

# Public Diplomacy Rules & Multipolar Worlds

Russia's Adaptive Practices, Indonesia Case Study, US Comparison, and Creative Industries Innovation

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PROF. CONNIE RAHAKUNDINI BAKRIE

FACULTY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATION

ST PETERSBURG STATE UNIVERSITY, APRIL 15<sup>TH</sup> 2026

# Outline

CONCEPTUAL FOUNDATIONS OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

RUSSIA'S FRAMEWORK AND BEST PRACTICES

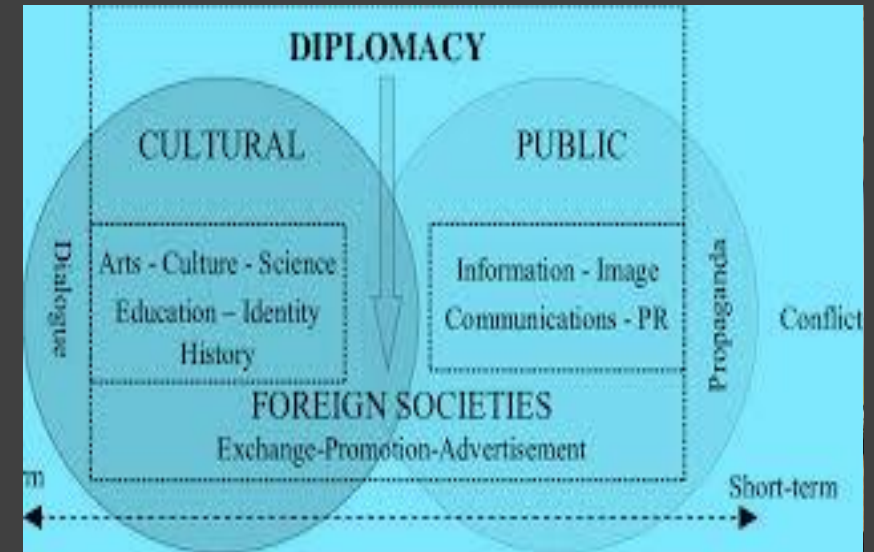
CASE STUDY: RUSSIA-INDONESIA STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP

LIMITATIONS UNDER SANCTIONS AND MEASUREMENT CHALLENGES

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS: RUSSIA VS. UNITED STATES IN ASIA

INNOVATIVE BEST PRACTICE: CREATIVE INDUSTRIES & ORESHKIN'S  
ROLE

CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS





# Russia's Public Diplomacy

Evolution and Practice

*Edited by*  
Anna A. Velikaya · Greg Simons

palgrave  
macmillan

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# What is Public Diplomacy?

DIRECT ENGAGEMENT WITH FOREIGN PUBLICS  
(NOT JUST GOVERNMENTS)

CORE TOOL OF SOFT POWER (JOSEPH NYE)

FOCUS AREAS: CULTURE, EDUCATION, MEDIA,  
PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE TIES

RUSSIA'S APPROACH: "HUMANITARIAN  
COOPERATION" (VELIKAYA & SIMONS)

GOAL: SHAPE PREFERENCES THROUGH  
ATTRACTION AND AUTHENTICITY

# Public Diplomacy: 7 Lessons for Its Future from Its Past

Nicholas J. Cull (2010)

Place Branding and Public  
Diplomacy

Key Takeaways for Effective  
Practice in the Digital Age

Footer: Source: Cull, N.J.  
(2010)



## Invited Article

# Public diplomacy: Seven lessons for its future from its past

Received (in revised form): 9th February 2010

**Nicholas J. Cull**

is Professor of Public Diplomacy at the University of Southern California, where he directs the Masters Program in Public Diplomacy. His books include *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency: American Propaganda and Public Diplomacy, 1945–1989* (Cambridge, 2008), which is newly published in paperback. He is originally from the United Kingdom and studied at the University of Leeds and Princeton University.

**ABSTRACT** This article examines the history of public diplomacy and identifies seven lessons from that history. These are: (1) public diplomacy begins with listening; (2) public diplomacy must be connected to policy; (3) public diplomacy is not a performance for domestic consumption; (4) effective public diplomacy requires credibility, but this has implications for the bureaucratic structure around the activity; (5) sometimes the most credible voice in public diplomacy is not one's own; (6) public diplomacy is not 'always about you'; and (7) public diplomacy is everyone's business. The article considers the relevance of these lessons for 'the new public diplomacy', which have emerged over the last decade. Cull concludes that this new public diplomacy era has opened up fresh possibilities, but has not erased the relevance of the history of public diplomacy. On the contrary, the lessons of the past seem even more relevant in an age in which communications play an unprecedented role.

