jia and Li, 2020). The focus of Chinese policy on the above elements is clearly explained by Joshua Kurlantzick, who in 2007 introduced the term "charm offensive" to denote China's use of "soft power" to improve its global status and role (Jiang, 2022). In this context, it is also worth mentioning the so-called "panda diplomacy" – the practice of sending giant pandas from China to other countries as a

means of establishing diplomatic relations (Huang and Wang, 2020). The method was first used during the Chinese Tang Dynasty (618-907), when Empress Wu Zetian, the only female emperor in the history of China, presented two pandas to the Japanese ruler (Reed, 2022). After the policy change in 1984, pandas began to be leased, not donated, and since the beginning of the 21st century, this practice has practically not been used (Huang and Wang, 2020; Zheng, 2023).

In 2009, during his speech at the 11th Congress of Chinese Diplomatic Representatives Abroad, Chinese President Hu Jintao emphasized the exceptional importance of public diplomacy, especially for China's foreign policy (Nye, 2020). Specifically, it was stated that Beijing should strengthen public and humanitarian diplomacy, initiate various types of cultural exchange activities, spreading Chinese culture around the world (Vanderhill *et al.*, 2020). After Hu's speech, the first serious discussions of the concept of people's diplomacy at the national level began in the state. In the future, this line continued: in 2012, during the 18th National Congress of the Communist Party of China (CPC), the new President of the People's Republic of China Xi Jinping stated that Beijing will make every effort to promote national policy (Nye, 2020). In addition, Xi introduced the concept of "telling China's story well", the essence of which was to spread the positive aspects of life in the country and expand the geography of Chinese culture (Chiusi, 2021). This appeal quickly became the main principle of Chinese public diplomacy.

To achieve the set goals in the field of public diplomacy, various public and private institutions have been created in China to perform the functions of changing the country's global image (Nye, 2020). At the State level, the Department of Public Diplomacy was established in 2009 as the main body for monitoring the implementation and coordination of tasks related to public diplomacy in the sphere of powers of various

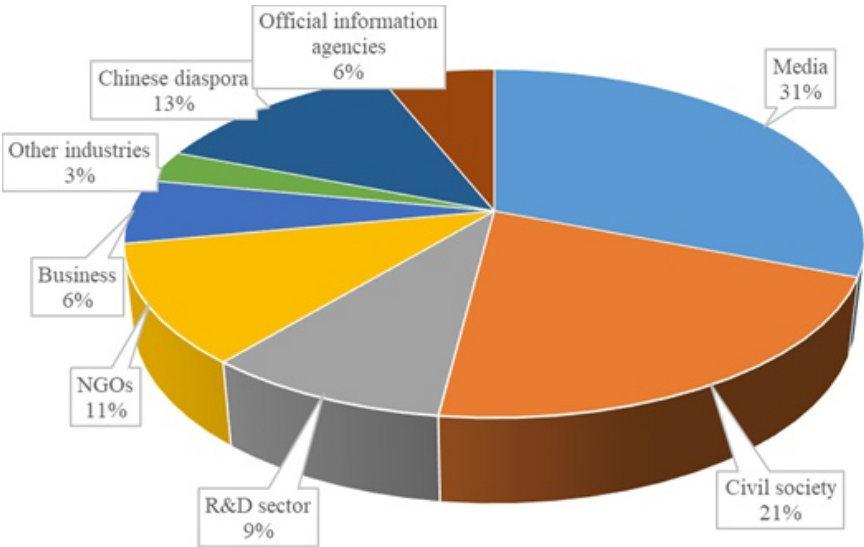
bodies and departments (Jiang, 2022). About twenty alliances and public diplomacy organizations were opened in the regions in cities such as Shanghai, Guangzhou and Nanjing (Nye, 2020). Furthermore, more than ten higher educational institutions and research institutes have started functioning throughout the country to investigate the issues of public diplomacy. An example of a private institution acting for such purposes is the China Public Diplomacy Association (established in 2012) to set up relations between China and other countries through the exchange of scientists and public figures, participation in common events (Chiusi, 2021).

#### *4.2.1. The structure of China's public diplomacy*

The mechanism of public diplomacy in China is complex and multifaceted, there are many responsible bodies, institutions, and other entities. In general, the functions of people's diplomacy are more or less performed in all areas and spheres of political, economic, and social life in the PRC (Figure 1).

