

Was Soft Power used during the Cold War?

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Soft Power Present during the Cold War: 1946-1991

Abstract:

On December 25, 1991, Mikhail Gorbachev resigned as the leader of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics which resulted in the formal conclusion of the Cold War. The Cold War was an ideological battle between the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics from the mid-1940s until 1991. I have decided to put the beginning date of the Cold War as March 5, 1946, while the end date is December 25, 1991. During the Cold War, there was a new form of power which was coined by Joseph Nye. Scholars have questioned the influence of soft versus hard power during the Cold War. Soft power, according to Joseph Nye, is the ability of “a country to persuade others to do what it wants without force or coercion.” Emerging from this is my research question which asks: did the use of soft power, through the use of culture, sports, films, and music, contribute to the outcome of the Cold War? By using the method process tracing and a wide variety of variables, I can answer my question in the affirmative. The United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics did engage in a different kind of war and the winner was the United States through their use of soft power.

Introduction:

Ever since I started my undergraduate studies at Arcadia University I have been fascinated with the Cold War. The impact that a non-hot war had on foreign relations, international cooperation, and soft power is something that has always captured my attention. Due to this, my thesis will be analyzing if the various forms of soft power, at the disposal of the United States (US) and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), did or did not impact the Cold War. Thus, my research question is: did the use of soft power, through the use of culture, sports, films, and music, contribute to the outcome of the Cold War? To better understand how soft power was used during the Cold War, some of the main theories and events analyzed will be soft and hard power, public diplomacy, sporting events, and national identity. This paper will showcase my literature, review the method and the connection to my question, the analysis resulting from process tracing, and how I reached an affirmative conclusion to my question.

Despite the impact that hard power has on the outcome of the Cold War, soft power was the more subtle, moving force in the US winning the Cold War. Sporting events like the 1972 and 1974 Summit Series between Canada and the USSR and the 1980 Winter Olympics are forms of soft power by the US and USSR. In addition, movies like *Rambo: First Blood* and *The Hunt for the Red October* in addition to the film industries of the US and USSR. Moreover, cultural events in the form of music and radio also contributed to the outcome of the Cold War. The difference between free and democratic news outlets like the *Voice of America* (VOA), *National Public Radio* (NPR), and the Metropolitan Theatre compared to *Pravda* and *Sovetsky Sport* created different public opinions in the two states. All in all, the forms of soft power used by the US and USSR throughout the course of the Cold War contributed to the outcome.

My thesis rests on the impact of soft power during the Cold War which requires me to explain what soft power is. Joseph Nye writes that “Soft power is the ability to affect others to obtain the outcomes one wants through attraction and persuasion rather than coercion or payment..”¹ Of course public diplomacy and soft power go hand-in-hand which contribute to the success of democratic politics. There are many things that impact soft power: culture, values, sports, and politics. Nye says that public diplomacy has always impacted soft power and led to the end of the Cold War and the winning of the US.² To better understand the success of soft power, the roles of public diplomacy, credibility, self-criticism, and civil society, all need to be combined to increase a state’s soft power. Nye continues to say that soft power is determined by a state’s culture, political values, and foreign policies. In closing, Nye states that soft and hard power creates “smart power”. Both states used their “smart power” to advance their own foreign policy during the Cold War. Based on this, the US used its “smart power” to eventually win the Cold War over the USSR.³ Equally, I will explain other pieces of literature that delve into soft power, how culture and sports are relevant to soft power, and a few scholars who do not view soft power as an effective tool to international relations.

Literature Review:

Culture, which is composed of many facets, has always had an impact on society no matter what time or State it is. Based on the literature I have read, my thesis is based on the impact that soft power, through the use of ice hockey and sports in general, had on the Cold War between the United States (US) and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). The main

¹ Nye, Joseph S. “Public Diplomacy and Soft Power.” *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616, no. 1 (2008): 94–109. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716207311699>.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

question I will hope to answer is: How did culture, through the use of sports, impact the soft power of the US during the Cold War? To understand my question, I will explain soft power, the forms of soft power, and how it impacted the US. Thereafter, I will conclude with how all of the literature supports my thesis and the above question. Moving from this, a foundation of soft power is required.