*Place Branding and Public Diplomacy* (2010) 6, 11–17. doi:10.1057/pb.2010.4

**Keywords:** public diplomacy theory; new public diplomacy; public diplomacy history; listening; cultural diplomacy; e.diplomacy

The following paper forms part of 'Engagement – Public Diplomacy in a Globalised World', a project by the United Kingdom's Foreign and Commonwealth Office to examine the 'state of the art' in public diplomacy.

## INTRODUCTION

Edmund Gullion had a problem. It was the spring of 1965 and, newly retired from a distinguished diplomatic career crowned by service as the US Ambassador to the Congo, he had accepted the post of Dean of the Fletcher School of Diplomacy at Tufts University in Medford, Massachusetts. He was eager to set up a research and teaching centre to focus on an emerging dimension of

international relations – which concerned the conduct of foreign policy through engagement with international publics.

In the past, he had toyed with the term 'total diplomacy' for such work, but the phrase seemed clumsy and did not carry the nuance that he needed. The term that sprang most often to his mind was 'propaganda' but its negative connotations – shades of Dr Goebbels – placed it beyond the pale. In the event,

**Correspondence:**  
Nicholas J. Cull  
USC Annenberg School,  
3502 Watt Way, Los Angeles,  
CA 90080, USA  
E-mail: cull@usc.edu

# Lesson 1

## Public Diplomacy Begins with Listening

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### **DO'S**

Conduct systematic research on foreign audiences

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Actively monitor opinions, feedback, and concerns

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Make listening the foundation of all PD activities

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### **DON'TS**

Assume you already know what foreign publics think

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Jump straight into messaging without research

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Simple listening

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# Lessons 2 & 3: Policy Alignment and Authentic Engagement

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## LESSONS 2

**Public Diplomacy Must Be Connected to Policy**

**Do's: Align messaging tightly with actual foreign policy and actions**

**Don'ts: Let PD become disconnected "spin" that contradicts reality**

## LESSONS 3

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**Public Diplomacy Is Not a Performance for Domestic Consumption**

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**Do's: Focus on genuine impact on foreign publics**

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**Don'ts: Design campaigns mainly to impress domestic audiences or politicians**

# Lessons 4 & 5

## Credibility & Credible Voices

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### LESSONS 4

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**Effective Public Diplomacy Requires Credibility**

**Do's: Build and protect institutional trust; separate PD from overt propaganda**

**Don'ts: Over-politicize or centralize PD in ways that undermine credibility**

### LESSONS 5

**Sometimes the Most Credible Voice Is Not One's Own**

**Do's: Partner with credible third parties (NGOs, academics, local voices, diaspora)**

**Don'ts: Rely only on official government channels**

# Lessons 6 & 7

## Focus & Whole-of-Society Approach

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**6**

**Public Diplomacy Is Not Always “About You”**

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**Do’s: Emphasize mutual interests, shared values, and genuine dialogue**

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**Don’ts: Make every campaign self-centered or purely national branding**

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**7**

**Public Diplomacy Is Everyone’s Business**

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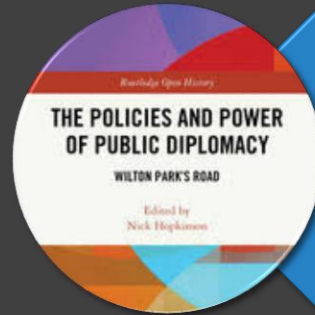
**Do’s: Involve the whole of government, civil society, and private sector**

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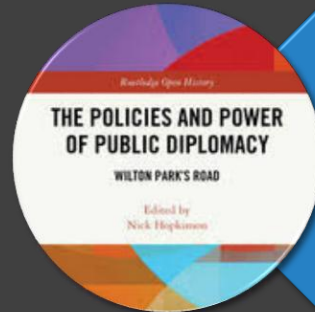
**Don’ts: Treat PD as the sole responsibility of one ministry or agency**

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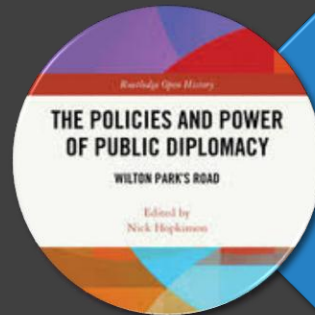
# Key Takeaways & Relevance for the Future



Public diplomacy is more important than ever in the digital and multipolar age



The 7 lessons remain timeless despite technological change



Success requires listening, credibility, authenticity, and broad collaboration



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# Russia's Public Diplomacy

# Russia's Public Diplomacy Strengths

INSTITUTIONAL COHERENCE  
(ROSSOTRUDNICHESTVO,  
RT/SPUTNIK, STATE-NGO  
COORDINATION)

CONTEXTUAL AUTHENTICITY –  
RESPECTS SOVEREIGNTY AND LOCAL  
HISTORIES

LONG-TERM RELATIONSHIP  
BUILDING

EVENT-BASED DIPLOMACY (E.G.,  
2018 FIFA WORLD CUP)