First of all, the main decision-making body in this area is the CPC Central Commission for Foreign Affairs, reformatted in 2018 (Omonov, 2019). It is responsible for making decisions regarding public diplomacy in cooperation with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Department of Information, which are engaged in providing services to foreign media, covering major events, organizing numerous events, collecting important information and secret data from other countries about China (Nye, 2020). The prerogative of introducing changes to the current procedure for conducting public diplomacy and presenting recommendations in the field belongs to the Information Bureau of the State Council of the People's Republic of China. The next group of subjects dealing with public diplomacy issues are the Ministries of Culture and Education. The Ministry of Culture of China is of primary

**Figure 1** Percentage of Chinese Entities Performing Public Diplomacy Tasks



Source: Nye (2020).

importance, since it is Chinese culture that is the fundamental element of national diplomatic practice. The institution organizes cultural events (the proclamation of the Year of Culture of China, the opening of cultural centres abroad). The Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China also organizes various events, initiates exchange of students and researchers, promotes the idea of learning Chinese at the international level (Huang and Wang, 2020).

Apart from state institutions, there are some private institutions in the country whose activities are vital for achieving effective public diplomacy. First of all, it is worth noting the Confucius Institutes, which are foreign agencies around the world promoting the Chinese language,

culture, and values (Peterson, 2021). The first such institution was established in Seoul (South Korea) in 2004, and as of 2020, there are 108 Confucius Institutes and 14 classes in the European Union alone (Zhang, 2022). They are engaged in organizing events, teaching languages, information and consulting services, mainly by creating a positive image of the PRC in the world through these activities. However, recently, the leadership of these institutions has been accused of aggressively instilling communist principles in the countries of their location, from which the attitude towards Confucius Institutions has somewhat deteriorated.

It is worth mentioning the Chinese media and other information tools, among which the Xinhua News Agency, the official information representative of the PRC government, stands out. The organization broadcasts in eight languages, including English, but this does not contribute to creating the image of Xinhua as a serious agency; in the West, it is considered an instrument of Chinese propaganda and a “mouthpiece” of the country’s ruling party, especially after Xi Jinping came to power (Zhu, 2022). Furthermore, there is also the Central Television of China and the Chinese Bureau of Publications in Foreign Languages, which, however, are also not taken fully seriously in some other countries due to their status as fully government-controlled institutions. Civil society is very widely represented in the field of public diplomacy in China. Chinese community leaders and general public actively take part in global international projects and initiatives (Nye, 2020). They create connections and lobby China’s interests to create a positive image towards the country.

Thus, having considered the main participants in the sphere of public diplomacy in China and having investigated the specifics of their activities, as well as the vector of their work, it can be concluded that

public and private institutions, scientific organizations and public groups of the country are working to achieve the same goal using similar methods, giving Chinese public diplomacy greater legitimacy. The country's authorities are trying their best to use modern technologies in the field of computer science, computer systems, video monitoring with the aim of total control over public opinion within the state and to create an aura of peacefulness and reliability of Beijing according to foreign media.

#### *4.2.2. Advantages and disadvantages of the model*

The following examples can be attributed to the specific features of the authoritarian model of public diplomacy on the Chinese model. The first example – improving the image due to one of the most recognizable religions in the world. The most popular and positive aspect of Chinese culture and tradition is Buddhism, one of the world's religions, which is practised by almost 10 percent of the world's population (Zhu, 2022). The basis of Buddhism is the principle of peace, balance, and harmony with nature, as well as the denial of violence, any manifestation of brutality, hostility, and other types of power influence. These qualities are ideally suited to the specifics of the “soft power” strategy of Chinese diplomacy. While the CPC is officially atheist and has historically seen traditional religions as potential ideological rivals, in recent years, the party has recognized the utility of cultural and religious diplomacy as a tool for enhancing its global image and influence. This nuanced approach is particularly evident in the case of Buddhism. Buddhism has deep historical roots in China, and despite the party's secular stance, the Chinese government has, in certain contexts, harnessed Buddhism as a cultural bridge to foster diplomatic ties with neighbouring Buddhist-majority countries. Basically, the PRC uses this factor in its activities in

relation to Japan, India, Myanmar, Bangladesh, and other Southeast Asian countries. The Buddhist Association of China and the Association for Religious and Cultural Exchange are engaged in the development of the Buddhist part of Beijing's people's policy (Nye, 2020). But a long conflict with the spiritual leader of the Tibetan Buddhists, the 14th Dalai Lama and his admirers, somewhat overshadows the positive effect of the country's religious policy (*EurAsian Times*, 7th October 2022).

