

International political marketing: a case study of United States soft power and public diplomacy

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- *Political marketing can be categorized with three aspects: the election campaign as the origin of political marketing, the permanent campaign as a governing tool and international political marketing (IPM) which covers the areas of public diplomacy, marketing of nations, international political communication, national image, soft power and the cross-cultural studies of political marketing. IPM and the application of soft power have been practiced by nation-states throughout the modern history of international relations starting with the signing of the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. Nation-states promote the image of their country worldwide through public diplomacy, exchange mutual interests in their bilateral or multilateral relation with other countries, lobby for their national interests in international organizations and apply cultural and political communication strategies internationally to build up their soft power. In modern international relations, nation-states achieve their foreign policy goals by applying both hard power and soft power. Public diplomacy as part of IPM is a method in the creation of soft power, as well as, in the application of soft power.*
- *This paper starts with the definitional and conceptual review of political marketing. For the first time in publication, it establishes a theoretical model which provides a framework of the three aspects of political marketing, that is electoral political marketing (EPM), governmental political marketing (GPM) and IPM. This model covers all the main political exchanges among six inter-related components in the three pairs of political exchange process, that is candidates and party versus voters and interest groups in EPM; governments, leaders and public servants versus citizens and interest groups in GPM, including political public relations and lobbying which have been categorized as the third aspect of political marketing in some related studies; and governments, interest group and activists versus international organizations and foreign subjects in IPM. This study further develops a model of IPM, which covers its strategy and marketing mix on the secondary level of the general political marketing model, and then, the third level model of international political choice behaviour based the theory of political choice behaviour in*

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EPM. This paper continues to review the concepts of soft power and public diplomacy and defines their relation with IPM.

- *It then reports a case study on the soft power and public diplomacy of the United States from the perspectives of applying IPM and soft power. Under the framework of IPM, it looks at the traditional principles of US foreign policy, that is Hamiltonians, Wilsonians, Jeffersonians and Jacksonians, and the application of US soft power in the Iraq War since 2003. The paper advances the argument that generally all nation states apply IPM to increase their soft power. The decline of US soft power is caused mainly by its foreign policy. The unilateralism Jacksonians and realism Hamiltonians have a historical trend to emphasize hard power while neglecting soft power. Numerous reports and studies have been conducted on the pros and cons of US foreign policy in the Iraq War, which are not the focus of this paper. From the aspect of IPM, this paper studies the case of US soft power and public diplomacy, and their effects in the Iraq War. It attempts to exam the application of US public diplomacy with the key concept of political exchange, political choice behaviour, the long-term approach and the non-government operation principles of public diplomacy which is a part of IPM. The case study confirms the relations among IPM, soft power and public diplomacy and finds that lessons can be learned from these practices of IPM. The paper concludes that there is a great demand for research both at a theoretical as well as practical level for IPM and soft power. It calls for further study on this subject.*

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Introduction

Political marketing can be categorized with three aspects: the election campaign as the origin of political marketing (O'Shaughnessy, 1990), the permanent campaign as a governing tool (Newman, 1999 and Steger, 1999) and international political marketing (Sun, 2007) which covers the areas of public diplomacy (Leonard, 2002), marketing of nations (Kotler *et al.*, 1997), international political communication (McNair, 2003), press and foreign policy (Cohen, 1963) and the cross-cultural studies of political marketing (Newman and Vercic, 2002). IPM and the application of soft power (Nye, 1990) have been practiced by nation-states throughout the modern history of international relations starting with the signing of the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. Nation-states promote the image of their country worldwide through public diplomacy, exchange mutual interests in their bilateral or multilateral relation with other countries,

lobby for their national interests in international organizations and apply cultural and political communication strategies internationally to build up their soft power. In modern international relations, nation-states achieve their foreign policy goals by applying both hard power and soft power. Public diplomacy as part of IPM is a method in the creation of soft power, as well as, application of soft power.

International relations, by theory, include the whole complex of exchanges among nation-states and international organizations including cultural, economic, political and military. In these international exchanges, whether it is through cooperation or conflict, the application of one country's hard power, such as economic and military power, is usually combined with its soft power including ideological, cultural and social values (Nye, 1990). With hard power, the influence of the Roman Empire was limited to its military boundary, however, the American soft power rules over an empire on which the sun never

sets. The American soft power has great influence worldwide from Hollywood stars to Harvard education, and through Microsoft applications, CNN coverage, Voice of America broadcast, Peace Corp movement, Levi jeans or Coca Cola and McDonalds. Through the application of international political communication, the USA foreign policy worked well in rebuild Germany and Japan after World War II. With its soft power influences, the US foreign policy ended the Cold War with the collapse of the Berlin Wall. However, has the United States been applying its soft power successfully in the Iraq War? Did the US public diplomacy help to build up its soft power in the Iraq War? What can be learned from the aspects of IPM? This paper tries to answer these questions by looking into the relationship between IPM and soft power through a case study on the US public diplomacy and its application in the Iraq War.

This paper starts with the definitional and conceptual review of political marketing. It establishes a theoretical model which provides a framework of the three aspects of political marketing, that is electoral political marketing (EPM), governmental political marketing (GPM) and IPM. This model covers all the main political exchanges among six inter-related components in the three pairs of political exchange process, that is candidates and party versus voters and interest groups in EPM (Newman, 1994); governments, leaders and public servants versus citizens and interest groups in GPM, including political public relations and lobbying which have been categorized as the third aspect of political marketing in some related studies (O'Shaughnessy and Henneberg, 2002; McNair, 2003); and governments, interest group and activists versus international organizations and foreign subjects in IPM (Sun, 2007). This study further develops a model of IPM, which covers its strategy and marketing mix on the secondary level of the general political marketing model, and then, the third level model of international political choice behaviour based the theory of political choice behaviour in EPM (Newman and Sheth, 1987). This paper continues to

review the concepts of soft power and public diplomacy and defines their relation with IPM.

It then reports a case study on the soft power and public diplomacy of the United States. Under the framework of IPM, it looks at the traditional principles of US foreign policy, that is Hamiltonians, Wilsonians, Jeffersonians and Jacksonians, and the application of US soft power in the Iraq War since 2003. The paper advances the argument that generally all nation states apply IPM to increase their soft power. The decline of US soft power is caused mainly by its foreign policy. The unilateralism Jacksonians and realism Hamiltonians have a historical trend to emphasize hard power while neglecting soft power. Numerous reports and studies have been conducted on the pros and cons of US foreign policy in the Iraq War, which are not the focus of this paper. From the aspect of IPM, this paper studies the case of US soft power and public diplomacy, and their effects in the Iraq War. It attempts to exam the application of US public diplomacy with the key concept of political exchange, political choice behaviour, the long-term approach and the non-government operation principles of public diplomacy which is a part of IPM. The paper attempts to explore the relationship between IPM, soft power and public diplomacy. It will look into the lessons for IPM learned from the case study.