EDUCATIONAL OUTREACH:  
THOUSANDS OF SCHOLARSHIPS  
ANNUALLY

# RT

# SPUTNIK



## WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL 2026 – RUSSIA

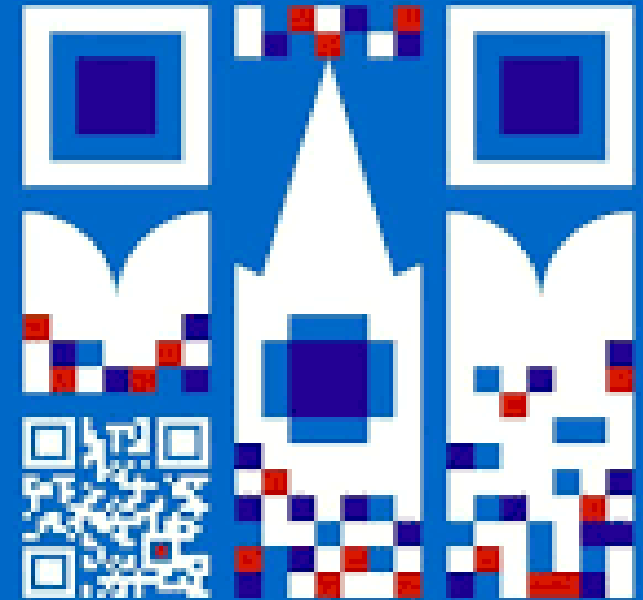
FULLY FUNDED GLOBAL YOUTH FESTIVAL  
| OPEN TO ALL NATIONALITIES

- **WHO:** Students, Professionals, Leaders | 10,000 Participants | 2,000 Volunteers
- **FUNDING:** Accommodation, Meals, Local Transport | Fully Organized
- **WHY:** Global Networking | Cultural Exchange | Conferences & Workshops | Boost Your CV



**APPLY HERE**

<https://tinyurl.com/wif-russia2026>



# РУССКИЙ ДОМ



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# Russia's "Pivot to the East"

ARTICULATED BY PRESIDENT PUTIN IN 2012

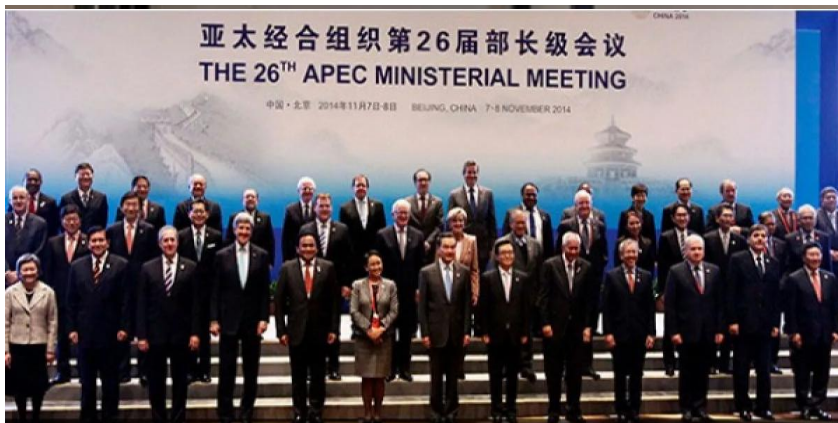
(APEC VLADIVOSTOK)

ACCELERATED AFTER 2014 SANCTIONS

STRATEGIC GOALS: DEVELOP FAR EAST + DIVERSIFY ASIAN  
PARTNERSHIPS

MULTILATERAL LAYERING: BRICS, SCO, ASEAN DIALOGUES

BILATERAL DEPTH: DEFENSE, ENERGY, TECHNOLOGY  
WITHOUT ALIGNMENT DEMANDS



# Russia-Indonesia Relations – Historical Roots

DIPLOMATIC TIES ESTABLISHED  
IN 1950

SHARED ANTI-COLONIAL  
SOLIDARITY (SUKARNO ERA)

INDONESIA'S "FREE AND  
ACTIVE" (BEBAS DAN AKTIF)  
FOREIGN POLICY

INDONESIA JOINED BRICS AS  
FULL MEMBER IN 2025

Photographer: John Dominis/LIFE

COLORIZED BY  
@mazzini\_gsp





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# Milestone – 2025 Strategic Partnership

SIGNED JUNE 19, 2025 IN ST. PETERSBURG BY PRESIDENTS  
PUTIN & PRABOWO SUBIANTO

DECLARATION OF STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP COVERS:

DEFENSE & SECURITY COOPERATION

ENERGY, NUCLEAR, AND TRADE (> SEVERAL BILLION USD)

