

of public opinion, rehabilitation of lobbying in public eye, creation of the legal basis of lobbying, which will identify its limits in the law of the state.

Institutionalization of Ukrainian lobbying will create equal conditions for members of society in the protection and promotion of their interests, participation in governance, promote transparency of policy making process, and create conditions for formation of civilized forms of lobbying in Ukraine. Solution of problems connected with institutionalization of civilized lobbying in Ukraine will be one of key steps of further democratization of our state, development of political culture and formation of civil society.

Key words: *lobbyism, lobbying, institutionalization, corruption, lobbying legislation, civilized lobbying, “shadow” lobbying.*

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U. S. PUBLIC DIPLOMACY STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS

The present article analyzes the structure and peculiarities of the United States Foreign Service activity, which is one of the most professional, up-to-date and efficient and provides USA global leadership all over the world. The article determines the public diplomacy term. The main foreign policy challenges, that faces U.S. public diplomacy is boosting country's image among the most active and influential part of foreign society; the influence on foreign countries' elite and mostly on that part which is responsible for decision-making process; the establishment of favorable economic and investment climate in USA and foreign countries. Modern U.S. public diplomacy is actively using elements like public opinion analysis or spread information concerning USA itself quality analysis (listening), as well as carrying out short-term political campaigns aimed at promoting certain political idea, activity (advocacy)etc. The author also analyzes peculiarities of new public diplomacy, which foresees the impact on international situation and foreign audience with the help of modern technologies (blogs, special websites: Facebook, Twitter, YouTube and Mass texting), promoted in foreign countries. The article also underlines the importance of U.S. Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs post, who controls the work of the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, the Bureau of International Information Programs, the Center for Strategic Counterterrorism Communications and participates in developing the U.S. foreign policy.

Key words: *public diplomacy, structure, State Department, Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs*

In the 21st century public diplomacy became a significant factor in international life for the majority of the developed countries¹.

¹ Перебийніс Є. Роль та місце публічної дипломатії у забезпеченні національних інтересів держави / Є. Перебийніс // Україна дипломатична – 2013. — Вип. 14. — К., 2013. — С. 915.

The U.S. diplomatic service is one of the key factors ensuring country's global leadership. While combining methods of traditional and public diplomacy, it is one of the most professional, modern and efficient services in the world.

The main foreign policy objectives of the U.S. public diplomacy are as follows:

- to improve the U.S. image among the most active and the most influential layer of the foreign society;

- to influence the foreign elite and in particular its decision-making segment;

- to create favorable business and investment climate for the USA in foreign states.

Public diplomacy, however, is not limited to promoting the country's image, educating specific professional groups and representatives of foreign countries or radio and television broadcasting. At present, the U.S. public diplomacy actively applies other methods, such as listening (analyzing public opinion or quality of the information about the USA disseminated abroad) and advocacy (organizing short-term political campaigns aimed at promoting specific political idea, action, etc.).

The traditional understanding implies that public diplomacy is a tool for interaction between the state and the "foreign audience", as well as a component of diplomatic and foreign policy mechanism applied by the government. The new non-traditional understanding describes public diplomacy as a tool for managing foreign audience's interest in certain issues by means of networking, creating and promoting specific web-sites, SMS-mailing, organizing online conferences, blogging. Public diplomacy of this kind, despite being among government's tasks, is carried out through NGO-to-foreign-audience contacts. Today the U.S. Government uses the following specifications for the term "public diplomacy" in its foreign policy: "the new public diplomacy", "public diplomacy 2.0", "digital diplomacy". The latter is widely used in the U.S. foreign policy discourse.

The structure of public diplomacy consists of a number of governmental and nongovernmental agencies which form and implement the existing public diplomacy programs in foreign countries. The agencies engaged in formulating regional priorities, developing certain programs and distributing financial resources include the following executive and legislative bodies of the USA:

- the U.S. Department of State's Bureaus – the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, the Bureau of International Information Programs, as well as the Digital Outreach team;

- the U.S. Agency for International Development and the Broadcasting Board of Governors; they act formally as independent agencies, however their heads report to the U.S. Secretary of State;

- the public diplomacy bureaus and the Defense Security Cooperation Agency of the U.S. Department of Defense;

- the President, the U.S. National Security Council, and the U.S. Congress.