Soft power has always been a part of a country's ability to achieve its foreign and domestic goals. Joseph Nye writes that “Soft power rests on the ability to shape the preferences of others.”⁴ Of course public diplomacy and soft power go hand-in-hand which contribute to the success of democratic politics. There are many things that impact soft power: culture, values, and politics. Nye says that public diplomacy has always impacted soft power and led to the end of the Cold War and the winning of the US. To better understand the success of soft power, the roles of public diplomacy, credibility, self-criticism, and civil society, all need to be combined to increase a State’s soft power. Nye continues to say that soft power is determined by a State’s culture, political values, and foreign policies. With the growth of soft power, public diplomacy has increased in the age of information. Due to more people having access to information, a problem has emerged called competitive credibility. This new problem has created a battle between governments that aims to increase their own public diplomacy and decrease another. In closing, Nye states that soft and hard power creates “smart power”. As a result of this combination during the Cold War, the US used “smart power” to eventually win the Cold War over the USSR.

Nye was one of the first academics to put forward soft power as a way for governments to achieve foreign policy goals. In another book, Bridey Heing collects numerous articles on the

⁴ Nye, Joseph S. “Public Diplomacy and Soft Power.” *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616, no. 1 (2008): 94–109. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716207311699>.

impact that soft power has on international affairs within chapter one.⁵ Soft power has always been a part of a State's ability to create foreign policy, increase its branding abroad, and helped create national unity. Jan Melissen writes that public diplomacy is one soft power's main and essential tool for a State to use. Melissen explains how a war of ideas between Wilson and Lenin existed from 1917-1918 before the Cold War which was related to each country's soft power aims. Similar to Nye, Melissen says this use of soft power has changed because diplomacy has changed with the growth of communication and information. In another section of the chapter, Francesca Centracchio explains how soft power helps strengthen emerging states like Brazil compared to established states.

Centracchio writes that since Brazil lacks hard power, use of force or military might, it has to rely on soft power to accomplish its international goals. Thus, Brazil has stayed relevant thanks to its soft power which has allowed it to become an emerging power. Unlike the US or China or other South American states, Brazil has virtually no rivals or enemies due to its Federal Constitution which outlines that peaceful settlements and international cooperation should be utilized when dealing with other countries. Even though there is general consensus on the impact that soft power has on foreign policy and international affairs, some academics critique this assumption.

Within the chapter, Deborah Bull writes that soft power, through the use of culture, does not impact international affairs. Bull comments that soft power is at the disposal of governments and does have support but that culture does not have the same support within the framework of soft power. She writes that there is no evidence, due to poor articulation and lack of

⁵ Heing, Bridey. "Chapter 1: Does Soft Power Positively Influence International Affairs?" Essay. In *Soft Power and Diplomacy*, 17-49. New York, NY: Greenhaven Publishing, 2020.

understanding, that cultural diplomacy is at work. Bull continues on to say that the problems of soft power are frequent which decreases the likelihood of culture within soft power. One of the most profound problems is the fact that soft power and cultural diplomacy are used interchangeably. This causes people and states to have differing definitions, viewpoints, and points of view on both words which, also, proves that soft power does not impact international affairs. Even though Bull has critiqued the idea that soft power achieves foreign policy goals, the general consensus is that soft power does exist and work. Therefore, I will provide some cases where soft power was used through culture via sports.

In addition to the above articles, the following article is by Victor Cha who writes about the role that sports has on national renewal and international relations.⁶ Cha writes on the importance of national emotions during sports and the impact of international relations. Contrary to the other forms of culture, music, science, and art, sports bring intensity and competition that is unparalleled. The first is the impact sports has on nation-building. Cha explores how cricket, rugby, and baseball in countries that are usually not the favorites, ensure national support for that team in that sport. The second is how countries can become independent through sports. Just like baseball can create nation-building, it can also foster independence. Thirdly, soft power and sports go hand in hand. Finally, sports can ensure “rebirth and renewal” that is unprecedented elsewhere. The locations of the Olympics in northeast Asian countries are evidence of this. Cha’s main research consists of Olympic games where China, Japan, and South Korea have participated and their impact on the above four points. At the end of the article, Cha shows how the Olympics in Japan in 2020 have impacts on its national pride and integrity.