DIGITAL DEVELOPMENT AND EDUCATION

CULTURE AND PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE TIES

HIGH-LEVEL COMMITMENT TO DEEPEN MULTIPOLAR  
PARTNERSHIP

 SPIEF'26 ПМЭФ'26 3–6 ИЮНЯ 2026  
 РОСКОНГРЕСС  
Пространство диалогов

**ПЕТЕРБУРГСКИЙ  
МЕЖДУНАРОДНЫЙ  
ЭКОНОМИЧЕСКИЙ  
ФОРУМ**

ПЕРЕЙТИ  
НА САЙТ ФОРУМА

# Russian House (Rossotrudnichestvo) in Jakarta

OVER 60 YEARS OLD

ACTIVITIES IN JAKARTA AND BALI:

CONCERTS, EXHIBITIONS, FILM  
SCREENINGS

RUSSIAN LANGUAGE PROGRAMS

YOUTH EVENTS (E.G., APRIL 2026  
PRESENTATION OF WORLD YOUTH  
FESTIVAL)

DIRECT MOSCOW–BALI FLIGHTS  
BOOST TOURISM AND LIVED  
EXPERIENCES





# People-to-People & Educational Ties

HUNDREDS OF RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT SCHOLARSHIPS FOR INDONESIAN STUDENTS ANNUALLY

JOINT NAVAL DRILLS (E.G., ORRUDA 2024 IN JAVA SEA) FRAMED AS SOVEREIGNTY CAPACITY-BUILDING

FOCUS ON MUTUAL BENEFIT AND NON-INTERFERENCE