The second example – sporting achievements as the main pride of the state. China has long promoted the successful results of its athletes at international competitions as one of the factors of the favourable reputation of the PRC. Popularization of not only professional sports among the population, but also physical education and other active types of exercises, which positively affects the health of the nation, is one of the key tools for the success of Chinese public diplomacy. The entire state machine is working to improve the quality of athletes' performances and this work is bearing fruit: recently, representatives of the People's Republic of China have won prizes many times in such sports as gymnastics, athletics, shooting, figure skating. In addition, not the last place among the policy instruments is occupied by Beijing's organizational skills in sports events (the annual China International Football Cup, the Luge World Cup 2021/2022, the 2022 Winter Olympics in Beijing).

The negative aspects of public diplomacy of the People's Republic of China are as follows: inaccuracy in the definition of the concept, as well as connecting terms and meanings. Even though the term “public diplomacy” is given clearly in the reports of Chinese officials (Nye, 2020), there is still no clear understanding in society exactly how to implement this policy in real practice. While official Beijing assumes the inclusion of all governmental, non-governmental, private, scientific, and

public organizations in the processes aimed at fulfilling tasks in this area, there are several alternative interpretations of what rules and obligations exist for different participants in these processes (Orobets *et al.*, 2022). Being outside the country, its representatives are obliged to know what line of behaviour to follow and what information to voice to the masses to prevent the publication of contradicting narratives.

Monopoly of power as a contradiction of public diplomacy. Authoritarianism is a sign of the lack of diplomacy and equal relations in various spheres (Ayhan, 2019). Therefore, in other countries it is quite problematic to understand and accept China's public actions in the light of its political regime. Although it is believed that public diplomacy can be carried out regardless of the type of government in the country (Flew, 2020), the highly centralized management in the PRC only exacerbates the problem, implying strong control from above. Confucius Institutes, opened all over the world, were originally called the true sources of Chinese culture and values. However, as critics have pointed out, disguised to convey knowledge about the Chinese language and customs to the outside world, the Confucius Institute also encourages students to appreciate China and its ruling political power. For this reason, several previously opened institutes in the USA have already ceased to exist.

The dawn of Chinese “digital” authoritarianism. At the beginning of 2022, over 1 billion people in China already have access to the Internet and every year the number of active users will increase. Long before that, predicting current trends, in 2006 (and development began in the 1980s), the Chinese government created the Great Firewall (GFW) – a set of software and hardware systems used to monitor and filter messages on national Internet gateways (Wang, 2020). The tool filters and blocks objectionable content on the direct instructions of the CPC, thereby forcing foreign businesses interested in doing business in the



country to adapt to domestic legislation. In addition, the state has introduced a large-scale system of surveillance and control over the population (e.g., the Eyes' Program, known colloquially as the "Skynet Project" – a video surveillance system in crowded places, such as transport interchanges and checkpoints; as well as a system of social trust of the population – a scheme of ratings and credits for proper conduct and "punishment" for misconduct) (Gershgor, 2021). Notably, the outbreak of COVID-19 coronavirus infection in 2019 and the associated large-scale operation to isolate a vast number of the Chinese population made it possible for Beijing to test new information tracking and monitoring systems in real conditions.

#### ***4.3. The System of Public Diplomacy in the Republic of Kazakhstan***

Analysing the models of public diplomacy in the United States and China, specifically assessing the level and quality of the structure, the completeness of functionality and the degree of involvement, as well as the positive and negative aspects of the sphere, that the goals and aspirations of the policies of the two countries are similar, but the means, mechanisms, and powers to achieve the tasks are different. In the era of globalization, the reputation and image of a country increasingly determines its importance in the world. Since gaining independence, the Republic of Kazakhstan has had a need for self-identification and creation of its image in the international arena. The state conducts public diplomacy in the context of the transformation of the modern international system, forming its own civil society and developing new communication technologies (Voyvoda, 2022).