⁶ Cha, Victor. “Role of Sport in International Relations: National Rebirth and Renewal.” *Asian Economic Policy Review* 11, no. 1 (2016): 139–55. <https://doi.org/10.1111/aepr.12127>.

Throughout the article, Cha provides how sports can be attributed to soft power through the dimensions of national renewal and international relations. The article by Cha provides a different lense which to analyze soft power since it also deals with soft power at the domestic level. The literature by Nye and Heing are abstract while Cha provides definitive proof. Another article supports Cha claims with regard to another world war II ravaged country, Germany. Heather Dichter explains how Germany's return to international sports is indicative of soft power and their international relations.⁷ Dichter shows how sports within Germany, whether individual or team, winter or summer, all were politicized. Since Germany was blamed for two world wars, sports filled the void that the military couldn't due to restrictions. During the Cold War, Germany was quite successful on the soccer field and ice hockey rinks but only after careful consideration by international sports associations. Thus, sports replaced the militaristic aspects of Germany which translated into soft power. Another state that sports impact their soft power was Fiji.

Unlike Germany, Fiji is not a large state with a long history of participating in world wars. John Connell writes that through the sport of rugby, Fiji has shaped their national identity and international identity.⁸ Fiji has used its success at rugby on the national stage to increase its soft power abroad and encourage sport diplomacy. Similar to the other articles above, Fiji has used sports as a means of foreign policy thanks to its success in rugby. Connell writes that sports are very political and are directly related to power relations. In the international arena, states have repeatedly used sports to place themselves among other states via success at international events like the Olympics or World Cup. Fiji is attempting to develop soft power as a way to gain prestige from rugby success. The benefit to soft power is that hard power is not necessary;

⁷ Dichter, Heather L. "Sporting Relations: Diplomacy, Small States, and Germany's Post-War Return to International Sport." *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 27, no. 2 (2016): 340–59. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09592296.2016.1169798>.

⁸ Connell, John. "Fiji, Rugby and the Geopolitics of Soft Power. Shaping National and International Identity." *New Zealand Geographer* 74, no. 2 (2018): 92–100. <https://doi.org/10.1111/nzg.12184>.

especially since Fiji is a small State compared to others, soft power is a good way to go when dealing internationally. Despite the success that Germany and Fiji have had at using sports to promote soft power, two academics have shown that sports is not always supportive of soft power.

Magda Leichtová and Jiří Zákřavský write on how ice hockey was dominated by the USSR and the impact it had on the US during the Cold War.⁹ In this paper regarding Olympic ice hockey and its impact between the US and USSR, Leichtová and Zákřavský write on how the Olympic games were a “proxy” war on ice. They acknowledge how the USSR and Nazi Germany both utilized and created state-led systems of sports and its mixture with politics. Accordingly, the 1936 Olympics are the first case where politics and sports were used to show the world the strength and fortitude of Nazi Germany’s elite, Aryan race. Thereafter, the Cold War greatly altered the way sports were viewed everywhere.

Leichtová and Zákřavský show how the success of the USSR hockey teams at Olympic games did not have as great of an impact on their soft power through the use of media on American audiences. Throughout the article, Leichtová and Zákřavský show the differences between American and Soviet audiences while their respective teams were playing at Olympic games. In America, we had grown to know the likelihood of a Soviet victory and thus became dissuaded with ice hockey. On the other hand, the Soviet public was informed quite frequently on their team's success and used it as validation of the communist system, thanks to the Kremlin supporting this message. As a result of this, domestic players were more prominent in the USSR which contributed to a greater hockey loving people. In the US, we were so used to losses that

⁹ Leichtová, Magda B., and Jiří Zákřavský. “Cold War on Ice? Soviet Ice-Hockey Dominance and Foreign Policy.” *Sport in Society*, 2020, 1–22. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17430437.2020.1723550>.