OUTCOME: STRENGTHENED TRUST AND INDONESIA'S HEDGING STRATEGY

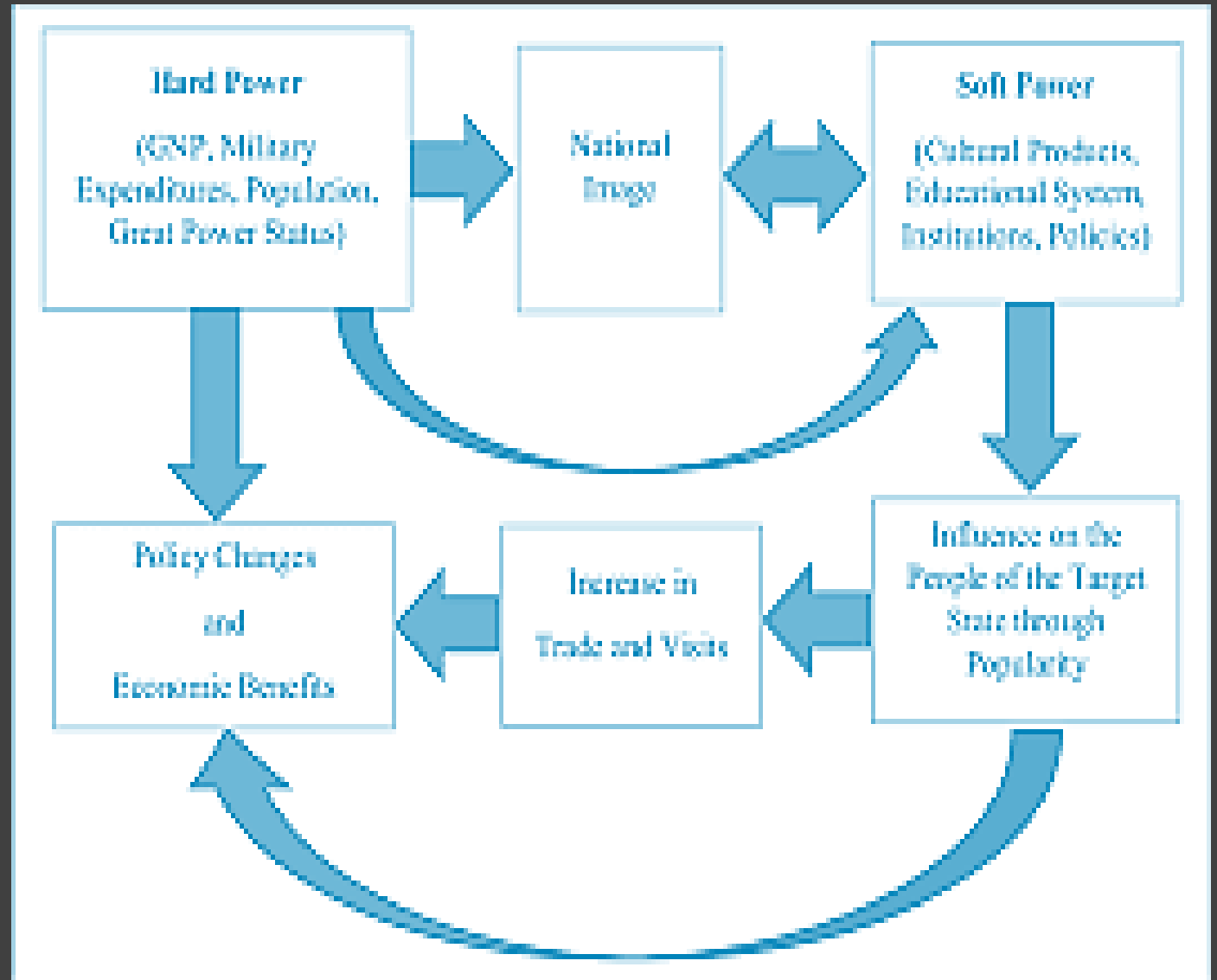
# Best Practices from Indonesia Case

LONG-TERM RECIPROCITY AND LOCAL ALIGNMENT

INTEGRATION OF HARD AND SOFT POWER (DEFENSE + CULTURE)

RESPECT FOR PARTNER'S FOREIGN POLICY PRINCIPLES

CONVERSION OF ATTRACTION INTO STRATEGIC GAINS





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# Limitations – Impact of Western Sanctions

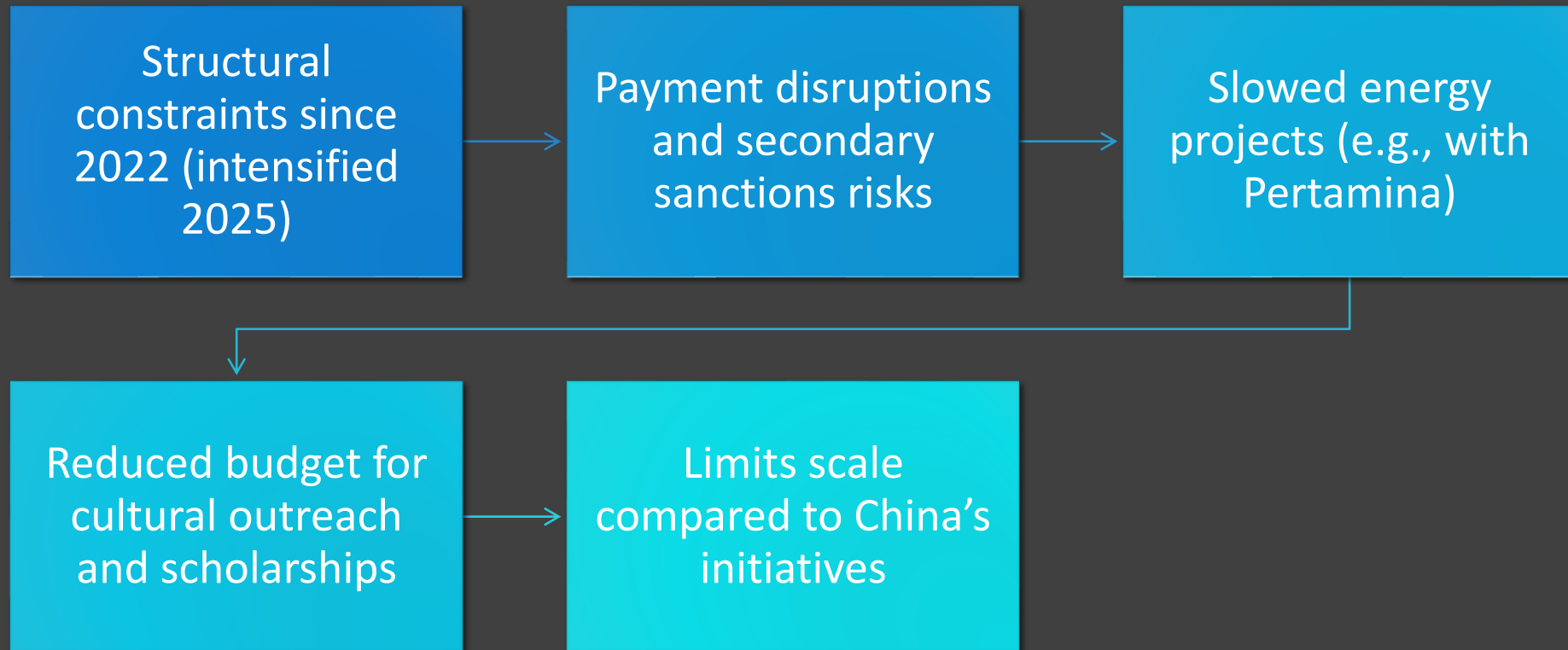
NARRATIVE AND MEASUREMENT CHALLENGES

COMPARATIVE LENS – RUSSIA VS. USA

# Limitations

## Impact of Western Sanctions

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# Narrative and Measurement Challenges

OCCASIONAL PUSHBACK WHEN NARRATIVES PERCEIVED AS ONE-SIDED

SOFT POWER MEASUREMENT DIFFICULTIES:

POLLS SHOW FAVORABILITY BUT STRUGGLE WITH CAUSALITY

HARD TO ISOLATE DIPLOMACY FROM ECONOMIC PRAGMATISM OR HEDGING

ATTRIBUTION PROBLEM: PARTNERSHIP SUCCESS – PUBLIC DIPLOMACY OR HARD POWER?