Thanks to the economic, social, and other reforms carried out to improve various aspects of the political life of the state and society, Kazakhstan has received support among the civilized countries of the world regarding the beginning of the creation of a free and democratic

system in the country (Tjia, 2022). However, by and large, this fact did not greatly affect the creation of a positive image of the country abroad because the focus of activities and results was directed inside Kazakhstan; the information campaign of this process was practically not voiced by Astana in the international space. This is the main difference and key feature of Kazakhstan – the principle of a centralized approach to creating a better image of the state in the world, using traditional tools and methods of public diplomacy and piecemeal release of a certain type of information outside the country (Nurtazina *et al.*, 2015). However, presently, simultaneously with the transformation of the world order system, which is accompanied by total changes in the usual scenarios and structures, the Republic is beginning to use the multi-vector principle both in foreign policy – traditional diplomacy, and in creating the “right” image in the field of public diplomacy (Urzaeva, 2022).

Considering the aspects of the topic under study in the context of Kazakh practices, it is worth noting that the sphere of public diplomacy in the country is at the stage of development and initial action (Omonov, 2019). Many elements of the system are imperfect, a number of terms and concepts are not fully defined or even absent, but the process of developing and implementing the principal concepts and rules of public diplomacy is in full swing. The desire of both the official authorities and civil society to spread a positive image of the state is steadily growing, the request for a legislative and legal definition of the sphere is substantial and rather clear.

Until recently, there was no clear definition of the concept of public diplomacy in the legislative field. In 2019, Kazakhstan adopted “On the Concept of Foreign Policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan”, according to which the state promptly and fully provides the world community with information regarding its position on international issues, foreign policy

initiatives, as well as social, economic, and cultural issues (Ministry of Justice, Kazakhstan, 2019). In addition, the Republic, unlike other states with their “strict” methods, implements its own concept of “soft power”, which includes a peaceful foreign policy, political and social stability, sustainable and dynamic economic growth, the effectiveness of the model of interethnic and interfaith harmony, the attractiveness of the investment climate, ease of doing business and innovative education.

The structure of the people’s diplomacy of the Republic of Kazakhstan practically does not differ from the systems in other countries. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is the main state body responsible for planning, organizing, and performing the tasks in this respective field, as well as for communication at all levels with foreign partners (Abzhaparova and Sarsembaeva, 2013). Apart from the Ministry, Kazakhstan’s leaders – the President and the Prime Minister – have a full set of powers in the field of public diplomacy, who, using international visits and multilateral meetings, try to create a good impression of the country. Under the leadership of the President of the country, the Assembly of People of Kazakhstan (the only such organization among the countries of the former Soviet Union) operates, the main functions of which include implementation of state national policy, promotion of the international authority of the state, increasing the effectiveness of interstate contacts at all levels.

Other notable participants in the system include scientific, cultural, and educational institutions, as well as the business environment. However, unfortunately, their activities are not officially consolidated; all the work they do for the benefit of the image of the country, the growth of the attractiveness of the Republic according to citizens of other states, is based on the principles of informal cooperation, since there is no document that would legitimize this activity.

#### ***4.4. Implementation of International Practices: Recommendations for Kazakhstan***

Considering the issue of legislative consolidation of the principles of public diplomacy in the Republic, responsible representatives should pay attention to the resources of the country that are already available, and it does not take much effort to use them to create a favourable image. The practices of both the USA and China show that to promote a favourable impression of the country into the world space, the best tool is advertising its own natural resources and centuries-old history (Osipova-Stocker *et al.*, 2022). Nature, culture, traditions, as well as art, education, language – all this, with the right approach, creates a powerful foundation for promoting national values on a global scale.

Thus, Kazakhstan has a sharply continental climate with hot temperate summers and cold, snow-free winters, which creates unique natural conditions for each season (Iztaeva and Abzhaparova, 2017). Information about this will attract tourists and researchers, which will create an added positive aspect for the state. The centuries-old cultural tradition of the country, together with modern trends, attracts a large number of both adult connoisseurs and young people around the world. To form the image of Kazakhstan as a unique country that combines history and modernity, this direction will allow it to declare itself as an international platform for cultural and educational art.

