SOFT POWER OF IMAGE POLICY OF THE UK AND GERMANY: LESSONS FORTHE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA

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In the article, the author comprehensively analyzes the soft power of image policy. Studying the problems and the mechanisms of realization of "soft power" of the modern states in their foreign policies, which are aimed to create an attractive image of the country we should start with the achievements of the Europeans. The Europe invests a lot in the soft power and public diplomacy. The Europeans have a lot of experience in its implementation and invest more than anyone else, which is especially prominent regarding the international cultural relations. The UK, France and Germany become the true suitors of the idea of increasing the role of "soft power" in world politics. This article will consider the experience of the UK and Germany in promoting the soft power image policyof the state. The desire to integrate the Republic of Moldova in the European Union should not be formed only on the basis of economic cooperation with the EU countries, but also on the construction of a single socio-political and cultural foundation. Thus, the concept of soft power and its functional dimension (the study of the role of the constituent elements of soft power: culture, religion, education and science, participation in international non-governmental organizations, etc.) should be a central element in cooperation with the EU member states aimed to promote an attractive image of the Republic of Moldova.

Keywords: soft power, image policy, public diplomacy, UK, Germany, lessons, Republic of Moldova

"Soft power" policy plays an important role at the beginning of the XXI century. It can be argued that this concept has become one of the most popular in the international political discourse and in the practice of the struggle for power and influence in the international arena in the past two decades. The term was coined into the scientific and political vocabulary by the American expert on foreign policy Nye Joseph. At the heart of this concept lies the idea of the existence of the effective instruments of ruling, based on the economic and military potential of the country, that are the alternatives to coercion and pressure, which have become notions attributed to the hard power. Under the concept of soft power the researcher understands the ability to get the desired results in relations with other states by the attractiveness of their own culture, values and foreign policy, rather than coercion or financial pressure... In his subsequent work J. Nye has expanded this definition. He defined the soft power as the ability to influence other states in order to realize their goals through cooperation in certain areas, aimed at the formation of belief and positive perception [1].

The potential of "soft power" of states consists of internal and external factors. Among the most important internal factors are the primary cultural potential, the system of values, the ideological principles of credibility, the quality and standard of living, the creativity of the state, the consolidation of society. The external factors of "soft power" are the state's place in the global hierarchy of states, the geopolitical status of civilization identity, the model of economic and political development, the migration policies, the information resources and communicative mobility [16].

From our point of view, at the present stage the *soft power* is the main tool for creating a favorable image of the country. However, the scientific literature has not developed a recognized point of view about the correlation of categories *image* and *soft power*. Thus, two points of view can be distinguished. According to the first position, soft power is a tool for building the image [14, p.52-61]. The second view sees the image as one of the components of the soft power [9].

There are two main ways to improve the effectiveness of soft power in order to create an attractive image of the state. The first one consists in the implementation of various activities of information management, advertising and promotion in order to improve the international image of the state. This method primarily consists of the public diplomacy.

The second way to improve the efficiency of "soft power" is not an intentional advertising of the state's achievements, as in the first case, but their real increase. We are talking about the development of national culture and science, the creation of a successful economic model, the establishment of a just society, the implementation of internal policies that gain the approval of the citizens, the conducting of the foreign policy of peace, cooperation with other countries in order to solve transnational problems [15].

Let's look at the details of the characteristics of the public diplomacy as an actual instrument of formation of the international image of the state.

Public diplomacy consists of the actions aimed at the building of long-term relationships, the protection of the key objectives of the national foreign policy and the better understanding of the values and institutions of their own state abroad [6].

In 1965 the American diplomat Edmund Gullion coined the term "public diplomacy" to refer to the government's efforts to promote the national interests abroad through direct interaction with the population of another state. Edmund Gullion associated the term with the activities of the US Information Agency (USIA) [10]. The public diplomacy is different from traditional diplomacy by the fact that the subjects of its impact are not the formal diplomatic services and the governments of another country, but the masses, and the process itself also involves the residents of the country, rather than state officials.

