THE CONCEPT, GENESIS AND EVOLUTION OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

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ANNOTATION
In the context of globalization, the role of public diplomacy in cooperation between nations is growing more than ever. It should be noted that although it is known from history that public diplomacy is one of the main mechanisms of international relations, it has not been long since it has become one of the main vectors of modern international relations. Unlike traditional diplomacy, public diplomacy is manifested in different angles of international relations according to its versatility, diversity of activities, classification of goals and objectives. A correct understanding of the phenomenon of public diplomacy, its goals and sources of forms of implementation is impossible without a clear definition of the concept of “public diplomacy”. Observing its evolution, it can be seen that although its modern meaning and understanding in scientific and practical circles differs from the original semantic load, it is not a new lexical construction.


DISCUSSION
The origin and application of public diplomacy in political circles can be seen in the dependence of society and international relations on the issues they face at different times. “Public diplomacy” has a long history of entering into political, diplomatic and scientific debates. In this regard, the emergence of the concept of public diplomacy and the process of becoming a full-fledged subject of international relations can be studied in 5 periods.

The first period of public diplomacy covers the period from the earliest times to 1856. Although public diplomacy was the constant center of human communication during this period, it was not used as a public diplomacy and can be considered as a part and mechanism of traditional diplomacy during the transition to the first statehood. Archaeological research also shows that in the regions where the first ancestors of mankind were scattered, the first humans were always in contact with each other [1].

In ancient Greece, the Roman Empire, and many other countries, there were various methods and techniques of forming a positive opinion in society. The rulers skillfully used specially hired people - traders, travelers, scientists - to collect information about the way of life, customs and secrets of other nations, the secrets of the state, the armed forces, the wealth.

In the tenth and twelfth centuries, in the Republic of Novgorod, in the marketplaces and crowded places, the masters of special professions spoke aloud to the crowd about the peoples and life of other countries [2]. Such professionals were also present in the Arab Caliphate, China, India, and Central Asian countries. In "A Thousand and One Nights", a rare masterpiece of Arab literature, stories about the peoples of different countries are a sign of the roots of public diplomacy. There are many such examples. The main thing is that public diplomacy has manifested itself for centuries in various forms of foreign policy, both in times of war and in times of peace. Plutarch [3], Tacitus [4], N. Machiavelli [5], E. Said [6], G. Kun [7], Mansur [8], d. Galula [9] and Nagl [10] provide a detailed account of ancient, medieval public diplomacy.

Studies show that foreign scholars do not pay much attention to the historical roots of public diplomacy, but the ancient period is also an integral part of modern public diplomacy and can be considered as its initial period.

In ancient times, public diplomacy was not only a form of traditional diplomacy, but also had a significant impact on the foreign policy of states. Innovations in trade, handicrafts, and urban planning were influenced by public diplomacy.

When talking about this period, the scientific literature uses the model of “colonial” public diplomacy [11].
“Colonialism” stems from the need for public diplomacy to interact with the civilian population of the occupied territory, or with the people of the war-torn region if the colonialists plan to stay and develop the area. History has shown that the expansion of the Roman, Chinese, and Persian empires went hand in hand with “productive wars” and “colonialism” through popular diplomacy.

The second period of public diplomacy is the stage of formation of the modern concept of public diplomacy, which covers the period 1856-1918. This period is considered by foreign scholars and experts as the initial period when public diplomacy became a subject of international relations.

In 1856, “The Times of London” first wrote about the term public diplomacy. In it, U.S. President F. Addressing U.S. officials, Pierce suggested that they use public diplomacy in this regard, noting that they are also representatives of the people and should never forget their people, who should always be an example to their people. [12] It can be seen that in the address of the President of the United States, the term “public diplomacy” was applied to both his own people and the foreign public. In other words, government officials, including others, should have good relations with the people and serve to maintain the country's prestige.

The term public diplomacy used by the President of the United States, when first used, showed two important principles: transparency and the country's image, both inside and outside the country. These foundations are still an important core of public diplomacy.

The concept of public diplomacy in the United States first appeared in 1871 in an article in the New York Times describing the debate in the US Congress about the secret annexation of the Spanish colony in the territory of the modern Dominican Republic. During these debates in Congress, the term “public diplomacy” was used as opposed to the US administration's foreign policy of covert diplomacy. It condemned the violent occupation of the Dominican Republic and called for the renunciation of secret diplomacy, openness and transparency, and public diplomacy.

The third period of public diplomacy covers the years 1918-1945 and, by its importance, can be understood as a stage of recognition of public diplomacy in the system of world international relations.