International political marketing, soft power and public diplomacy

The interdisciplinary nature of IPM can be viewed from those fields related, such as political marketing, public diplomacy, political communication and international relations. Like the definition and concept of 'international political communication' described by the communication schools, the study of IPM should also be started by a review of those definitions and concepts in the related fields. The following review starts with the concept and model of political marketing, and then extends to the concepts and models of IPM and international political choice behaviour. It

continues to review the discussion of soft power and public diplomacy. Based on the model of IPM, it then describes the relations among IPM, soft power and public diplomacy.

Model of political marketing

The term of 'political marketing' was first adapted by Stanley Kelly in his book, 'Professional Public Relations and Political Power' in 1956. However, the practices of political marketing can be traced back to the ancient Greek democracy in the 4th century B.C. when citizens and philosophers held their debates and communicated their thoughts. More than 200 years ago, when Thomas Jefferson held his election campaign on the farms, and when he dealt with the foreign affairs with its European counter parties, he was also practicing what we call today, 'political marketing'. There are numerous examples for a long history of practicing without defining the subject term, both in the natural science and social studies, such as the term of 'marketing' itself. American Marketing Association (AMA) adopted a new definition of marketing in August 2004: 'Marketing is an organizational function and a set of processes for creating, communicating and delivering value to customers and for managing customer relationship in ways that benefits the organization and its stakeholders'. This definition has combined both the exchange of value and the exchange of relationship. Under this umbrella, definitions of other special marketing fields can be fit, such as political marketing, social marketing and international marketing.

In the Handbook of Political Marketing (Newman, 1999) and the book 'Ideas of Political Marketing' (O'Shaughnessy and Henneberg, 2002), there are a variety of definitions on political marketing. In the article 'Understanding Political Marketing', Henneberg discussed the definitions of political marketing. After a review of the previous definitions, Henneberg made the following statement, 'This definition, here especially targeted at the exchange processes between parties and

voters (i.e. the electoral market), can be generalized in order to fulfil the demands of a holistic approach, incorporating all political activities:

Political Marketing seeks to establish, maintain and enhance long-term political relationships at a profit for society, so that the objectives of the individual political actors and organizations involved are met. This is done by mutual exchange and fulfillment of promises.

The scope of this definition embraces GPM and interest-group political marketing as well as that of political parties and candidates. It furthermore gets to grips with the permanent character of political marketing, acknowledging its theoretical and international implications... (Henneberg, 2002). The key concept of exchange process by the above definition would fit well for the further discussion of IPM which is an interdisciplinary study of both political marketing and international relations.

With the above definition, one could further review and discuss the model of political marketing. Like the definition of political marketing, there are many models on political marketing done by scholars of marketing and political sciences at both American and European schools. A model is best to set a framework which describes the relationship among the concepts on a subject of interest. Newman established a model of political marketing in his book 'The Marketing of the President—Political Marketing as Campaign Strategy' (Newman, 1994). That model summarized the relationship among political marketing concepts, such as candidate, campaign, marketing mix and environment, which is comprehensive and set a solid foundation for further studies on political marketing. However, it is focus on only the election campaign aspect of political marketing. On a more recent study, Henneberg established several models of political marketing, which representing the multi-aspects of political marketing, that is electoral, governmental and interest group

political marketing (Henneberg, 2002). However, the Henneberg models did not describe the 'international phenomena' as mentioned in his study.

The following model, as shown in **Figure 1**, developed by this study attempts to describe political marketing in three aspects, that is EPM, GPM and IPM. This model tries to present a full picture of all the exchange processes in political marketing. Each of three aspects needs a separate model to describe the strategy and tactics for a specialized area of EPM, GPM and IPM. As shown in this model, there are six interactive political entities in the three pairs of exchange process in political marketing. The first group of exchanges, shown on the left of Figure 1, describes the process of EPM, where the candidates and parties make political promises in exchange of votes from voters and interest groups. For instance, Barack Obama promises tax cut for the middle class in order to attract votes from the small business owners who are Republican supporters. On the reverse of this exchange process, the US based 80–20 on-line organization tries to use its block voting political mussel to influence the presidential candidates to make promises on equal opportunity for the Asian-Americans to hold jobs in the federal government. The second exchange process, shown in the middle of Figure 1, deal with the GPM among

leaders, public servants, governments, citizens and interest groups. The lobbying aspect of political marketing, described as 'interest group marketing' by other studies, should not be a separate aspect of political marketing. Lobbying should be part of the GPM since it covers the two ways exchange between governments and interest groups. The governmental aspect of political marketing is not the focus of this study, and the EPM models have been well studied before.

The last part of the political marketing model, shown on the right of Figure 1, describes the IPM process. This group of political exchange takes place in the international arena with national interests at stake. The international political exchange process is different from the other two groups of political exchanges. It has different environment with different players and even different rules of the game. However, it is part of the general political marketing model and shares some basic values—the three sets of exchanges are interrelated with different aspects. For instance, the US policy on Iraq War may be seen from the three aspects of this model of political marketing. First, as part of the election political marketing strategy, John McCain made promises for ending the Iraq War and withdraw the US troops soon in order to get voters' support on the 2008 general election.