# Comparative Lens – Russia vs. USA

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## RUSSIA'S APPROACH

Sovereignty-focused, low-conditionality

Emphasizes multipolarity, non-interference, historical solidarity

Tools: Cultural centers, targeted media, concrete deliverables (arms, energy)

Strong appeal in hedging middle powers like Indonesia

## US APPROACH

Values-oriented (democracy, human rights, rules-based order)

Tools: Fulbright scholarships, USAID, Voice of America, alliance networks (QUAD, AUKUS)

Strengths: Large funding scale, innovation appeal, institutional trust

Challenges: Perceived paternalism in sovereignty-sensitive contexts

# Key Differences in Asian Context

Both models effective  
depending on partner  
priorities



Russia: Pragmatic “third way” for diversification



USA: Normative promotion and collective security



Russia gains through authenticity and respect



USA excels among liberal elites and formal allies



Emerging Best  
Practice  
Creative Industries

MAXIM ORESHKIN'S COORDINATING ROLE  
CREATIVE INDUSTRIES IN ASIAN PUBLIC DIPLOMACY





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# Emerging Best Practice Creative Industries

NATIONAL GOAL UNDER PUTIN'S DEVELOPMENT  
DECREES (2030 TARGET)

AIM: INCREASE CREATIVE ECONOMY'S  
CONTRIBUTION TO GDP TO 6% BY 2030

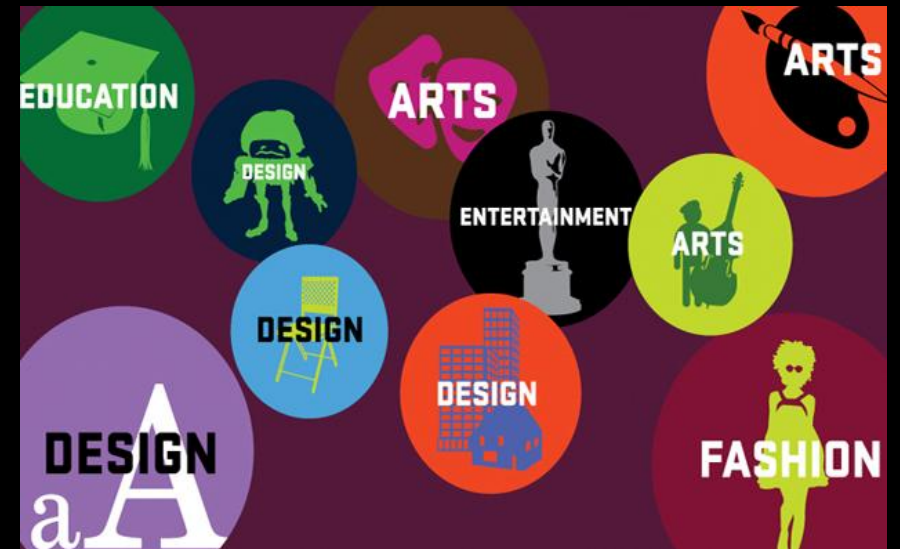
SECTORS: FILM, DESIGN, ANIMATION, DIGITAL  
CONTENT, FASHION, MUSIC

TRANSFORMS TRADITIONAL CULTURAL DIPLOMACY  
INTO MODERN, DYNAMIC SOFT POWER



Deputy Head of Presidential Administration  
Actively coordinates creative economy strategy  
Frames creative industries as instruments of:  
National narrative projection  
Innovation identity  
Genuine people-to-people connections  
Links domestic economic policy with public  
diplomacy goals

MAXIM ORESHKIN'S COORDINATING ROLE





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# Smolny - External Relation Power



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# Creative Industries in Asian Public Diplomacy