The methods and techniques of public diplomacy were used in the foreign policy of states for centuries, but only in the second half of the XX century they began to be transformed into a conscious state policy and gained a sound theoretical and legal

framework [2]. This topic has attracted the serious attention of the scientists in the late 80-ies of the XX century, and particularly popular the research in the field of public diplomacy became in 90-ies of XX century. It was a time of radical changes in the geopolitical map of the world, of radical transformation of the bipolar system of international relations established after World War II. The new theoretical and empirical stage in the exploration and use of the public diplomacy as a tool for promoting the image of the state began in the new millennium. The process was directly affected by the tragedy of September 11, 2001. The public diplomacy gained a new goal. In the US has been developed and actively implemented the project of the rebranding of the America, directed at the creation of a positive image of the country in the world, especially in Muslim countries.

The effects obtained through the public diplomacy can easily overshadow the foreign policy actions, that are unpopular and recognized as illegitimate by other states.

The objectives of public diplomacy usually are:

- Ensuring national interests and the protection of the purposes of the national foreign policy and national security;

- Strengthening of the targeted impact on foreign audiences, establishment of a better understanding between nations;

- The formation of positive attitudes of the foreign audiences towards the goals and progress of the implementation of the state's domestic and foreign policy, the voluntary acceptance of the relevant facilities;

- The creation of a favorable environment and provision of the support of public opinion abroad for certain actions of the state on the international arena;

- Building of long-term and trusting relationships with foreign audiences;

- Achievement of better understanding of the values and institutions of their own state abroad;

- Enhancement of the dialogue between the citizens of the country and foreign partners;

- Improving of the attractiveness of the country's image [13, p.82].

The set of tools of soft power, aimed at creating and promoting public awareness and positive image of the country, bears striking features of national specifics in different countries. In this regard, it makes sense to talk about the existence of national models of soft power, those main task is the strengthening of economic, political, cultural features and overall position of the state on the international arena [14, p.54].

Studying the problems and the mechanisms of realization of "soft power" of the modern states in their foreign policies, which are aimed at creating an attractive image of the country we should start with the achievements of the Europeans.

The Europe invests a lot in the soft power and public diplomacy. The Europeans have a lot of experience in its implementation and invest more than anyone else, which is especially prominent regarding the international cultural relations. France, for example, spends on such programs about $17 per capita - almost four times more than

Canada, Britain and Sweden. For comparison, the cost of the American State Department on the funding of international cultural programs accounts only 65 cents per capita. In addition, European countries have made greater efforts to attract students to their schools and universities from around the world [5, p.16].

The UK, France and Germany become the true suitors of the idea of increasing the role of "soft power" in world politics. This article will consider the experience of the UK and Germany in promoting the soft power image policyof the state.

The United Kingdom. The UK is one of the recognized world leaders in the use of "soft power" [19, p.11].

The main role in the implementation of the policy of "soft power" belongs to the UK government agencies, especially the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO3), the Department for International Development (DFID4) and, to a lesser extent, the Department for Culture, Media & Sport (DCMS) [19, p. 11].

In the UK the formation of the international image of the country is carried out by several organizations. The key agency responsible for the implementation of the UK's foreign policy in the field of culture and promotion of the language is the Ministry of Foreign and Commonwealth Office. At the same time the main subject of "soft power" of Great Britain in this area by the British Council [19, p. 13]. The British Council is funded by the Government and involved in the organization of cultural relations with foreign countries. The projects implemented by the British Council can be divided into three main groups: support for cooperation in the field of culture, the spread of the English language and the development of education. The total cost of the British Council activities for the 2012-2013 fiscal year amounted to 785 million pounds, 54% of which were spent on the projects in the field of the spread of the English language, 27% were directed on the projects in the field of education, and 7% were spent on the projects in the field of culture, science and technology.

The events for the dissemination of British culture conducted by the British Council include the organization and facilitation of the exhibitions, festivals and other events in independent format and in the framework of the programs, the implementation of which is designed for a few years. In the field of promotion of English language the British Council is equally focused on the interaction with teachers and language learners. One of the main tools in the implementation of the activities of the British Council in the field of international educational cooperation is the official website for foreign students' education in the UK (www.educationuk.org). Only in 2012 the site was visited by 2 million users from different countries.

The work of the British Council in areas of academic mobility and research and education partnership is based on targeted programs that cover various regions of the world. Currently there are more than thirty programs of this kind. There are different national and regional programs, as well a range of thematic programs [19, p. 14].

The divisions of the British Council are opened in 230 cities in 110 countries, and support the work of the British Library, the linguistic and cultural centers, sponsor the British exhibition abroad.