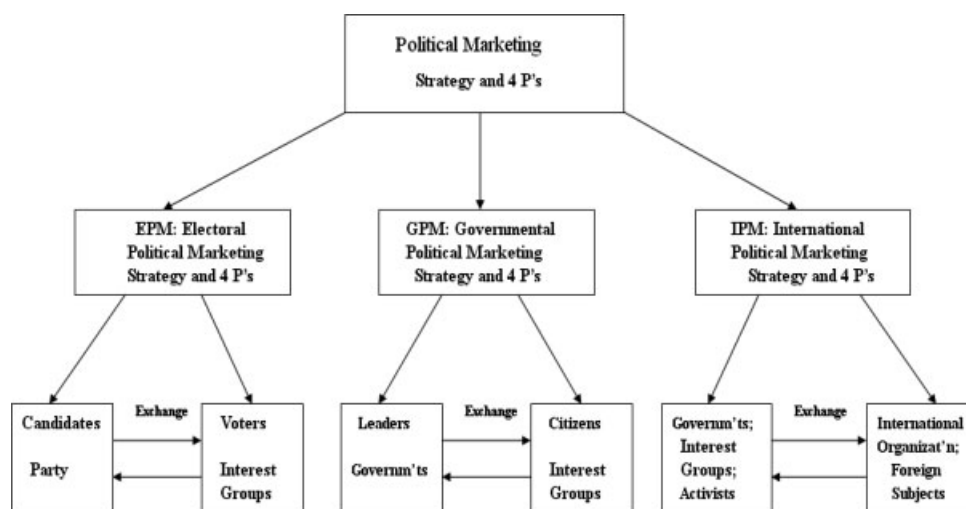


Figure 1. Model of political marketing

On the other hand, George W. Bush tried to settle the Iraq War matters in order to improve its presidential rating as part of the GPM strategy. Whereas Secretary of States, Dr Condoleezza Rice deals with the Iraq War affairs in the international aspect of the political exchange, working with United Nations, US allies and the middle eastern countries, which requires different skills for different strategies and tactics. Thus, the model of political marketing needs to be extended to the international area, both on a practical and theoretical basis. Anything short of that cannot make the model of political marketing complete.

For the purpose of this study, it will focus on the model of IPM, which will illustrate how the political marketing strategy and marketing mix (4 P's) works in the international arena.

Model of international political marketing

The concept of IPM was first defined and discussed in a study presented at the 4th International Political Marketing Conference and then published on Journal of Public Affairs (Sun, 2007). Based on the above definition and model of political marketing, the concept of IPM can further developed as following:

International Political Marketing seeks to establish, maintain and enhance long-term relations among peoples, nation-states, interest groups and international organizations, so that the objectives of the national political actors and organizations involved are met. This is done by mutual exchange and fulfillment of promises through marketing strategy and the marketing mix of product, place, polling and promotion.

Most of the existing publications on public diplomacy (Leonard, 2002), cross-cultural theory of political marketing (Newman and Vercic, 2002), on international political communication (McNair, 2003), international public relations and on press and foreign policy (Berry, 1990) can be categorized in the study

on IPM. In addition, many case studies have been conducted in the areas of national image, press and foreign policy, communications in bilateral relations such as 'Changing National Images: International Public Relations and Media Agenda Setting' (Manheim and Albritton, 1983), 'How Marketing Changed the World—The Political Marketing of an Idea: A Case Study of Privatization' (Allington *et al.*, 1999), 'The Kennedy Crises—The Press the Presidency, and Foreign Policy' (Kern *et al.*, 1983), 'Headline Diplomacy—How News Coverage Affects Foreign Policy' (Seib, 1992), and case studies on press and bilateral relations between United States and Japan (Luther, 2001), China (Chang, 1993), India (Basu, 2003) and Latin American (Fejes, 1986), African (Dunn and Shaw, 2001), Islam (Hafez, 2000) and EU countries (Horwitz, 1993). These and many related books and numerous studies prove that there are great demands for IPM at both the practical and theoretical levels.

With the above definition, the theoretical framework of IPM can be established in the following model, which covers the marketing strategy and marketing mix of Product, Place, Polling and Promotion in international political exchange, as shown in **Figure 2**.

The model of IPM is centred with the marketing strategy, which requires specialized organizations, for example those under US Department of States, which are in charge of foreign policy development, implementation, monitoring and control. With the democratic development, more and more countries utilize the wisdoms of their think tanks in the foreign policy formation. Similar to those in the EPM, the Products in IPM are with much larger stakes including national interests, soft power, national image, etc.; the Place for IPM is where the international political exchanges occurred, including international organization, nation-states and political market segmentation; the Promotion for IPM is done through international political communication, international public relations and public diplomacy and similar to the concept of price in business exchange process, the Polling covers IPM research,

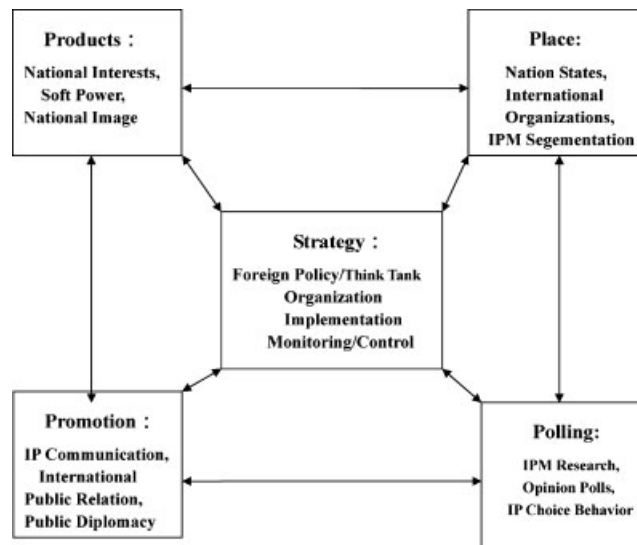


Figure 2. Model of international political marketing

opinion poll and political choices behaviour which could indicate the value of an international political Product in the exchange process. This model shows the IPM strategy interacts with each of the 4 P's which also interact among themselves. The central concept of this model is IPM strategy, an important component of a country's foreign policy, which in turn should guide the application of international political communication, international public relation, public diplomacy and other marketing tactics. For example, during the Iraq War, the US foreign policy had formed a strategy that guided the success of a media war; whereas the loss of US soft power would in turn cause changes in the US international strategy. The model of IPM could be viewed as a secondary level framework below the general political marketing model discussed in the previous section.

At the next level on the model of IPM, one can see a key concept in political marketing—political choice behaviour. In the book, *A Theory of Political Choice Behavior*, the authors established a model of political choice behaviour (Newman and Sheth, 1987). The Newman and Sheth model explains the behaviour of voter choice in EPM. Based on that model, one can extend to the international

political choice behaviour and set up the theoretical framework for further study on the political choice behaviours in IPM. **Figure 3** shows the model of international political choice behaviour, and for the first time, this model examines systematically the political choice behaviour in the international aspect.