we grew bored of hockey, from media coverage, and that led to a decreased interest in the sport. The article by Leichtová and Zákřavský shows that soft power was not always in the US favor because we were so used to losing to the more superior USSR hockey team. Similar to the article by Debroah Bull, sports were not always available for use as a soft power. Contrary to Leichtová and Zákřavský, Donald Macintosh and Donna Greenhorn do show how ice hockey was a form of diplomacy during the Cold War from Canada.¹⁰

In the article by Macintosh and Greenhorn, they both explain how Canada's involvement in international affairs declined post World War II and how it impacted its increase in "hockey diplomacy". Prior to World War II, Canada was quite prominent in international affairs and was supreme in hockey success. Post World War II, the world became bipolar with the US and USSR entering into the Cold War. As a result, Canada developed its unofficial state game, ice hockey, as a way to increase its foreign policy capabilities. Under the federal government in Canada, a new department, the Department of External Affairs, was created to ensure that sports, particularly ice hockey, would create national unity and increase Canada's standings around the world. Two catalysts caused Canada to develop "hockey diplomacy" post World War II: rise of the USSR in ice hockey and increased television viewers.

According to Macintosh and Greenhorn, a combination of these catalysts then led to the 1972 Summit Series occurring between the USSR and Canada. As a result of the Series, Canada's use of ice hockey was exponentially used as a substitute for "overt political statements". The game of ice hockey was used as a substitute for an actual, *hot* war. Since the teams could be physical on the ice and not risk nuclear weapons firing, it shows how ice hockey was used as a

¹⁰ Macintosh, Donald, and Greenhorn, Donna. "Hockey Diplomacy and Canadian Foreign Policy." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 28, no. 2 (1993): 96–112. <https://doi.org/10.3138/jcs.28.2.96>.

soft power. Moreover, the 1972 Summit Series, 1972 Summit Series, and other ice hockey tournaments provided both sides with communication on other issues. It has been said that Leonid Brezhnev was an avid hockey fan and attended all four of the games in the USSR during the 1972 Summit Series. As such, despite the previous article by Leichtová and Zákřavský, Macintosh and Greenhorn provide evidence of ice hockey as a soft power during the Cold War.

In closing, the above literature shows how soft power is defined, sports as a vehicle to achieve soft power, and how all three answer my research question. The articles by Nye and Heing both provide examples of what soft power is and how it impacts international affairs. The US and USSR both used soft power, through economic means, to win the Cold War. Both sides did not want nuclear war but were sure to protect their interests if necessary. Soon after the Cold War began, culture, through sports, was seen as a form of soft power. It provided states with cheaper means to promote through foreign policy goals and also increase their own national identities. Germany and Fiji both used sports to impact their own soft power and the US and USSR were no different in the realm of sports. Therefore, my research question is answered in the affirmative but I think I am making my thesis too specific.

The Cold War was first and foremost an ideological war. It was capitalist versus communist; East versus West; US versus USSR. The world entered into a bipolar world that lasted until December 25, 1991 when the USSR became the Russian Federation. My thesis is hoping to analyze too many facets of soft power within too much of a time frame. I would still like to examine the effects of soft power through other forms of culture like television and editorials. As I have stated before, the depictions of ice hockey successes were different between the US and USSR. As a result of this, my initial analysis provides me with a lot of literature but

still more research to be done. Combined, the above pieces of evidence have shown how my research question is correct and thesis on the right track.

Conceptual Framework:

My conceptual framework revolves around examining the forms of soft power present during the Cold War: culture (art and media), sports, and the ideological battle. The first form I will examine is culture's impact on soft power. Despite Cecire and Bull, many scholars, including Nye, view culture as an effective way to impact a state's soft power. Some of the examples of culture present in the Cold War emerge from art museums, theatres, newspapers, and the film industries of the US and the USSR. Throughout the course of the Cold War, the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the National Gallery of Art in the US displayed and promoted American cultural norms while the Hermitage Museum and the Pushkin Museum portrayed Soviet culture.