In the modern world, education plays a crucial role because the importance of cultural and civilizational relations is constantly growing. Continuing the practice of the United States and China, Kazakhstan is developing student exchange programs, grants for scientists and other specialists in various fields (Tassilova *et al.*, 2018). For national policy, an extremely effective tool is the promotion of opportunities and prospects that open up during education in a particular country because the main advantage of providing educational services over other political

and economic instruments is the possibility of influencing the formation of values and perceptions of citizens of other countries, i.e., the struggle for the minds of future elites (Urazaeva, 2022). For these purposes, the Bolashak project was developed in the Republic – an international educational scholarship of the first President of the Republic of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev, established in 1993. The main task of the scholarship program is to train personnel, specialists, and other experts to achieve successful solutions in priority sectors of the country's economy; the program is still active today, opening new areas of cooperation since the 2020s. A principal factor for the popularization of the state is also the knowledge of the native language; the number of Kazakh schoolchildren who have decided to receive education in the Kazakh language is growing every year (Table 3).

**Table 3** Dynamics of Teaching in the Kazakh Language in Kazakhstan's Schools

<b>Academic year</b>	<b>Total number of students (thousand)</b>	<b>Percentage of students learning in Kazakh (%)</b>
2000/2001	3247.4	52.10
2005/2006	2824.6	56.80
2010/2011	2516.1	62.50
2015/2016	2785.3	–
2016/2017	2917.8	65.65
2017/2018	3039.1	65.64
2018/2019	3175.0	65.69
2019/2020	3327.8	65.60
2020/2021	3481.3	65.35

Source: Ministry of Justice, Kazakhstan (2022).

Another effective tool for improving the country's image is working with the diaspora. Thus, as of 2021, the number of Kazakhs living abroad amounted to over 4 million people. Presently, the state has the "On Approval of the Action Plan to Support Ethnic Kazakhs Abroad for 2018-2022" (Ministry of Justice, Kazakhstan, 2018) in effect, for the implementation of which more than 400 million tenge was allocated in 2021 alone. The Action Plan makes provision for the following work: provision of a scholarship program for representatives of the Kazakh diaspora studying in Kazakh universities and colleges; provision of Kazakh schools and cultural centres abroad with textbooks, scientific materials, and other manuals in the humanitarian field. Evidently, work with the diaspora continues, but to perfect the relationship and strengthen ties, state bodies need to actively support the cultural and educational centres of Kazakhstan in other states, especially those that were created on the initiative of the diaspora and carry out activities to promote the image of Kazakhstan and its traditional values.

A particularly important aspect of public diplomacy is traditional diplomacy. In this sense, Kazakhstan takes an example from the world's leading states. Thus, at the initiative of Astana, several international events were held: Conference on Interaction & Confidence Building Measures in Asia (2022), International Day of Action against Nuclear Tests in 2000 (Rakhimov, 2014), Congress of Leaders of World and Traditional Religions (2003), The International Decade for the Rapprochement of Cultures will be held by the UN at the Initiative of Kazakhstan (*Zakon*, 19th December 2012). The active position of the state on the settlement of problems of peace and stability on the continent (the Syrian crisis, Russia's war against Ukraine). In this context, the Republic uses a multi-vector approach of "soft power", trying to strike a balance between different participants in international events, declaring itself as a reliable partner.

Fully supporting China's initiative to introduce digital technologies in the country, Kazakhstan is developing digital diplomacy at all levels of government. Astana is exploring the possibilities of using Internet resources to promote Kazakhstan's cultural values on a global scale. Thus, today, the results of this activity include the development of the Kazakh version of the online encyclopaedia Wikipedia, the addition of the Kazakh language to the Google Translate service, the opening of the free library of Kazakhstan, etc.

Having considered all aspects of public diplomacy in Kazakhstan, having determined its priorities, strengths and weaknesses, as well as having investigated the prospects for development, it can be stated that presently the country is at the stage of transformation in this sphere – the transition from an authoritarian model following the example of the PRC to a democratic form supported by the United States. But for a complete and successful transition, it is necessary to consider not only the positive examples of the two models, but also to consider and try to correct and avoid negative components. In summary, some basic recommendations that may be useful in the practical plane of public diplomacy in Kazakhstan can be outlined.

Development of an extensive network of foreign services to promote Kazakhstan's traditional values and customs of everyday life. The image of the Republic is not supported by special institutions at a high level abroad, as is the case in the USA (*Voice of America*, *Radio Liberty*, USAID) and the PRC (Confucius Institutes) because such organizations have not been established; the available individual entities are unable to perform global tasks of people's diplomacy. But for the large-scale opening of such institutions, colossal funds are needed. Therefore, for these purposes, it is recommended to allocate budget funds for this activity (national aspect) and strengthen ties with the governments of other states (support in the deployment of Kazakhstan's

information infrastructure abroad through responsible representatives of the hosting country).