In Figure 3, model of international political choice behaviour, the concept of International Political Issues can be defined as the issue of a country's interest in its external affairs. The political issues are the base of the international political exchange process. National image and soft power have strong impact on international political choice behaviour. For example, after the Cold War, the United States became the only super power in the world, whose national image and soft power could cause positive political behaviour by most western countries to support US in the Iraq War. However, the epistemic and cultural values of most Islamic nations are so different from those of the western countries, that the success of US foreign policy in the western world cannot be simply duplicate in the Islamic societies, together with the International Situational Contingency, defined as the international events which cause the political choice behaviour, this model can provide analytic

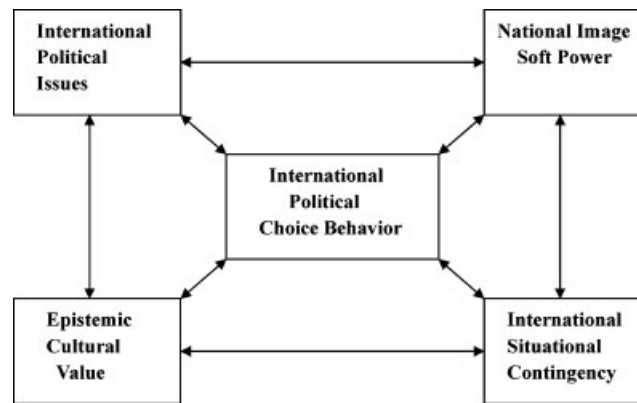


Figure 3. Model of international political choice behaviour

tool for studying the international political choice behaviour and for developing IPM strategy. Again, the concepts in this model are interacting with each other, though some impacts will only be visible in a long term.

The above models give a full picture of political marketing from the general theory at the highest level (Figure 1) to the secondary level of IPM (Figure 2), and then to the third level of international political choice behaviour (Figure 3). Under this framework, management of IPM can be studied, and the relationship among IPM, soft power and public diplomacy can be explained.

The concept of soft power

Harvard Professor and former Pentagon official, Joseph Nye, first brought up and discussed the concept of soft power in his book, *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power* (Nye, 1990). Nye defined soft power as the ability to influence likeness of others. Specifically, a country's hard power may include its economic and military power, while its soft power lies in its ideology, cultural and political values and the ability to form international norms and institutions. In this book, Nye counters the popular theory of American downfalls. It points out that the United States is a strong country not only with

economic and military power but also with the soft power incomparable by the rest of the world. Since then, the term 'soft power' has been frequently applied by researchers and policymakers around the world. The fact that soft power has been so popular in both theoretical and practical levels worldwide exhibits the great soft power of United States.

In an article published in *Foreign Affairs*, 'Power and Interdependence in the information Age', the concepts of hard power and soft power have been further defined (Keohane and Nye, 1998). Hard power is the power to force someone, through threat or reward, to do something unwillingly. In other words, the application of hard power is to seduce with economic reward or to threat with military power. Instead of the use of carrot and stick, the soft power in foreign policy is the ability of one country to indirectly influence other countries to follow through the attractiveness of its political and cultural values. In the information age, soft power is the power of attraction.

In 2001, Joseph Nye further discussed the concept of soft power in his book, *The Paradox of American Power—Why the World's Only Superpower Can't Go it Alone* (Nye, 2002). On the contrary with his earlier book focus on the downfall of US power, in this book Nye criticizes the belief of American victory and unilateralism foreign policy in post 9.11 eras. It claims that if America wants to

keep on being a superpower, it should pay more attention to its soft power.

In 2004, Nye wrote another book, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (Nye, 2004). In this book, Nye further defined the concept of soft power by looking into the interrelation of hard power and soft power and the importance of soft power application. It compares the soft power among major countries such as Russia, and other European and Asian countries. It analyses the resource of US soft power from the culture, domestic value, politics and foreign affairs. He claims that the 2003 Iraq War is a victory for US hard power at the cost of US soft power. Furthermore, Nye describes the application of soft power in US foreign policy.

The application of hard power is much more straightforward as the government can use military threat or launch a war to gain the result as planned in a reasonable time frame. Government could also use its economic power to achieve its political goal by aid or sanction towards foreign country, or by freezing foreign bank accounts. These methods take a longer time to be effective. The application of soft power is much more complicated and takes a much longer time to be effective. The resources of soft power are usually out of the control of the government, and the effectiveness of soft power application depends on the recipients as well. For instance, the Hollywood films are not subject to the US government censorship from a political point of view, whereas most of the films with sexual explosion are rejected by many Middle East countries. The application of soft power in international relations is mostly done through public diplomacy which falls into the domain of IPM.

The concept of public diplomacy

The concept of public diplomacy is first used by Edward Murrow in 1963. As the Director of US Information Agency in the Kennedy government and a popular radio announcer, Murrow defines public diplomacy as the exchange of government and non-government

opinions with foreign government and non-government individuals and organizations. In 1987, the US Department of State gives the following definition. 'PUBLIC DIPLOMACY refers to government-sponsored programmes intended to inform or influence public opinion in other countries; its chief instruments are publications, motion pictures, cultural exchanges, radio and television' (US Department of State, 1987). According to Hans N. Tuch, author of *Communicating With the World* (Tuch, 1990), public diplomacy is defined as: 'Official government efforts to shape the communications environment overseas in which American foreign policy is played out, in order to reduce the degree to which misperceptions and misunderstandings complicate relations between the US and other nations'.

In the book, *Public Diplomacy*, Mark Leonard describes three aspects of public diplomacy (Leonard, 2002). First, the most important task of public diplomacy is the day-to-day communication directly with foreign subjects, including the explanation of domestic and foreign policies with their background information. In the modern information age, governments should pay attention to both domestic and foreign reactions on any public decision. The common mistake made is, warned by Leonard, that government explains its decision only to domestic audience while neglects the impact on its international image. For example, when Bush assures its American audience that the US will be the most powerful nation, he also raises the criticism of US hegemony by most of its competitors in the world. Second, like strategic planning in IPM, public diplomacy works with a set of simple themes which are the key of strategic communication. These political themes need to be guided by the nation's image building and IPM strategy. For instance, in order to promote American soft power, the wielding of its military power or threat in non-proliferation issues would be counter-productive. Third, public diplomacy is the exchange through communication among peoples. Through international conference, forums, media exchange, training and

educational exchanges, leaders around the world keep long-term relations built by all channels.

In 2002, the *Journal of Political Marketing* designated a special issue on cross-cultural theory of public relations and political marketing. One of the papers discussed the diplomacy in international organizations such as NATO and EU (Plavsak, 2002). The author identifies three types of diplomacy: open and democratic diplomacy, public diplomacy and media diplomacy. In the field of international relations, the *Journal of International Negotiation* and the *International Organization*, also published similar articles such as 'Stepping Out of the Tracks: Cooperation Between Official Diplomats and Private Facilitators' (Strimling, 2006) and 'Lobbying and Agriculture Trade Policy in the United States' (Gawande and Hoekman, 2006). Although from different fields, these studies can be categorized in the same subject of IPM.