The secret diplomacy of many European countries during the First World War, the disclosure of Foreign Ministry documents in Russia and Germany, and finally, U.S. President Vladimir Putin. Wilson's famous speech at the Versailles Conference on the need for a new open and multilateral diplomacy provided modern diplomacy with a new term, “public diplomacy”, a society-controlled activity. However, many experts at the time used the term to describe activities aimed at revealing diplomatic secrets. U.S. President W. Wilson’s January 14, 1918, 14-point international political concept is known as the program that defined post-war world politics. V. Wilson's 14-point concept emphasizes that in diplomacy, no personal opinion should become an international concept, but that diplomacy should always be open and public. [17]

This definition of public diplomacy as “open diplomacy” was often used during World War I and among the French as “public diplomacy” and was therefore easily translated into the language of diplomacy. In our opinion, the recognition and use of public diplomacy by the French as an actor in international relations may be due to the fact that similar diplomatic terms are derived from the experience of French diplomacy. Many of the terms in the modern dictionary of diplomacy were introduced into science by the French.

Also, in German politics, the meaning of this concept was first explained on January 24, 1918 by Reich Chancellor Georg von Hertling's Reichstag. It was mentioned in Wilson's speech on “transparency of diplomatic agreements” in the “14-point” program.

In turn, on February 11, 1918, Wm. In a speech to the US Congress, Wilson reiterated that German Chancellor Georg von Hertling had adopted the “principle of public diplomacy”. The “recognition” of public diplomacy as a subject of international relations by the United States, France and Germany, although important in its development, has become one of the most comprehensive mechanisms of foreign policy in the period of subsequent changes in the world.

The fourth period of public diplomacy is the stage of popularization, which covers the years 1946-1991. The end of World War II in 1945 led to major changes in world international relations. These changes have made new international models, primarily irrigated by ideas such as humanity, brotherhood and interethnic harmony, friendship and peace, the basis of world politics.

In the post-World War II period, the concept of public diplomacy was enriched with new meanings. In 1946, G. Spaak was elected Secretary-General of the United Nations. G. Spaak said at the first UN plenary session that a new era of public diplomacy has begun. Beginning in the 1950s, the term public diplomacy began to be used directly by the public in international relations. Later, in the United States, public diplomacy was applied to any external action in order to conquer "minds and hearts." At the same time, US public diplomacy appealed not only to foreign governments but also to the foreign public. In pursuit of these goals, first of all, foreign cultural policy tools, public relations and marketing were used.
Also, communication mechanisms such as radio and television began to be used for foreign cultural policy and propaganda, and the term “public diplomacy” began to refer to government actions in the field of information policy in the international arena, from describing diplomatic and journalistic practices. In 1953, a well-known American expert, scientist, and public figure V. Lipplman in an article in the Washington Post, Lipplman combined the three concepts of public diplomacy, propaganda, and psychological operations into the term “public diplomacy”.

The fourth period of public diplomacy is also significant in that it marked the beginning of a period of scientific study of public diplomacy. The term “public diplomacy” was first introduced to science in 1965 by Edmund Gullion, a former diplomat and dean of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Taft University, and has been widely used by scholars and practitioners ever since. Defining public diplomacy as a collection of U.S. news agency projects, Gullion said, “public diplomacy serves to promote public opinion in other countries, establish contacts between diplomats and journalists, and build intercultural communication by influencing the foreign policy attitudes of foreign audiences.” Typically, scholars present this definition in their works as the first definition of public diplomacy. It is clear from this definition that public diplomacy was more dependent not only on cultural and educational projects, but also on U.S. information activities or the means of political communication. E. Gullion's definition was historic and firmly entrenched in scientific practice, as he was the first expert to separate “positive” information activity from propaganda in the United States.

In 1965, Edward Morrow, a well-known American television and radio journalist, founded the first center of public diplomacy in history. The institute published a definition of public diplomacy a year later, stating that “public diplomacy refers to the extent to which governments, public associations, and individuals influence the views and opinions of other peoples and governments and foreign policy decisions”.

The establishment and formation of the Institute for the Study of public diplomacy indicates that it is a serious approach to the field. In recent years, the number of such institutions studying public diplomacy is growing in each country. In the Republic of Uzbekistan, the issue of studying public diplomacy and the process of making it an important subject of foreign policy is supported by the President of the country [22]. As a result, in 2018, the public diplomacy Center of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization was established in Uzbekistan.

In the last 30 to 40 years of the twentieth century, "public diplomacy" has been rarely used in scientific and practical activities (although the Office of Public Diplomacy was established under the President of the United States), and many American cultural figures and politicians refer to it as "public diplomacy", which was also caused by a negative attitude. As a result, the term "public diplomacy" began to be used infrequently, and the concept of “cultural diplomacy” emerged, meaning the Department of State's Department of Culture and Education.

The fifth period of public diplomacy covers the period from 1991 to the present, which is its most recent period.