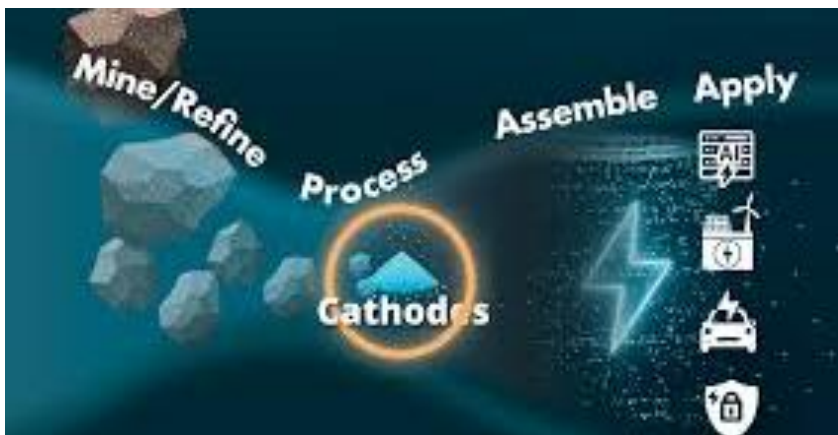
EXPORTABLE CULTURAL PRODUCTS: RUSSIAN FILMS AT ASIAN FESTIVALS

CONTEMPORARY DESIGN SHOWCASED IN RUSSIAN HOUSES (JAKARTA & BALI)

YOUTH-ORIENTED DIGITAL PLATFORMS

ENHANCES NARRATIVE RESILIENCE AMID SANCTIONS

COMPLEMENTS DEFENSE AND ENERGY PARTNERSHIPS WITH ATTRACTIVE, NON-POLITICAL CONTENT



# Overall Implications

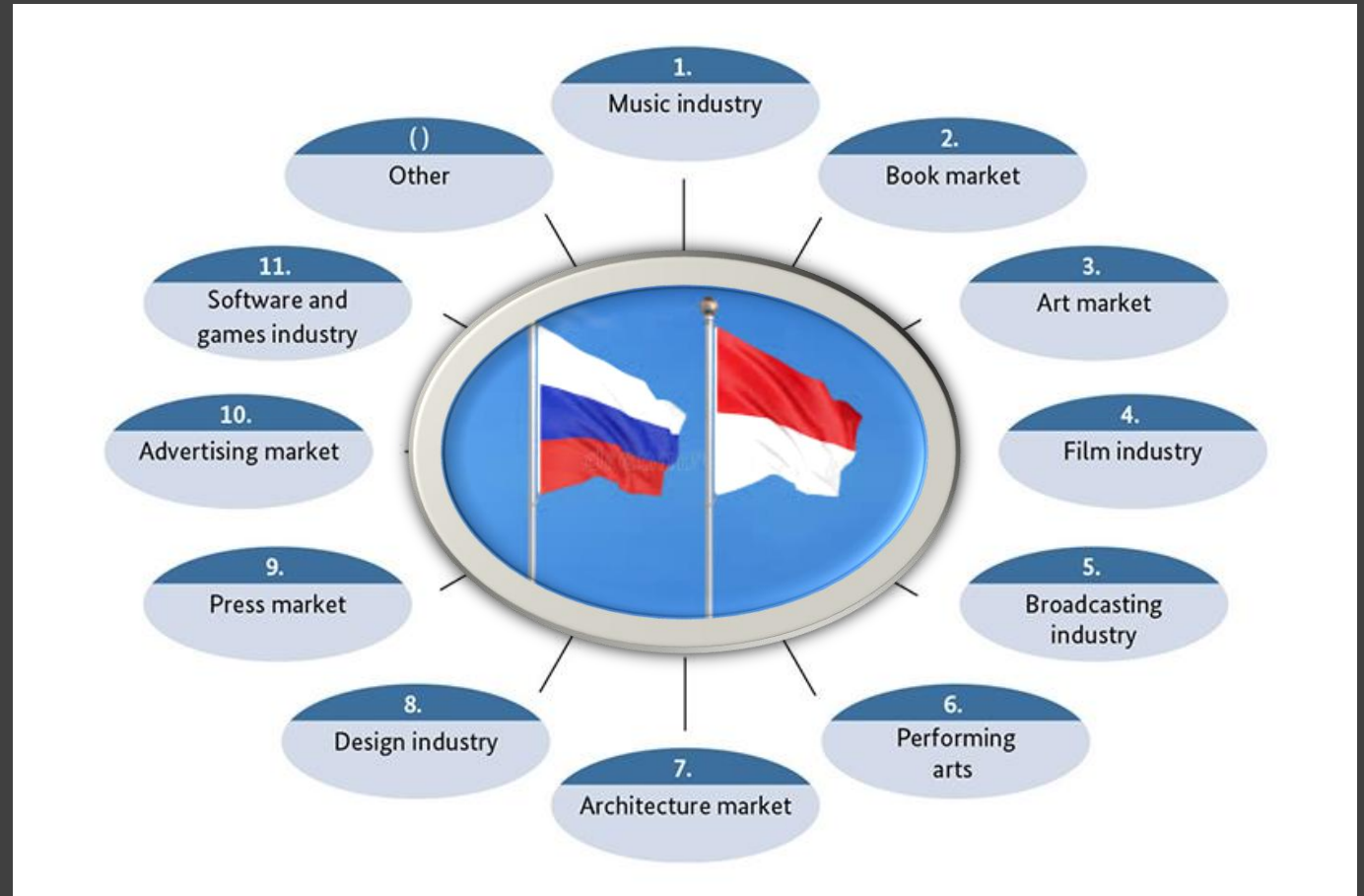
RUSSIA DEMONSTRATES COORDINATED, ADAPTIVE, AND INNOVATIVE PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