The relations among international political marketing, soft power and public diplomacy

In the model of IPM, the relations among IPM, soft power and diplomacy have been established. According to the model, soft power is the Product and public diplomacy is Promotion of the IPM mix. The above discussion reveals the interacting relation among IPM, soft power and public diplomacy. Just like the national image, soft power is also a political product which will not sell itself. It can be built up and promoted through public diplomacy which is one of the tactics for IPM. The exchange process of soft power takes a unique form which involves national strategic planning, government sponsorship and censorship and international coalition through multinational efforts, however, the practice of public diplomacy should be carried out by non-government interest groups in order to avoid taking the form of propaganda which has negative impact on the country's soft power. Political choice behaviour is the key of soft power exchange studies, and the effect of soft

power application will vary in countries with different cultural and political values. The IPM strategy for soft power is usually set by the foreign policy makers with the input of the think tanks in relevant field. Once the soft power development strategy is set, the exchange process is carried out through IPM tactics including international political communication, international public relations and public diplomacy. In addition, soft power exchange can be affected by hard power in both positive and negative ways. The combination of both hard power and soft power leads to the study of so called 'smart power'. Americans are quite successful in building up its attractive national image and in applying its soft power. However, just like the situation in political marketing, the best advertisement cannot sell a defective policy. The US soft power has been affected by its foreign policies in both positive and negative ways.

The relationship among IPM, soft power and public diplomacy can be better explained with a real case. Keeping in mind that soft power and public diplomacy are part of the IPM mix, that is the Product and the Promotion, the following case study on US soft power and public diplomacy should give a better illustration on the model of IPM.

A case study of United States public diplomacy

With the above discussion on IPM, soft power and public diplomacy, the interaction of these concepts is evidenced by the practices in US foreign policy. Under the framework of IPM, the study of US soft power and public diplomacy can be traced back to the traditional principles of US foreign policy, that is Hamiltonians, Wilsonians, Jeffersonians and Jacksonians. The relation between IPM and soft power can be shown by the following case on the application of US soft power in the Iraq War since 2003.

US foreign policy and public diplomacy

The US foreign policy tradition is described by Walter Mead with the names of former

American leaders (Mead, 2001). Alexander Hamilton represents those realists who carefully pursue the national and commercial interests of USA. These Hamiltonian foreign policy advocates were short of moral attraction in the international arena. Similarly, Andrew Jackson is named for those realists who stressed the principle of self-sufficiency and sometimes being a threat to others. The Jacksonians are strong and strict in foreign policy, but lacking in fixed power and friends. Both Hamiltonian and Jacksonian doctrines emphasized the hard power construction and application while ignoring the soft power of USA. Since Woodrow Wilson made the 'Fourteen Points' in 1918, the Wilsonian idealism theory dominated the international relations studies till the end of World War II. Thomas Jefferson is named as Jeffersonian for those who promote democracy worldwide. The Jeffersonian liberalisms are strong in terms of soft power, but lack of hard power. Both Wilsonians and Jeffersonians support the soft power construction and application in US foreign policy.

Today, there are three schools dominating the study of international relations. The realism theory represented by Hans Morgenthau and Kenneth Waltz stresses the hard power of a nation. It claimed that the nation's interest is superior, the development of national interest is based on the hard power (Morgenthau, 1961), and American hard power is the engine for globalization (Waltz, 2000). The liberalism focusses on the soft power and world system. It believes that pursue of national interest should be regulated by international systems and laws (Keohane, 1984), and the American power could not go alone (Nye, 2002). The more recent development in international relations study was the social construction theory represented by Alexander Wendt. The construction theory advocates the social idea, or the culture, as the key concept. It claims that soft power has greater influence than hard power in distribution of material interests among nations (Wendt, 1999).

IPM and the application of soft power have been practiced by nation-states throughout the

modern history of international relations starting with the signing of the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. In the 17th and 18th centuries, the government of France aggressively promoted its cultural values in Europe. The French language became not only the official diplomatic language, but also in the courts of countries like Prussia and Russia. In 1883, France established the Alliance France to improve the French soft power after it had been defeated in the French-Prussian War. Since then, IPM and public diplomacy in particular, has practiced as an important part of the French government foreign policy. During World War I, many countries set up special government offices to handle its public diplomacy in order to boost its soft power. The English, German and American governments tried to establish their national image through IPM. In 1917, US President Woodrow Wilson set up a Committee on Public Information to handle the business of IPM, including public diplomacy through promoting books on America, government operating of news agencies and movie censorship.

In late 1938, President Franklin D. Roosevelt believed that the US security depended on the dialogue with the peoples of other countries and winning their support. In order to promote US soft power, Roosevelt designated his Vice President Nelson Rockefeller in charge of the Cultural Relations Office at the Department of State. Once the United States joined World War II, it launched a worldwide political and cultural campaign through IPM. In 1942, Roosevelt set up the Office of War Information (OWI) and the Office of Strategic Services (OSS). Through governmental supports or censorship, these offices had influenced the news media as well as Hollywood productions. According to Richard Pells, the American executives, advertisers and the heads of Hollywood studios turned their eyes on the world market 'not only for selling their products, but also selling American culture, values and the secret of success' (Pells, 1997).

From 1953 to 1999, the US public diplomacy was under the administration of United States Information Agency. In the Cold War period,

the American foreign policy makers paid much more attention to building up its military power than the soft power of the United States. Even during the 1970s at the peak of the Cold War, Americans spent less money on public diplomacy than the French or Germans did. The ratio of government spending on public diplomacy to the total government budgets was 0.23, 0.14 and 0.11% for United Kingdom, Japan and USA in 1975 (Nye, 2004). During the Cold War period, the Americans ranked last in government spending on soft power construction after the French, German, English and Japanese. After the Cold War, the US government was more interested in budgets reduction than in increasing investment in its soft power. During the 20 years from 1963 through 1993, the US federal budgets increased 15 times, whereas the budget for USIA increased only 6.5 times. From 1989 to 1993, the actual budget of USIA decreased by 10% after the inflation calculation. In 1978, Voice of America joined the United States Information Agency and broadcasted in 53 languages with hundreds of millions listeners worldwide. In 1999, the United States Information Agency was merged into the State Department for the closeness to the foreign policy centre and for budgetary efficiency.

Table 1 shows the comparison of hard power and soft power investment among these five countries (Nye, 2004). This table shows that for national defense the US government spent about 10 times more than the government of France or UK, which the spending on public diplomacy is about the same for the three. It is clear that the US government has been emphasizing its hard power while neglecting its soft power.