The list of institutions engaged in implementing public diplomacy programs also includes semi-governmental agencies, U.S. diplomats and, in particular, cultural attaches, U.S. information agencies in foreign countries, U.S. charitable foundations and NGOs, namely Eurasia Foundation, Soros Foundation, MacArthur Foundation, and Ford Foundation. A number of expert groups within the Department of State currently assess the efficiency of the programs under implementation. Those groups include the Interagency Working Group (IAWG) on the U.S. Government-Sponsored International Exchanges and Training, the Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy, various think tanks (RAND Corporation or Center for Strategic Studies). The Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs and the Bureau of International Information Programs regulate the programs' implementation and report to the U.S. Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs. The Bureau of

Educational and Cultural Affairs is responsible for developing and implementing educational programs designated for foreign elite and leaders. The Bureau of International Information Programs implements programs on disseminating special printed, electronic, visual and audial information about the USA. It also drafts press releases on the national foreign and domestic policy (Washington files) that are sent to the U.S. diplomatic missions abroad.

After World War II Harry Truman's administration under the senate pressure, recognized the necessity in State Department control over public diplomacy programs. It resulted in establishing new special bureaus – The Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs and the Bureau of International Information Programs. Created in 1953, Information Agency (USIA) was independent and till 1978 was mostly engaged in propaganda. President James Carter has significantly facilitated the tools of academic programs implementation as well as removed The Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs from the structure – this fact was much objected by the senator William Fulbright at the time. Practically all staff of the bureau was included in the Information Agency staff, renamed as United States Information Service. Its former name – USIA – was returned to the agency only in the office of Ronald Reagan. Till October 1999, Information Agency served as the main administrator of academic exchanges, financed by U.S. Government. Under the pressure of republican majority in the Congress (1995-1999), Bill Clinton's administration recalibrated the Information Agency and it was included in the structure of State Department again. Since 1999, from the moment The Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs post was established, it was embraced by 9 persons¹ (Table 1).

The Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs also underwent significant changes after 2001. Previously, career diplomats or representatives of northeast high-performing universities (Harvard, Yale, Princeton etc.) were appointed to this office. George W. Bush administration has substantially changed the approach to qualitative characteristics of the head of public diplomacy. For implementing the policy of USA positive image “selling”, which came down with a run in Muslim public's opinion, this post started to be embraced by specialists, mostly engaged in promoting goods into the market, as well as marketing, i.e. specialists in the field of business and business administration.

Table 1. The Under Secretaries for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs

Name	Assumed office	Left office	Presidential Administration
Evelyn Lieberman	01.10.1999	19.01.2001	Bill Clinton
Charlotte Beers	02.10.2001	28.03.2003	George W. Bush
Margaret D. Tutwiler	16.12.2003	30.06.2004	George W. Bush
Karen Hughes	09.09.2005	14.12.2007	George W. Bush
James K. Glassman	10.06.2008	15.01.2009	George W. Bush
Judith McHale	26.05.2009	01.07.2011	Barack Obama
Kathleen Stephens	06.02.2012	04.04.2012	Barack Obama
Tara Sonenshine	05.04.2012	01.07.2013	Barack Obama
Richard Stengel	11.02.2014		Barack Obama

¹ List of Under Secretaries for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs. — [Електронний ресурс]. — Режим доступу : http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Under_Secretary_of_State_for_Public_Diplomacy_and_Public_Affairs

The Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs Richard Stengel aims at expanding American public diplomacy, which includes communication with international audience, literate programming, academic grants, educational exchanges, international programs for visitors, USA efforts on fighting against ideological support of terrorism. Under Richard Stengel, the key mission of American public diplomacy is a support in achieving goals and targets of USA foreign policy as well as promotion of national interests, strengthening national security by informing and having influence on foreign public by means of developing and strengthening relations between nation and U.S. Government and other nations around the world¹.

The Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs also controls the work of the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, the Bureau of International Information Programs Center for Strategic Counterterrorism Communications and participates in developing the U.S. foreign policy.

The Office of Policy, Planning, Resources for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs (established in 2004) and the Mission Activity Tracker (established in 2007) develop new strategies and assess the efficiency of the current public diplomacy programs. The former determines political priorities of the American public diplomacy, the latter measures the efficiency of the public diplomacy programs in terms of achieving specific foreign policy objectives. Office of Policy, Planning, Resources for Public Diplomacy is one of the most shut down from the public's eyes among other offices. It develops long-term strategies and public diplomacy programs, as well as estimates the funding necessary for a specific program.

Since 2007 a new sector (Mission Activity Tracker) on studying the foreign Internet audience's attitude towards the USA operates in the bureau. And even more – a separate sector (Evaluation and Management Unit) in this bureau is engaged in assessment of implemented public diplomacy programs in different countries. From time to time it publishes short reports concerning some implemented programs (like assessment of the efficiency of *Edmund Muskie program* implementation in Russia, for example), which is underestimated source of information that concerns not only the means of implementation of certain U.S. public diplomacy program, but methods of assessing the efficiency of these programs, used by American experts.

The Digital Outreach Team is a governmental mechanism that implements WEB 2.0 public diplomacy programs. This unit was established at the Department of State in 2006. The group of 10 experts analyzes messages and discussions occurring in all national and international social networks possible. They mostly focus on gathering information from Arab social resources since they demonstrate significant anti-American attitudes. Besides, the experts take part in the discussions, logging in social networks as ordinary participants or moderators. The Team aims to explain the USA's actions on the international arena to the users and to oppose the misinformation disseminated through social networks by representatives of the Taliban and Al-Qaeda terrorist movements.

The Agency for International Development (the USAID) is a federal agency established by J.F. Kennedy which supervises programs designed to influence the political and economic life of other countries. The USAID plays an important role in democratization processes in foreign countries. Thus, the USAID promotes elections and countries' transition to market economy through sponsoring political parties and public organizations; sponsors education for

¹ Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs. — [Електронний ресурс]. — Режим доступу : <http://www.state.gov/r/>.

political leaders, reformers, businessmen and dissidents; initiates modernization of curricula in universities; sponsors the establishment of press services, business centers and democratic corpuses abroad. The USAID is the agency implementing most of the U.S. public diplomacy programs of political character. Its main projects include support for foreign democratic movements, facilitation during elections, education for observers and journalists, etc.

The Broadcasting Board of Governors (the BBG, established in 1994) is an independent federal agency responsible for all the U.S. programs broadcasted through radio, television and Internet. It is one of the world largest information associations.

The BBG consists of the International Broadcasting Bureau, and of the radio and television networks that include *Voice of America*, *Radio FREE Europe* (RFE), *Radio Liberty* (RL), *Radio Free Asia* (RFA), *Office of Cuba Broadcasting* (OCB), *Middle East Broadcasting Network* consisting of several radio stations and TV channels (*Radio Sawa*, *Radio Farda*, *TV Al Hurra*).

The BBG determines the strategic vector of the American information programs, allocates resources, assesses the efficiency of the broadcasting services, and cooperates with the Congress on financial support.

The International Broadcasting Bureau ensures technical support to all components of the U.S. international broadcasting. It manages the network of short and medium wave broadcast band transmitters and satellites and maintains relations with more than 1200 companion stations that cooperate with the United States. The Bureau also regulates the work of the *Voice of America* and *Office of Cuba Broadcasting*. Due to numerous functions the Bureau's activities account for nearly half of all the funds allocated for the U.S. international broadcasting. The main function of the international broadcasting networks is to produce and broadcast live or in the Internet various analytical, musical, and news programs.

The *Voice of America* is the oldest and the largest U.S. public diplomacy organization. It was established during the World War II in order to counteract the Nazi propaganda and first aired in 1942. In 2008 weekly on-air broadcasting time of the *Voice of America* equaled 1506 hours, being carried out in 45 languages and covering the audience of 134 million of foreign citizens.