The public diplomacy has become a main tool for promoting the UK's image in the world. The Public diplomacy aims to explain the foreign policy of the United Kingdom, as well as to popularize the country, its values and this way to facilitate the formation of its positive image.

The public diplomacy is one of the main functions of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office the Great Britain. Its key objective is the effective presentation of British policy and distribution of information about the UK. On this depends the perception and attitude towards the UK in the world, and thus the effectiveness and success of all the British offices abroad, from business to politics.

The British Foreign Office has prepared a special project called "Information kiosks." The Information kiosk is a computer, which will give the user access to the web pages of British organizations, first of all the governmental ones, that contain the necessary information for foreign citizens about the UK. It is planned to establish such kiosks in the receptions of embassies and the divisions of the British Council [18, p.171].

One the major aspects of the formation of the UK's image is the formation of the British national identity, its culture as a soft power component. Russian researcher Vasilenko I. identifies the following main pillars of British identity [3, p.121] :

- The government *institutions. The* UK has a long history of government institutions.

- *The monarchy.* The royal court in the UK managed to keep its appearance virtually unchanged even at the beginning of the XXI century. The triumph of the British monarchy is obliged to Queen Victoria, whose name later became the name of an entire era. The economic and colonial achievements that are now associated rather with the monarch than with the government as well as the demonstrative behavior and the aura of perfection and sacred majesty that the Queen has managed to create around herself set the tone for the behavior of all subsequent monarchs.

At the present stage, the personality of Queen Elizabeth II it is already a sacred symbol for many British. Even the face of the Queen as a symbol of the monarchy is used as an image on banknotes, coins, stamps and dies. Elizabeth became the standard of conduct not only for her family and the British, but also for members of the royal houses of Europe [12, p.69].

The monarch’s birthday or the wedding of royal heir is a national holiday, and is celebrated not only in Britain, but also by the people around the world who have no connection to the monarchy, helping to create an attractive image of the United Kingdom in the world. For example, the 90th anniversary of the Queen on April 21, became one of the most talked news topics in the world.

Analyzing the image of the British monarchy, we cannot forget about the traditionalism as a characteristic trait of Englishmen. The British are well known custodians and admirers of their traditions, that "give a sense of permanence and provide with comfort that is comparable to nothing" [17].

- *The Empire. The* contemporary Britain lost its status as the empire long ago. Starting with XIX century a large number of areas was under its control. The production of goods in the UK was the highest in the world until about 1875. The population also grew, which was the reason for of the increase in the middle class among the country's inhabitants. For example, in 1815 there were approximately 13 million inhabitants, however the in the next 60 years the population has doubled, and at the beginning of the XX century (in 1914) there were already more than 40 million people.

- *The Sea Power.* The Sea played an important geopolitical role of being the natural boundary that protects the country from enemies. Today, the United Kingdom emphasizes the role of the island nation.

- *The Industry.* Everything that is done in the UK is characterized by conservatism and snobbery, like the brand Burberry.

- *English Culture.* English culture has a rich history and is associated with the legacy of ancient European peoples, the Celts, Germans and Scandinavians. Ango-Saxon culture has had a tremendous impact on the neighboring countries, but also took a step beyond them.

One of the main characteristic features of the English national character are conservatism and loyalty to tradition. Although England is one of the most democratic and open-minded nations of the modern world, the life of Britons continues to be determined by a variety of old customs, for which the local residents are immediately distinguishable from the country guest or emigrants.

- *English language.* English language can be considered a the supreme achievement of British culture as today it is recognized as a language of international communication.

- *English sport. Football,* cricket, horse racing, hunting, golf *are* the essential components of being British.

- *Home and private life are intimate to the Englishman.* Privacy is respected by all, and a home and comfort are the compulsory elements of personal *happiness.*

Germany. Today, Germany is one of the countries that actively use a variety of soft-power mechanisms to realize their interests. The ministries related to international relations, education, science and international development assistance are the key agencies that are engaged in the development and financing of "soft power" in Germany. They are: the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Education and Science, the Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development. The "soft policy" also receives funds from the lands (German regions) and from private organizations in

addition to public funds. There may be other sources, such as income from educational services or contributions of members of the funds [8, p.28].