Moreover, the US and the USSR were skilled at different things. The Soviets, for example, were masters at chess and ballet.¹¹ In addition to chess and ballet, the Soviets had the The Alexandrov Ensemble which travelled all over the world singing Russian and Soviet songs. The US, on the other hand, was more modern and diverse. They had jazz music and modern forms of artwork.¹² In fact, in the classical world, a huge coup occurred when Alexander Godunov, a Russian born ballet dancer at the Bolshoi Theatre, defected to the US in 1979. In addition to museums and events as media. The US had a lot more diverse, public news outlets

¹¹ Serge Guilbaut. "How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art: Abstract Expressionism, Freedom, and the Cold War." University of Chicago Press, (1983).

¹² David Caute. "The Dancer Defects: The Struggle for Cultural Supremacy during the Cold War." Oxford University Press, (2003).

compared to the USSR. *National Public Radio*, *Voice of America*, and newspapers all were not censored. Comparatively, the USSR controlled all forms of news and radio in the country and only allowed Soviet ideals, values, and worthy news to be printed or said.

Another example of culture present during the Cold War was the film industries of the US and USSR. Movies like *Red Dawn* (1984), *The Hunt for Red October* (1990), and *Rambo: First Blood* Parts I and II (1982 and 1985, respectively) were all means by which the US would portray their culture abroad. It also pitted the sentiments that were popular in the Cold War: us versus them. Once again, the US had the financial and logistical support of Hollywood at its disposal. Unfortunately, the USSR did not have the financial criteria needed to match Hollywood. Comparatively, most of the Soviet films made during the Cold War were about World War II, typical Soviet values, and showing the US as mean and capitalist. The film industries in both state's were unique but achieved the same thing: improved public diplomacy.

The public sentiment towards the opposing superpower was not always rational and both sides certainly exploited this. Many Soviets felt that their system and values were superior to the Americans in every capacity and vice versa. Another form of soft power present in the Cold War was sports. Similar to culture, sports have a direct relationship to a state's soft power. Many sporting events like the 1972 and 1974 Summit Series, 1980 Summer and Winter Olympics, and the 1964 Olympics were all examples of how a state used sports to their advantage. Briefly, I will outline how each of the above sporting events impacted the respective states' soft power. Both the 1972 and 1974 Summit Series helped bring the international relations of Canada and the USSR closer through USSR players and USSR delegations being on Canadian soil and vice versa.

In addition to the Summit Series, the 1980 Summer and Winter Olympics really showed the divide present in the Cold War. At the time of the Winter Olympics, the US was struggling with the oil crisis and in Tehran the hostages were still not released. Prior to the Summer Olympics, President Carter was contemplating boycotting the Summer Olympics in Moscow because of the USSR invasion into Afghanistan. As it is quite evidence, sports did play a role in the soft power of the US and USSR during the Cold War. Finally, the 1964 Summer Olympics in Tokyo enabled the Japanese to reenter the international arena via sports. All in all, sports did play a vital role in ending the Cold War. The USSR viewed sports as an affirmation of their system and the US and Canada used sports to promote their ideals internationally. Another form of soft power present in the Cold War was the ideological battle present.

Throughout the Cold War period in history, two superpowers dominated every aspect of the world. From economical output to military strength to the number of allies to the number of trophies or medals the US or USSR had, the Cold War was a battle. Despite every battle and war prior, it was done on paper, in words, and in secrecy. The Cold War was waged between the US and USSR on all continents and was felt by nearly everyone. The fear of nuclear war was palpable to anyone living during the height of the Cold War. The capitalist versus communist mindset, "us versus them attitude", East versus West battle all encompassed the sentiments of populations in the US and USSR. Culture and sports were the tools and means by which the US and USSR governments furthered this ideological battle during the Cold War.