Table 1. Soft and hard power investment comparing

	Public diplomacy	National defence	Year
USA	11.2	3479	2002
France	10.5	336	2001
England	10.0	384	2002
Germany	2.18	275	2001
Japan	2.1	403	2001

After the 9.11 terrorist attacks in 2001, the United States government realized again the importance of soft power and public diplomacy. The US foreign policymakers saw the lack of investment in American soft power. They pushed for higher budgets on public diplomacy and re-organization of the governmental office in charge of soft power promotion. **Figure 4** shows the proposed governmental organization for US public diplomacy (Johnson and Dale, 2003). The proposed re-organization figure of US public diplomacy is similar to those used in IPM strategic planning. The goal is to promote US soft power, the strategic planners are US foreign policymakers, the researchers are the information officers and the task forces are the communication officers with technical supporters. The vertical structure indicates the importance of public diplomacy in suggested plans. Most of the governmental functions have existed for decades, however, this re-organization figure formalized administrative structure and further raised the visibility and influence of US public diplomacy.

US public diplomacy in the Iraq War

US public diplomacy has been successful in both World War II and the Cold War period. In the wars against German and Japanese aggression, US soft power was strongly promoted by the liberation movement to counter Axis radio broadcasts, such as those of Axis Sally and Tokyo Rose, which were used to demoralize occupied populations and allied troops. The US public diplomacy flourished during the Cold War when communication of the 'Free World' was distorted by the Iron Curtain in the Soviet block. With the change of the Soviet Union in 1991, US public diplomacy and IPM efforts suffered from declining interest in the government. Key public diplomacy programmes were eliminated and the organizational budgets were cut. After the 9.11 terrorism attacks in 2001, the US government was shocked and was forced to think about the question, 'Why they hated America so much'.

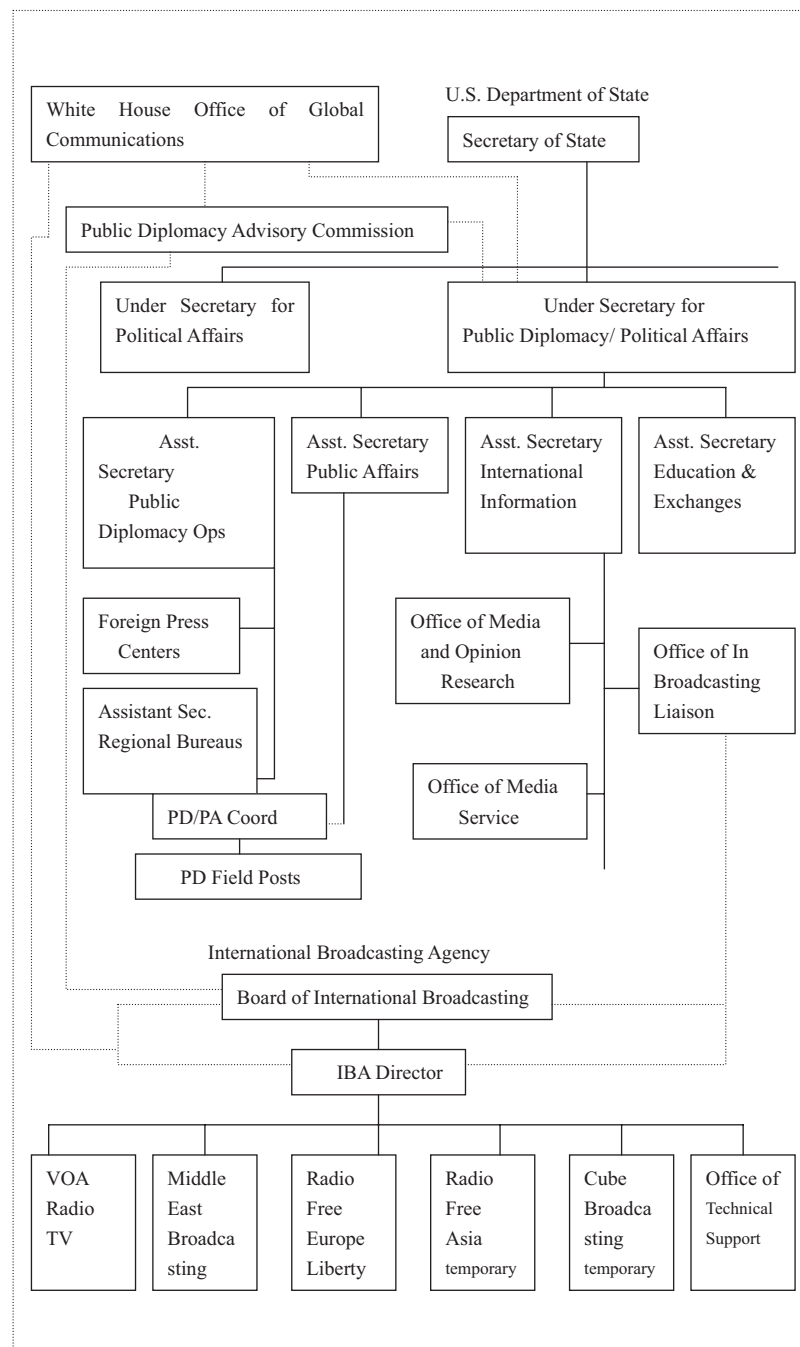


Figure 4. Proposed re-organization of US public diplomacy

In his book, *Soft Power: the Means to Success in World Politics*, Joseph Nye described the US government foreign policy which led to the Iraq War in 2003. Through the comparison of the US influences in World War II and the Cold War, the current US government decided to work on the long-term changes in the Middle East. The first step is

to overthrow the government of Saddam Hussein. Just like the Democratic Germany became the key state in the free and peaceful new Europe, the change of Iraq will become the key of changing the Middle East, so that the hatred ideology will not grow, as pointed out by Dr. Condoleezza Rice, who was then President Bush's National Security Advisor

Table 2. US War on Terrorism

	Per cent responding	
	Not sincere	Sincere
USA	25	67
Britain	41	51
Russia	48	35
France	61	35
Germany	65	29
Turkey	64	20
Morocco	66	17
Jordan	51	11
Pakistan	58	6

(Nye, 2004). This was the fundamental logic behind the Bush foreign policy towards the Second Gulf War.

Was this foreign policy goal achieved by the hard power which wiped out the Saddam Hussein government in 4 weeks? Five years later, while the US politicians are still debating whether the Iraq War was won or lost, there is one thing clear that the strength of US hard power is at the cost of its soft power. In March 2004, 1 year after the US launch of the Iraq War, Pew Global Attitudes Project found that except the US and Britain, the majority of those questioned believe that the US War on terrorism is not a sincere effort to reduce terrorism (The Pew Research Center, 2004). **Table 2** and **3** shows the result of Pew Global Attitudes report on 16 March 2004.