INDONESIA CASE SHOWS TANGIBLE STRATEGIC GAINS THROUGH SOFT POWER

LIMITATIONS EXIST BUT MODEL REMAINS RESILIENT

CREATIVE INDUSTRIES OFFER FORWARD-LOOKING TOOL FOR MULTIPOLAR ASIA

VALUABLE LESSONS FOR STATES NAVIGATING GREAT-POWER COMPETITION



# Conclusion

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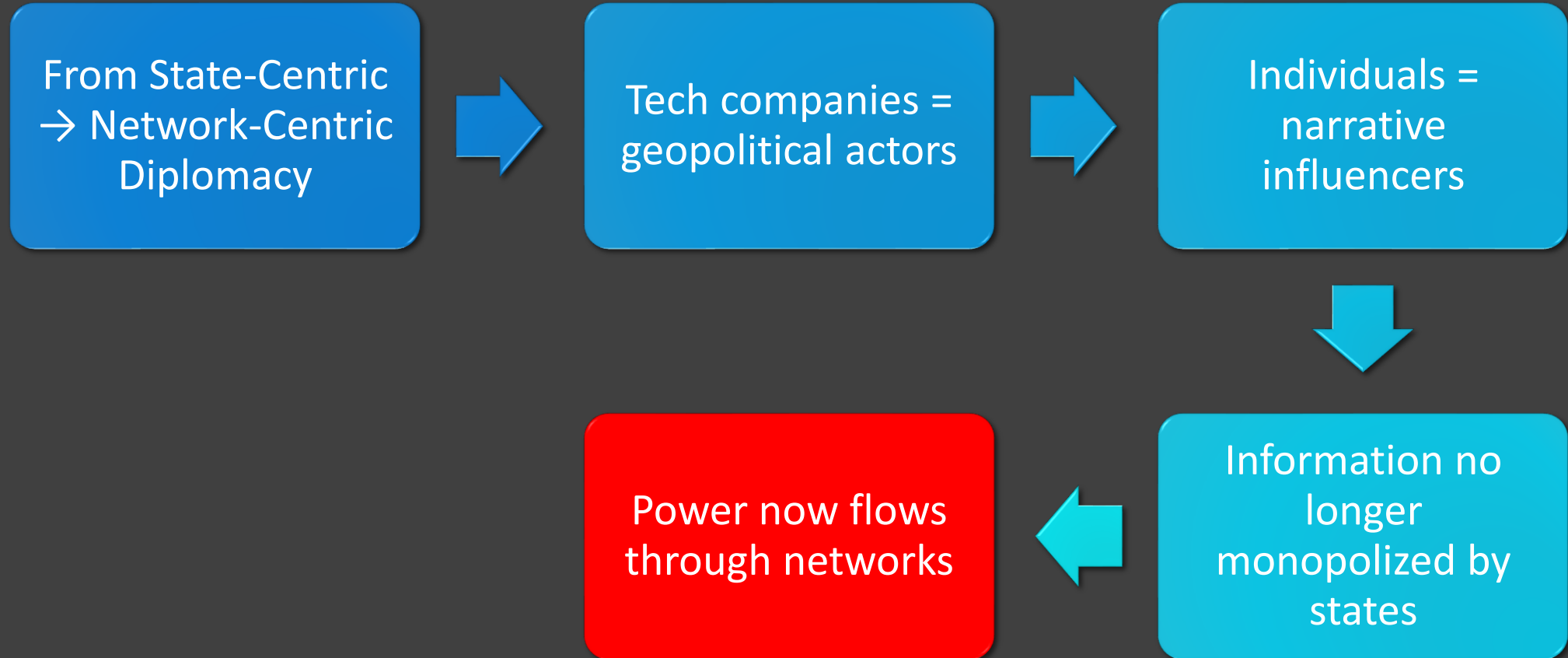
Russia's public diplomacy balances pragmatism, authenticity, and innovation

Effective for hedging middle powers in a fragmenting world order

Future research: hybrid power models & the shift of power

# Shift Of Power

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# The Paradox

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+

Faster, But More Fragile

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Technology Enables:

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Transparency

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Connectivity

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Access

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But Also:

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Misinformation

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Escalation

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Loss of strategic depth

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# Diplomacy in the Digital Age

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Sovereignty =  
territorial +  
digital

Diplomacy =  
state + networks  
+ narratives

Power = control  
of speed, data,  
and perception



# Thank You

Connie Rahakundini Bakrie

+7 9969996095