Method Employed and Measurement:

One of the main questions any researcher needs to answer is how will I study whatever I am researching? What method will I use? How will I operationalize or analyze my data? For me,

I am fortunate to already have a way to analyze my variables within my analytic framework. In 2015, an organization called Portland Communication released a report titled “The Soft Power 30 - A Global Ranking of Soft Power” and in 2016 released an updated version of the report. These reports included a measurement system which I will use to aid my method of process tracing to evaluate my soft power variables. Within this section, I will discuss what method I will be using to analyze my variables, operationalize my variables present within my research, summarize the main points of the 2015 and 2016 reports by Portland Communications, and finally, show how my method is related to the Portland Communications reports.

The debate over when the Cold War started and when it ended is very extensive. For the sake of this paper, I am classifying the Cold War as starting after World War II in 1946 when Winston Churchill gave his “Sinews of Peace” speech and ending on December 25, 1991 when Mikhail Gorbachev resigned as President of the USSR. Due to this long period, I will be using the method of process tracing to link my variables along the way in explaining how the US and West used soft power to determine the outcome of the Cold War. According to David Collier, process tracing is a vital research tool utilized in the field of political science.¹³ Unfortunately, there is not a lot of literature on process tracing which, in Collier’s article, contributes to a lack of understanding of what process tracing is and how to apply it.

Before I relate my variables to the method of process tracing, an accurate definition is required. Within Collier’s framework, the definition is “the systematic examination of diagnostic evidence selected and analyzed in light of research questions and hypotheses posed by the investigator.”¹⁴ The key words in that definition are “the systematic examination of diagnostic evidence selected and analyzed...” which is where my variables come in. As I mentioned earlier,

¹³ Collier, David. “Understanding Process Tracing.” Berkeley: University of California, Berkeley, October 2011.

¹⁴ Ibid.

soft power does not happen overnight. The governments of the US and USSR both used a variety of events and mediums to express their soft power capabilities. Collier notes there are two parts of process tracing: description and sequence.¹⁵ Combined, these parts ensure that process tracing is done accurately and properly. Agreeing with Collier is Derek Beach who writes that process tracing is an “analysis of how a causal process plays out in an actual case.”¹⁶ Beach notes that the analysis is done through “causal mechanisms” which provide the researcher with the necessary tools to answer the case at hand. As Collier and Beach note, process tracing provides the researcher, me, with the necessary tool to evaluate the events and mechanisms within my case study.

In this regard, I will describe my variables of soft power and properly sequence them to explain how they contributed to soft power in the Cold War. Without properly providing the variables and mechanisms by which to process trace, I can not accurately answer my thesis question. Moreover, process tracing applies to my thesis because of the systematic approach to the evidence. My main variables are connected to each other which helps me evaluate the success or failure of each event. Beach writes that process tracing can be used for theory-building or theory-testing.¹⁷ For me, I am using process tracing for the latter. The soft power employed by the US and USSR was done through numerous variables which I will examine and conclude if they were a success or not a success. From this, I can appropriately examine how the US and USSR used soft power to their advantage within the context of the Cold War.

¹⁵ Collier, David. “Understanding Process Tracing.” Berkeley: University of California, Berkeley, October 2011.

¹⁶ Beach, Derek. (2017). Process-Tracing Methods in Social Science. Oxford Research Encyclopaedia. 10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.176.

¹⁷ Ibid.

As I have stated before, soft power is one of the most viable ways for a state to influence world politics. During the Cold War, these main variables impacted the soft power of the US and the USSR: the Summit Series, three main Olympic events, governmental institutions, and cultural places and events. All of the variables I have mentioned played a role during the Cold War because of the magnitude of the events. Simply put, soft power is not a direct or tangible action or policy like a military intervention that a government takes.