In the 1990s, new experts in U.S. cultural diplomacy emerged, and theories of political communication and marketing entered U.S. foreign policy, and the concept of “public diplomacy” began to dominate in practice and research. Well-known scholar J. Nay expanded his interpretation of this concept to include the rules of “soft power” developed by him. He noted that public diplomacy is a means of promoting the "soft power" of the state, which in turn has three sources: domestic politics and the values of social order, the country's culture and foreign policy. Therefore, public diplomacy promotes the "soft power" of the state through these three methods. The first method is daily communication with a foreign audience to explain the foreign policy of the state. The second method is to conduct campaigns aimed at promoting the state brand. The third method is projects aimed at establishing equal relations between countries.

In addition, in the 2000s, political relations experts proposed the following definitions of the term “public diplomacy”. One of them states that public diplomacy consists of three dimensions:

The first is how states or non-state actors understand foreign cultures, the moods or behaviors of foreign states; The second aspect is related to the development of relations between countries; The third dimension affects the thinking and behavior of the foreign target audience.

Another definition of public diplomacy in the context of political communication refers to its three elements: information, influence, and participation. Information projects are a response to information or misinformation from abroad. Such programs have short-term effects. Influence is a long-term campaign aimed at gradually changing the point of view or attitude of a foreign target audience on a particular topic. Finally, participation is the establishment of long-term partnerships between countries [24].

Other disciplines, such as history or anthropology, also define the term public diplomacy. Historians continue to debate the difference between the terms "public diplomacy" and "cultural diplomacy." The extensive and lengthy debates that have taken place so far are based on two
perspectives. First, the term “public diplomacy” is synonymous with the term “cultural diplomacy” because both diplomats have political goals and are aimed at shaping public opinion abroad [25]. According to the second view, “public” and “cultural” diplomacy should be distinguished, because the public often implements political projects. Conducts propaganda work, cultural diplomacy is aimed at establishing stable, equal, long-term and bilateral relations between countries [26].

Modern public diplomacy consists of 5 elements:

- Cultural diplomacy;
- Exchange diplomacy;
- Short-term information campaigns (advocacy);
- International broadcasting;
- Listening to foreign public opinion [27].

The novelty in this definition of public diplomacy consists of two components - information campaigns (propaganda) and observation (listening) of foreign public opinion. The effectiveness of public diplomacy today depends on the existence of a dialogue between the government of a country and a foreign society. If the government is studying all the signals, assessments and opinions of the foreign society, this dialogue can be established. The process of “listening” to opinions expressed by opposing parties. This is followed by a reaction in the form of information campaigns (propaganda) and communication with those who express negative and positive opinions in order to correct their image in the foreign society.

During this period, the development of public diplomacy can be said to have gone through a bipolar period, and this has been associated with at least three revolutions: revolutions in international relations, the media, and politics [28]. The media revolution is the emergence of global media such as the Internet and CNN. Reflected in the third wave of democratization as a political revolution, it led to an ever-increasing level of mass participation in the political process. The revolution in international relations is that states are no longer competing for geographical or natural resources, but for their prestige, the creation of conditions for investment, and their ideas, talents, and culture [30].

In recent years, scholars have been thinking of a "new public diplomacy" that demonstrates certain shifts in the practice of public diplomacy. In the relevant literature of the early 2000s, the concept of "emerging, new public diplomacy" can be said to be the result of the globalization of the information society. However, to this day, this notion is controversial. On the one hand, using this concept, it was proposed to stop the process of blurring the boundaries between domestic and international information policy, as well as between official and public diplomacy [31]. On the other hand, many researchers have begun to question the need to replace the notion that previously held the idea of washing away all of the above boundaries [32]. The revision of the strategy of public diplomacy in many respects laid the foundation for a "new public diplomacy. “New public diplomacy” is a concept that summarizes all the evolutionary and revolutionary changes that have taken place in public diplomacy.

In order to put new public diplomacy into practice effectively, public policy must support and involve foreign networks instead of managing them. If governments exercise excessive control, the credibility provided by the networks may decline.

In the scientific literature, there are a number of sub-branches of public diplomacy, such as "cultural diplomacy", "sports diplomacy", "economic diplomacy", which cover a specific area and industries. Although the above areas of public diplomacy have a separate network and importance, they cannot be used in place of the concept of public diplomacy [34].

Thus, the purpose of studying the concept, genesis and evolution of public diplomacy is as follows:

First, it is important to analyze the exact scientific definitions of the concept of public diplomacy, to distinguish it from other terms and concepts.

Second, the issue of chronology serves to expand knowledge about how public diplomacy in the world at different times, what happened under its influence, the participation of peoples and the socio-political situation in existing countries.

Third, it will be possible to determine the chronological period of public diplomacy and the level of study abroad. Historically, relations between nations have existed even in times before statehood. It will be possible to identify and analyze the place and role of public diplomacy in various political and social relations in the past.

Fourth, it will be possible to determine the purpose and conditions of public diplomacy at different times, to clarify what its tasks are.

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