The rest of the service, namely, *Radio FREE Europe*, *Radio Liberty*, *Radio Free Asia*, *Office of Cuba Broadcasting*, as well as new radio stations *Radio Sawa* and *Radio Farda* that broadcast in Iran, are considered to be the so-called surrogate media. They are aimed at broadcasting the news in the countries where the access to information is limited due to hostile regimes. Those stations mostly focus on covering burning local or regional problems rather than describing the U.S. policies. The Middle East Broadcasting Network was established in 2004 with launching a satellite television network *Al Hurra* broadcasting in Arabic. Its content represents a hybrid version of the *Voice of America* and the surrogate media. Its main task is to cover the news of the Middle East region and the United States of America.

However, the expertise of the current U.S. international broadcasting has repeatedly reported inefficiency of the new radio and television stations broadcasting in the Middle East countries. The most high-profile scandals were connected with the activity of the first American channel *Al Hurra*, which staff is comprised of Arabic origin journalists only. Thus, in 2007 in U.S. Congress it turned out that the channel has often broadcasted anti-American and anti-Israeli statements, as well as the speeches of the leaders of *Hezbollah* radical group etc. White House representatives admitted that first three years of control over the channel broadcasting and the work of Arabian journalists were not so efficient and control itself was minimal, which resulted in substantial errors. But on the other hand, according to the experts

in the field of news program, the channel purposely initiated anti-American reports to involve more viewers and then skip to the fight against anti-Americanism.

Decision-making in public diplomacy is of particular interest for researchers since it has always been in the focus of the President, his entourage, and the U.S. Congress. The influence of the President, his advisers and the National Security Council relates to initiating new programs, expanding them, changing regional priorities, while that of the Congress deals with sponsoring the executive authorities' initiatives in this field.

Sometimes President's initiatives are not supported by congressmen, as it was in the early 1990s, when George H.W. Bush asked Congress for more than 600 million dollars for carrying out public diplomacy in Russia and got only half of claimed sum. The Congress frequently changes the existing tools of public diplomacy, thus impelling president to eliminate old institutions and create new ones. Thus happened in the late nineties, when Congress impelled Clinton to discontinue the Information Agency activity, as it was considered to be a relic of a "Cold War" epoch [4, p. 67].

Modern USA history witnessed many facts of USA Presidents' personal participation in the development of public diplomacy. Dwight Eisenhower, who took part in carrying out propaganda programs in North Africa during the World War II, as well as George Kennedy, who back in the day, was engaged in a press himself, have left a lasting mark on American public diplomacy. Dwight Eisenhower established an efficient Information Agency and initiated the expansion of public diplomacy to the east and George Kennedy established the Agency for International Development, which effectively carried out U.S. public diplomacy in the Third World countries and even now acts as efficient tool of American network diplomacy which is also referred to as Diplomacy of "velvet"/"color" revolutions.

The activities of the National Security Council lie in the core of the education policy planning. This is where representatives of the Department of State, Department of Defense including, Central Intelligence Agency, including the President and the experts, discuss and formulate the U.S. public diplomacy. The National Security Council accumulates all expert assessment and performance results of various agencies and lobbyists. It is the source of the new public diplomacy programs which generate dividends from the U.S. budget for American academic and military universities, research centers, commercial enterprises, and federal agencies. Moreover, it broadens the geography of the existing programs, increases or decreases the funding for public diplomacy programs, and appoints officials to the foreign policy agencies.

The United States Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy also plays an important role in the U.S. public diplomacy structure. It was established by the Congress in 1948 as a bipartisan organization aimed at analyzing public diplomacy programs, recommending them to the U.S. Government and assessing their efficiency⁵. On September 2014 the Commission issued report, which analyzed the efficiency of the U.S. public diplomacy implementation structure and developed recommendations aimed at eliminating disadvantages. Leading scientists, who work on the problems of U.S. public diplomacy, were engaged in a process of drawing up a report. An abovementioned report includes recommendations as follows:

Structural and organizational changes

1. To create the post of Research and Situation Assessment Director and extend structural unit on situation assessment within the framework of the Office of Policy, Planning, Resources for Public Diplomacy.
2. To carry out more intensive expert assistance towards the staff engaged in assessment.
3. To increase funding for research and for efficiency assessment.
4. To revise The Privacy Act of 1974 in future.