Figure 1: Chart Based on Portland Communications Reports

	Summit Series	Winter Olympics	Summer Olympics	<i>Voice of America</i>	<i>Pravda</i>	Hollywood	Soviet film industry
Portland Rating: 10 is successful while 0 is not successful	6.5	8	7	4	6	8	5

The above variables I have listed were all encouraged by the governments of the US and USSR through different means but with the same goal: to prove that their own system was better than the other. The Summit Series of 1972 and 1974 were two eight-game hockey series with four games being played in Canada and four games being played in the USSR.¹⁸ The competition was meant to be friendly with no award or champion named and yet it became something more

¹⁸ Soares, John. "The Cold War on Ice." *Brown Journal of World Affairs* 14, no. 2 (2008): 77–87.

than just a hockey series.¹⁹ The citizens of Canada, and the US for that matter, wanted to prove that their political, social, economic, and number one sport was more superior to that of the USSR. Conversely, the USSR wanted to prove that their system was better than that of Canada and the US.²⁰ In a sense, it became a proxy war that occurred not only in this variable but in the others I have mentioned.

Outside of the Summit Series, governmental institutions like the State Department (in the US) and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (in the USSR) both utilized soft power to show that their system was better than the others. Within the US, the government utilized the film industry to show positive propaganda of the US political, social, and economic system.²¹ Furthermore, media outlets like *Voice of America (VOA)* in the US and *Pravda* in the USSR both showed the extent of their influence by the number of listeners and readers, respectively. *VOA* is an international broadcasting system that is funded by the US Congress to inform and influence news around the world. *Pravda* was the main newspaper organ of the Communist Party during the USSR and could only print certain articles approved by the Communist Party. Both *VOA* and *Pravda* were instrumental in persuading its members to view the US or USSR favorably.

All of the above variables were utilized by each state to influence the outcome of the Cold War. As my analytic framework outlined, the end game of both states was to show that their system was the best. To prove that this was the case and it impacted the Cold War, I will use the same measurement that Portland Communications did in their 2015 and 2016 reports. Within the reports, Portland Communications evaluated six categories on which to calculate a state's soft power. The six categories were: government, engagement, culture, education, enterprise, and

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Soares, John. "The Cold War on Ice." *Brown Journal of World Affairs* 14, no. 2 (2008): 77–87.

²¹ GÜZELİPEK, Yiğit Anıl. "THE IMPLEMENTATION OF USA'S SOFT POWER VIA HOLLYWOOD: LOOKING BACK TO COLD WAR." *Journal of Suleyman Demirel University Institute of Social Sciences*, n.d., 228–40. Accessed September 26, 2020.

digital.²² Portland Communications assessed the state's political institutions, the extent of their cultural appeal, the strength of the diplomatic network, the reputation of the higher education system abroad, their economic model, and digital connection to the world.²³ All of their data was normalized so that "each variable was on a single scale."²⁴ As such, normalization was formulated via the min-max method on a range of zero to one. Portland Communications also asked eight questions for the subjective data and the questions were rated from zero to ten with zero being very negative and ten being very positive.²⁵

Correspondingly, I will use three of the categories used by Portland Communications to evaluate and measure my forms of soft power. The three categories I will be using are culture, government, and engagement. The metrics that Portland Communications used are very similar to mine. For culture, they looked at film festivals and films being shown, attendance of international museums, and the Olympics. For the categories of government and engagement, I will evaluate the US and USSR governmental institutions and their success via polling and news reports. Also, the engagement category will be measured through international agreements and organizations that the US and USSR were and are a part of. There were a lot of times when the US and USSR did join events due to political reasons and this is related to the engagement of the states internationally. All things considered, I will follow the report released by Portland Communications to measure and evaluate my forms of soft power.

Culture, government, and engagement are all necessary tools to evaluate how the US and USSR interacted during the Cold War and how it impacted the outcome. A few of the variables I will examine are the Summit Series, Olympics, museums, films, art events, and the governmental

²² McClory, Jonathan. Rep. *The Soft Power 30 - A Global Ranking of Soft Power*. Portland Communications, 2015. https://portland-communications.com/pdf/The-Soft-Power_30.pdf.

²³ McClory, Jonathan. Rep. *The Soft Power 30 - A Global Ranking of Soft Power*. Portland Communications, 2015. https://portland-communications.com/pdf/The-Soft-Power_30.pdf.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

institutions of each state. Combined, these variables will be measured on a zero to ten scale. Zero represents no impact on the state's soft power while ten represents a tremendous amount of impact on the state's soft power.