Furthermore, the Pew poll discovered deep skepticism about the motives behind the US-

led war on terrorism, described by the percentage of the total population who believe each is an important reason that the United States is conducting the war on terrorism. Again, with the exception of US and Britain, the responds lead to a negative impact on US soft power.

The decline of US soft power is caused mainly by its foreign policy. The unilateralism Jacksonians and realism Hamiltonians have a historical trend to emphasize hard power while neglecting soft power. Numerous reports and studies have been made on the pros and cons of US foreign policy in the Iraq War, which are not the focus of this paper. From the aspect of IPM, this paper studies the case of US public diplomacy and its effects in the Iraq War. It attempts to exam the practices of US public diplomacy with the key concept of political exchange, political choice behaviour, the long-term approach and the non-government operation principles of IPM.

First, as discussed in the previous section on the concepts and review, political exchange is the key concept in IPM. The Iraq War started with some fundamental conflict of interest and ideological difference which can be resolved by methods of political exchange, including diplomatic, economic and military resolution. These international political exchanges should be conducted in a multilateral forum such as the United Nations. In 2002, the US proposed to the United Nations Security Council to seek automatic authorization for the military action

Table 3. What are America's motives?

	To control mideast oil	To dominate the world	To target unfriendly Muslim governments	To protect Israel
USA	18	13	13	11
Britain	33	24	21	19
Russia	51	44	25	11
France	58	53	44	23
Germany	60	47	40	30
Pakistan	54	55	51	44
Turkey	64	61	47	45
Morocco	63	60	46	54
Jordan	71	61	53	70

against Iraq. France, Russia and China announced that they could not support the military attack under UN mandate. Ignoring the importance of political exchange, the US launched its military attack on Iraq in 2003. The members of UNSC, France, Russia and China together with many other countries denounced the US military action against Iraq without the UN authorization. The US unilateral action caused damages on its national image and credibility. The decline of US soft power in the Iraq War makes a strong case of breaching UNSC rules as well as the exchange principles of IPM. Joseph Nye described the political exchange as a three-dimensional chess game of world politics (Nye, 2003). Nye summarized the mistakes of US foreign policymakers by saying, 'Yet many of the new unilateralists, particularly the Jacksonians, focus almost entirely on the top board of classical military solutions. They mistake the necessary for the sufficient. They are one-dimensional players in a three-dimensional game. In the long term, their approach to implementing the strategy guarantees losing'.

Second, the fundamental principle in IPM is to form a strategy based on the political choice

behaviour. As discussed previously, the effects of soft power will vary in countries with different political and cultural values. For instance, Hollywood films may be welcomed in most of western culture, but it may not be welcomed by some Muslim societies which have different values and behaviours. The Bush government Iraq War logic was based on the success of rebuilding Germany and Japan after World War II, so the US considers the overthrow of Saddam Hussein's government as the first step in the long-term change in the Middle East. However, from the IPM principles, the Bush analogy ignored the fact that Iraq has different political choice behaviour than Germany and Japan. The cultural difference is much bigger between US and the Middle East than among US and the later. The Muslims consider US liberty and democracy equivalent to corruption, sex and violence which were shown in most of Hollywood products. The economic and social environments are different. So the application of US strategy and soft power should be different. The following Pew survey shows the perception of the USA by Muslim and European countries in 2002 prior to the Iraq War. Figures 5 and 6 indicate that Islamic countries

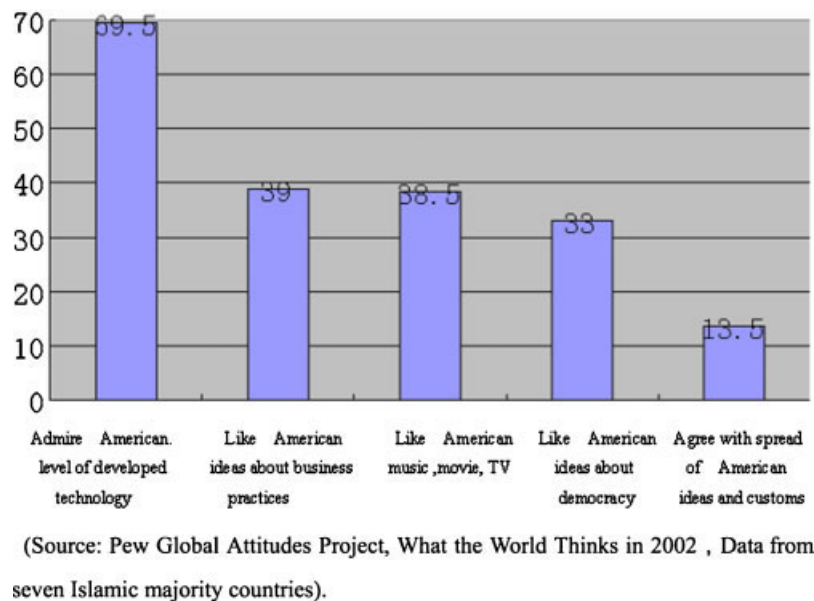
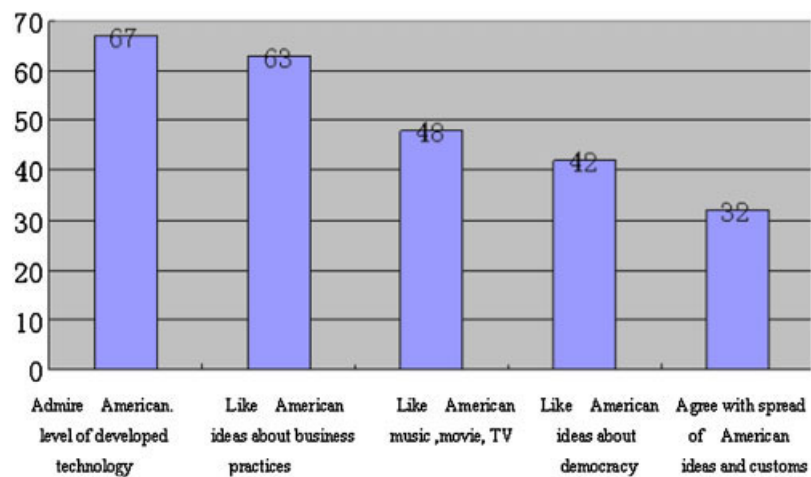


Figure 5. Levels of US attraction in Islamic World. (Source: Pew Global Attitudes Project, what the world thinks in 2002, data from seven Islamic majority countries)



(Source: Pew Global Attitudes Project, *What the World Thinks in 2002*, Survey conducted in ten European countries).