5. Do not apply The Paperwork Reduction Act of 1980 to the Bureau of Intelligence and Research of the U.S. Department of State.

6. To improve mutual internal cooperation between agencies and shared use of information.

7. To develop instructions and trainings in research and assessment issues.

8. To create an Advisory Sub Commission on Public Diplomacy, Research and Assessment.

Methodology

1. To increase integration of information into strategies and programs development.

2. To create more detailed data for improving feedback.

3. To use more comparative data and / or analysis for the purpose of determining the impact.

4. To provide more contextual data for the purpose of determining the impact.

5. To distinguish negative results for correcting the factors that caused them¹.

Thus, having considered the structure of the U.S. public diplomacy we can draw the following conclusions.

First, current global developments cause major changes in the activities of states, governments, diplomatic and consular services in general. Numerous ministries of foreign affairs have to adapt to the new realities in order to perform their activities effectively.

Second, traditional diplomatic service of the USA is one of the largest, ramified and professional in the world. The U.S. Department of State has a quite effective structure for implementing public diplomacy within the objectives of the foreign policy service; there is a position of Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs.

Third, the U.S. public diplomacy structure contains a very effective system for monitoring the effectiveness of public diplomacy programs. In order to address arising deficiencies the system is being adjusted on a regular basis.

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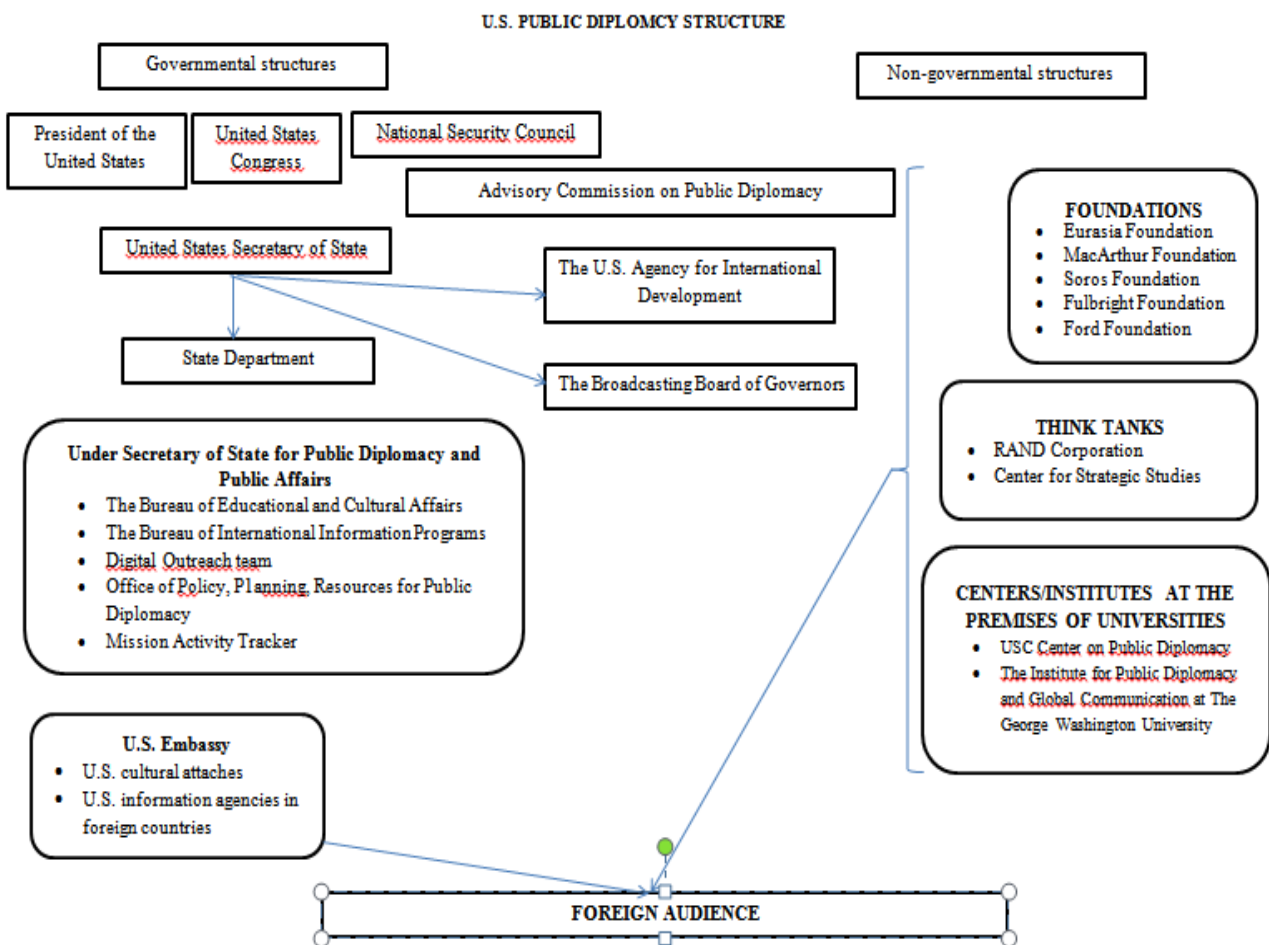
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СТРУКТУРНИЙ АНАЛІЗ ПУБЛІЧНОЇ ДИПЛОМАТІЇ США