The activity of specialized funds in the field of education, culture and the promotion of the German language and, above all, the German Academic Exchange Service (Deutscher Akade-mischer Austausch Dienst, DAAD) and Goethe Institute (Goethe-Institut) are also an important element of "soft power" in Germany [8, p.30].

The promotion of the German language and the stimulation of interest in its study is considered a priority in the international German programs. German language is one of the most widespread in the world, and it is spoken by over 90 million people. The federal government gives it a key role in the process of creating a positive image of Germany abroad. Merkel has repeatedly stressed how important it is to maintain the interest in its the study as a foreign language: “the language of Goethe is attractive, but it must be fought for” [11].

Goethe Institute, founded in 1951 aims to promote the study of German language outside of Germany, to develop the international cooperation in the field of culture and to spread information about the cultural, social and political life of Germany. The organization is financed by its own revenues, as well as the funds from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

At the moment, it has 142 offices in 92 countries, making it one of the most important cultural and educational centers around the world. The main Goethe Institute is carrying out various activities aimed at promoting the German language and culture: courses of German language, thematic seminars and workshops, conferences and forums (e.g. job fairs) [7, p. 29].

The German Ministry of Foreign Affairs sets ambitious targets for amplification of the role of the German language. The main task is to make it the second most important foreign language in the world. That’s why the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and its partners in February 2010 started the program "German - Language of Ideas", which was designed to publicize and promote German language as an integral part of the "Germany" brand. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs supports the language, trying to make it the language of the new European identity and the key to attractive markets and the huge potential of the German economy for developing countries. It presents the German as a language of the creative youth, who tends to free scientific and cultural communication [11, p.30].

The German Academic Exchange Service is the largest intermediary organization in the field of student exchange in Germany. Germany offers about 30,000 places for foreign students and young scientists every year. The search of international researchers of the highest level is the primary task of the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation. Among the graduates of the fund are 40 Nobel Prize laureates [4, p.102].

Formally DAAD is a social organization, however, it has a special diplomatic status, equated with public institutions. Currently it has an extensive network of offices

(more than 130 offices in 67 countries around the world). At the same time, more than 250 universities and 130 student unions in Germany are members of the DAAD at the moment, and more than 1,500 universities and institutions around the world participate in the program [7, p.30].

Germany pays great attention to exhibition activities, and has traditionally been one of the leaders in this field. Moreover, the exhibitions are one of the key sectors of the German service sector. The main organization that is engaged in the development of exhibitions in Germany and helps German companies to take part in foreign exhibitions is the Committee on Trade Fair in Germany (Ausstellungs-und the Messe-Ausschussder Deutschen Wirtschaft, the AUMA). The AUMA was founded in 1907 and is an organization with an umbrella structure. The AUMA provides information and consulting support to companies about the timing, requirements to the participants, audience of exhibitions, etc. [8, p.35].

The desire to integrate the Republic of Moldova in the European Union should not be formed only on the basis of economic cooperation with the EU countries, but also on the construction of a single socio-political and cultural founded. Thus, the concept of soft power and its functional dimension (the study of the role of the constituent elements of soft power: culture, religion, education and science, participation in international non-governmental organizations, etc.) should be a central element in cooperation with the EU member states aimed to promote an attractive image of the Republic of Moldova.. The experience of the UK and Germany in the use of soft power can be a good benchmark for the Republic of Moldova in the implementation of certain aspects in the field of cultural and public diplomacy projects developed by our state. For example, as noted above, the public diplomacy is an important tool of soft power. The work with the Diaspora abroad is a substantial activity of public diplomacy . Our country has already made some efforts in this direction. For example, the Bureau for Relations with the Diaspora was created at the State Chancellery of the Republic of Moldova. This direction should be followed by the Republic of Moldova in order to ensure a good language, culture, economic propaganda of the country.

In the process of implementation of soft power arises the question of the target audience, the choice of which would make the soft power of the Republic of Moldova the most efficient. Since the establishment of institutions, structures and projects for the implementation of soft power is a very costly task, it is necessary to calculate the optimal vectors of its broadcast. Moldova often perceived in the EU based on the prevailing negative stereotypes, the change of which requires special efforts, time and expenses.

Of course, this work is necessary and it must be carried out within the framework of adjustments of Moldova's image in the EU. But it would be more rational to focus our efforts primarily on those countries that have an objective interest

in cooperation with the Republic of Moldova and are our potential strategic partners in the EU.

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