Figure 6. Levels of US attraction in Europe. (Source: Pew Global Attitudes Project, *what the world thinks in 2002*, survey conducted in 10 European countries)

welcome US technology much more than the American freedom ideas, whereas respondents from the 10 European countries rated much higher on American social values.

Third, modern information technology allows governments to conduct and control IPM campaigns effectively. US public diplomacy launched successfully a media war before, during and after its military attacks in Iraq. In the Heritage Foundation Report on *How to Reinvigorate US Public Diplomacy*, Stephen Johnson and Helle Dale wrote, 'While the State Department set about preparing a \$15 million advertising campaign to showcase Muslim life in America to Islamic nations, the Pentagon established the Office of Strategic Influence to provide a harder sell with combination of public affairs and information warfare. Although details were never revealed, the office would have been engaged in a broad range of activities, from dispensing truthful news releases to planting stories through outside contractors to conducting cyberattacks against enemy computer networks and Web sites' (Johnson and Dale, 2003). This was part of the US Public Diplomacy prior to the Iraq War. During the US military attacks, 'One instructive usage of soft power that the Pentagon got right in the second Gulf War

has been called the "weaponization of reporters". Embedding reporters with forward military units undercut Saddam's strategy of creating international outrage by claiming that US troops were deliberately killing civilians. Whereas CNN framed the issues in the first Gulf War, the diffusion of information technology and the rise of new outlets such as Al Jazeera in the intervening decade required a new strategy for maintaining soft power during the second. Whatever other issues it raises, embedding reporters in frontline units was a wise response to changing times' (Nye, 2003). In addition, the US media war applied the tactics of government control over news contents, broadcasting sequence and frequency, the selection of media framework. It took a spin from anti-terrorism and searching for Weapons of Mass Destruction to overthrowing the tyrant dictatorship and democratic liberation.

The above and many other facts show that US public diplomacy has been effective in carrying out its general war time IPM strategies. However, just like the situation in political marketing, the best advertisement cannot sell a defective policy. Many evidences later countered the US media war, such as the failure in searching for WMD, which was

one of the main reasons to start the Iraq War. The US soft power has been affected by its foreign policies in both positive and negative ways. Furthermore, public diplomacy acts with non-government operations, whereas the US government's aggressive actions eventually hurt its image by linking itself with war propaganda and the hard selling negative effects.

Finally, soft power works in the long term through the IPM efforts. The US media war did serve its purpose in the Iraq War but it was also at the cost of US soft power. Many reports show that there are huge tangible expenses to US caused by the Iraq War. The total casualty is over 4000 US soldiers, and total cost since 2003 is \$1.3 trillion US dollars. However, the cost of US soft power caused by the war was immeasurable. Many evidences showed the weakening of US soft power after the Second Gulf War, including the fact that France, Russia, Germany and China formed a coalition to balance American soft power by depriving the US of the legitimacy of the Iraq War; the Turkish parliamentarians regarded US war policy as illegitimate and refused Pentagon requests to allow the Fourth Infantry Division to enter Iraq from the north; and the Pew and Gallop polls showed American attractiveness fell dramatically after the launching of the Second Gulf War. The lesson to be learned in this case is that inadequate attention to soft power was detrimental to the hard power. Hard power may sometimes be at conflict with soft power, but they can also reinforce each other. The governmental spending in public diplomacy will have its long-term impact on the country's hard power and soft power.

According to Joseph Nye, the US soft power was at its lows during the Vietnam War. With the rebuild and reunite of the South and North Vietnam, the American image has been improved gradually in Southeastern Asia (Nye, 2004). This is an evidence for the long-term effectiveness of public diplomacy. With the attention and budgetary improvement on its public diplomacy, the US government is now working on the multilateral efforts in issues like nuclear proliferation, and is

promoting its public diplomacy by sponsoring cultural exchanges such as the visit to North Korea by New York Philharmonic Orchestra. Hopefully, the American soft power will be restored with the right foreign policy, investment in its soft power and IPM strategy in a long run.

Conclusions

This paper starts with the definitional and conceptual review of political marketing. For the first time in publication, it establishes a theoretical model which provides a framework of the three aspects of political marketing, that is EPM, GPM and IPM. This model covers all the main political exchanges among six inter-related components in the three pairs of political exchange process, that is candidates and party versus voters and interest groups in EPM (Newman, 1994); governments, leaders and public servants versus citizens and interest groups in GPM, including political public relations and lobbying which have been categorized as the third aspect of political marketing in some related studies (Harris, 1996; O'Shaughnessy and Henneberg, 2002; McNair, 2003); and governments, interest group and activists versus international organizations and foreign subjects in IPM (Sun, 2007). This study further develops a model of IPM, which covers its strategy and marketing mix on the secondary level of the general political marketing model, and then, the third level model of international political choice behaviour based the theory of political choice behaviour in EPM (Newman and Sheth, 1987). This paper continues to review the concepts of soft power and public diplomacy. In the model of IPM, the relations among IPM, soft power and diplomacy have been discussed. According to the model, soft power is the Product and public diplomacy is Promotion of the IPM mix. This paper reveals the interacting relation among IPM, soft power and public diplomacy. Just like the national image, soft power is also a political product, which will not sell itself. It can be built up and promoted though public diplomacy which is one of the tactics for IPM.

It then reports a case study on the soft power and public diplomacy of the United States from the perspectives of applying IPM and soft power. Under the framework of IPM, it looks at the traditional principles of US foreign policy, that is Hamiltonians, Wilsonians, Jeffersonians and Jacksonians, and the application of US soft power in the Iraq War since 2003. The paper advances the argument that generally all nation states apply IPM to increase their soft power. The decline of US soft power is caused mainly by its foreign policy. The unilateralism Jacksonians and realism Hamiltonians have a historical trend to emphasize hard power while neglecting soft power. From the aspect of IPM, this paper studies the case of US soft power and public diplomacy, and their effects in the Iraq War. It attempts to exam the application of US public diplomacy with the key concept of political exchange, political choice behaviour, the long-term approach and the non-government operation principles of public diplomacy which is a part of IPM. The case study confirms the relations among IPM, soft power and public diplomacy, and finds that lessons can be learned on the above-mentioned IPM practices. The paper concludes that there is a great demand for research both at a theoretical as well as practical level for IPM. It calls for further study on this subject.

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