Development of a clear legislative framework in the field of public diplomacy with simple and understandable definitions and terms. As in the USA, Kazakhstan has a sufficient number of cells (institutions, organizations, and other entities) that handle public diplomacy issues to a certain degree, although their total number is still small (Zhanbulatova *et al.*, 2020). However, despite this, due to some immaturity of the system, from time to time, there is a situation of misunderstanding of certain points (the place and role of a particular participant, their rights and obligations, as well as powers and subordination). Therefore, the development of regulatory documents in this area contributes to the resolution of many controversial issues that hinder the intensification of work to create a positive image of Kazakhstan in other countries.

The highly centralized vertical of power makes it difficult to adequately perceive the information voiced by official representatives of the state, who are considered unwitting executors of the orders of the leadership and the semantic message is ordinary propaganda, which now has only a negative connotation. In this case, Astana in some way follows the example of Beijing, where the Xinhua News Agency is considered the “mouthpiece” of the PRC all over the world and is not taken seriously enough. Therefore, it is necessary to develop democratic values and political freedom to use the maximum advantages of conventional information technologies to promote the country on the world stage.

Dissemination of information about “inconvenient” issues of life in Kazakhstan. Following China, Kazakhstan builds a positive image of the state based on cultural heritage, educational and scientific results, history, and traditions. Therewith, issues concerning internal aspects – the political regime, human rights and freedoms, corruption – are not



brought up for discussion in the international plane. Since the world community has practically no information on these issues, it is very difficult to recreate the image of a correct, peace-loving, and friendly state. It is necessary to provide data on the above-mentioned aspects to the international public, at least using piecemeal approach and not in full – thus it can be demonstrated that Kazakhstan is fully open to discussing its issues.

## **5. Discussion**

Evaluating the array of available information and various materials on this issue, namely, regarding the best options for the transformation of public diplomacy in the Republic of Kazakhstan, and presenting practical recommendations for various elements of this policy through the analysis and summary of the strengths and weaknesses of democratic and authoritarian models of diplomacy, the following conclusion can be drawn: scientific literature on the subject under study is widely presented in the form of articles, critical reviews, and methodological, analytical and statistical publications. Special emphasis was placed on various forms of leading this vector of foreign policy contacts: “American style”, “American dream” in the USA and “soft power”, “panda diplomacy” in China. The materials prepared by Asian experts, primarily from Kazakhstan, turned out to be the most informative; the information presented in the papers of Kazakh authors became especially useful in developing new concepts and approaches to the issues under study. Regulations and legislative documents of the countries whose activities were considered in the present study were considerably helpful for the conduct of this research.

The present paper considered the importance of public diplomacy, the essence of which was to promote national interests abroad by

establishing active interaction with civil society, which forms public opinion; researcher from Kazakhstan Urazaeva (2020) also considered public diplomacy an important vector in foreign policy, through which the country's foreign policy goals are achieved through effective interaction with the target audience.

The assumption that it is possible to neutralize the negative narratives of the hostile policy of the enemy or to attract the attention of young people and adolescents to their side through education, providing opportunities to study, get a profession and thereby achieve career heights in the future, was voiced in her article. An analogous idea was put forward by the Italian scholar Gallarotti (2022), who emphasized that throughout the history of the nation they have been promoting their culture through special organizations, among which, first of all, educational institutions such as, e.g., Chinese Confucius Institutes stand out.

The practice of using “soft power” tools, such as science, art, culture, sports, and media through a unified information resource in the field of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization is not widely known, but such an area exists and completes its objectives, which was indicated in the present paper. Political commentator Güleç (2021) also stated that since NATO is widely associated with security and defence issues, it is also important to follow and understand how it reacts to modern diplomatic problems through its public diplomacy and communication activities.

The study emphasized that a well-structured and properly organized system of people's diplomacy will give the most productive and positive results when completing the assigned tasks. A group of international scientists, including Albishri *et al.* (2019) also agreed with this aspect. Having used the historical example of interaction between the States and Eastern countries, the authors assumed that an unreasonable approach to

organizing and conducting large-scale events, such as the first foreign visits, may be overshadowed by some minor but sad mistakes during the implementation of work.