У статті аналізується структура та особливості діяльності дипломатичної служби США, яка є однією з найбільш професійних, сучасних, ефективних та забезпечує глобальне лідерство США у світі. У роботі визначається термін публічної дипломатії. Основними зовнішньополітичними завданнями, які стоять перед публічною дипломатією США є поліпшення іміджу країни серед найбільш активної та впливової частини зарубіжного суспільства; вплив на еліту зарубіжних країн, в першу чергу на ту її частину, яка приймає рішення; створення сприятливого економічного та інвестиційного клімату для США в зарубіжних країнах. У сучасній публічній дипломатії США активно практикуються і такі елементи, як аналіз громадської думки або якості поширюваної інформації про самих США (listening), а також проведення короткострокових політичних кампаній, спрямованих на просування конкретної політичної ідеї, дії тощо (advocacy). Аналізуються особливості нової публічної дипломатії, що передбачає вплив на міжнародну ситуацію та зарубіжну аудиторію за допомогою нових технологій (блоги, спеціальні сайти: Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, SMS-розсилка), які просуваються в зарубіжних країнах. У статті підкреслюється важливість посади заступника державного секретаря США з публічної дипломатії, який курує бюро у справах освіти та культури, зв'язків з громадськістю та міжнародних інформаційних програм, Центр стратегічних контртерористичних комунікацій, а також бере участь у розробці зовнішньої політики.

Ключові слова: публічна дипломатія, структура, Державний департамент, заступник державного секретаря з публічної дипломатії.

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ПРОБЛЕМИ ЦЕНТРУ ТА ПЕРИФЕРІЇ У ГЛОБАЛЬНОМУ УПРАВЛІННІ СВІТ-СИСТЕМОЮ

В статті доведено, що світовий порядок все більшою мірою визначатиметься взаємовідносинами «центру» і «периферії», які є однією з основних проблем у глобальному розвитку людства. В сучасних умовах основна небезпека світопорядку виходить з країн «периферії», які не зуміли вписатися в глобалізаційні процеси і загрузли в корупції, міжкланових розборах, безвідповідальності авторитарних владних еліт, що унеможлиблює самостійний розвиток цих країн. Невдачі розвитку в свою чергу послаблюють легітимність урядів, економічний регрес множиться на релігійні та етнічні конфлікти. Засіб запобігання майбутнього «глобального безладу», який провокують «держави, що не відбулися», дослідники вбачають у формуванні парадигми «глобального управління» – системи управління «державами, що не відбулися» та потенційно небезпечними процесами силами коаліції великих держав.