The study considered the situation when the outbreak of COVID-19 coronavirus infection in 2019 in China contributed to the accelerated development of digital public diplomacy in the state; the pandemic has introduced substantial changes in the lives of citizens, forcing them to seek new sources of information on self-isolation. Uzbek economist Amanov (2021) continued this idea, concluding that aspects of the political system, features of public and foreign policy of the People's Republic of China had a strong influence from coronavirus infection, which Beijing used to introduce digital tools into the dissemination of “correct” information.

This study pointed out that both the American model of public diplomacy and its Chinese counterpart have both strengths and weaknesses; the two systems skilfully use the advantages associated with historical and cultural heritage, the educational sector, economic, and social influence. American political scientist Nye (2020) also contemplated the heterogeneity of the above types of diplomacy and pointed out that in certain situations, the open rhetoric of the American state in some way destroys the carefully constructed scheme of China's influence on international society.

The initiative of the Chinese government “One Belt, One Road”, which is aimed primarily at the Central Asian region and affects all areas of the country's activities on a continent-wide scale – political and economic decisions, foreign policy, diplomatic events – is called one of the fundamental plans to introduce the idea of a peace-loving and easy-going nature of the PRC. An analogous assumption was made by a public activist from Uzbekistan Omonov (2019), arguing that the

location of the region makes it a geostrategic “bridge” connecting East and West, and therefore it plays a crucial role in establishing ties between the leading countries of the world and asserting itself as important foreign policy players. At the same time, the author suggests that, using evidence from public diplomacy in Uzbekistan, it is possible to state some distance from the priority of work within the framework of the initiative.

An important role in promoting the image of the state in the international arena is played by the country’s top officials – the President, Prime Minister, and other official representatives. Their direct dialogue with the foreign public and the local elite can create a positive effect and give good results in the field of popularization and information policy, which was demonstrated in this study on the example of the USA, China, and Kazakhstan. The personal charm of statesmen during international visits is of strategic importance for the sphere of public diplomacy. However, arguing that the becoming of public diplomacy in the country was mainly due to the authority of the first president Nursultan Nazarbayev, as well as the current president Kassym-Jomart Tokayev, without considering the efforts of other unofficial subjects of public diplomacy in the state.

Thus, having considered and investigated all available material on public diplomacy in the USA, China, and Kazakhstan, namely focusing on the ways and methods of conducting this policy according to the democratic scenario (e.g., the States) and authoritarian (e.g., China), as well as the system of public diplomacy in the Republic of Kazakhstan, the following conclusion can be drawn: in the near future, the quality of scientific information, results, and conclusions of research in this area will stay at a consistently prominent level. The subject of further studies will probably become somewhat wider due to the transformation of the

existing tools of public diplomacy caused by global changes and the transition of information technologies to more modern standards. The results of scientific research by Central Asian specialists, primarily from Kazakhstan, will also have a decent level because currently the country is reforming its foreign policy and transforming other areas related to these changes, including in the field of public diplomacy.

## **6. Conclusions**

During the present study, models of public diplomacy in the United States of America and the People's Republic of China were investigated for the introduction of their individual elements into the practical activities of the Republic of Kazakhstan. It was found that each form of public diplomacy, namely democratic and authoritarian, has its history, stages of development, and prospects for further evolution, depending on the adoption of certain national and international decisions regarding issues of the modern world. Analysing various aspects of public diplomacy using evidence from the United States and China, the strengths and weaknesses were outlined, with information and communication resources and technologies being the most effective tools of diplomacy, and the centralization of the management and its excessive congestion definitely being the disadvantages.

The study indicated that Kazakhstan is relatively successful in conducting its own public diplomacy, combining national unique traditions and the best practices of the countries of the world; however, there are also several issues that will require certain reforms and transformations to solve. Based on the results obtained, having analysed the effectiveness of the activities of the United States and China in the field of national policy to promote a positive image of the state and create a reputation of a viable partner, it can be assumed that the

achievements of Washington and Beijing in this area can be used to conduct one's own line of diplomacy by other countries, primarily by Kazakhstan. Despite the geographical remoteness of Kazakhstan from the States, Astana successfully uses some mechanisms of the American model. However, close political, economic, and other ties with its closest neighbour – China – drive the Central Asian state to adopt its practices as much as possible, weaving individual elements into the national structure of public diplomacy.

## Notes

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