The zero to ten ratings that Portland Communications uses can be applied to the method of process tracing because each singular event will be rated and will impact the last event, the end of the Cold War. Collier notes that the two main aspects of process tracing are vital to understanding and explaining how the method of process tracing can be used within the political science field. Also, the reports from Portland Communications utilize the six categories to rate soft power while I will use three of their categories to rate specific events and their connection to soft power. Therefore, the numerous variables I have chosen all contributed to the outcome of the Cold War. My method of process tracing and the measurement found within the Portland Communications reports will be used to prove how the soft power of the US dictated the outcome of the Cold War.

Analysis Section

As my methods section stated, how to evaluate soft power is one of the most troublesome aspects of my thesis. The Cold War was a very long conflict that never fermented in a direct clash between the US and the USSR. Despite this, many proxy wars occurred in numerous stadiums, concert halls, and governmental institutions. Unfortunately, real conflicts did occur during the Cold War like the Korean and Vietnam Wars, the conflict in Afghanistan, and civil wars all over the world. First and foremost, the Portland Communications reports released in 2015 and 2016 both evaluated the effectiveness of soft power in six main categories. I have adjusted those reports to better represent the rankings of soft power that I have given. Therefore,

the three categories from the Portland Communications reports are the guiding variables by which I can analyze soft power. These variables, in conjunction with my method, enable me to answer my thesis question. The three categories I will be using are culture and sporting events, government, and engagement.

Culture is one of the most crucial ways that soft power can influence outcomes that states want. Within my literature review, I showed how scholars have stated the use of culture can impact a state's soft power. Victor Cha's article revolves around sports and culture and their relation to national identity. Cha writes that when a state succeeds in a sport, the soft power capabilities of that state increases.²⁶ Cha uses the example of Australia after World War II and how involved they are worldwide. Due to the success of Australia at Olympic events, they can contribute to the world through peacekeeping missions and economic summits like the G-20. Although, when Australia has not been good at sports, like in 1976 in Montreal, the government will appropriate the necessary funds to bring their sports teams back to full capacity. The reason, Cha notes, is because the Australian government recognizes the importance of maintaining their sports teams impacts their soft power. Without the success of Australian sports teams after World War II, the soft power of Australia may not be where it is currently. In addition to Australia, Cha notes how Japan has used sporting events to increase its soft power.²⁷

The importance of Cha's article is the connection to sports and soft power. The whole premise rests on the impact that states can use their sporting ability. As I stated, Australia was unable to succeed at the Olympics to the degree the government wanted which decreased the soft power of Australia and in connection, its standing internationally. Similarly, Japan was unable to achieve a prominent national standing after World War II and US occupation. Thus, when the

²⁶ Cha, Victor. "Role of Sport in International Relations: National Rebirth and Renewal." *Asian Economic Policy Review* 11, no. 1 (2016): 139–55. <https://doi.org/10.1111/aepr.12127>.

²⁷ Ibid.

1964 Summer Olympics were able to occur in Tokyo, it emerged as a way for Japan to rise internationally. As Figure 2's Table shows, Japan finished third in the Olympics they hosted while garnering sixteen gold medals. On the other hand, Australia garnered zero gold medals and led them to finish in thirty-second place in 1976. Therefore, the importance sports has is paramount to a state's soft power.

Figure 2: Olympic Success of Japan (1964), Australia (1976), China (2008)

Japan - 1964 (3rd)	16 Gold	5 Silver	8 Bronze	Total: 29
Australia - 1976 (32nd)	0 Gold	1 Silver	4 Bronze	Total: 5
China - 2008 (1st)	48 Gold	22 Silver	30 Bronze	Total: 100

After the end of World War II, Japan was completely occupied by US soldiers, governed by US administrators, and a new constitution that was based on the Constitution of the US. Due to this, Japan was adamant to use sporting events and cultural locations to reenter the world stage and increase its soft power abilities. Cha writes that the 1964 Tokyo Olympics was the “coming out party” for Japan because it was more than a place to watch sporting events. It gave the Japanese the ability to showcase their prestige, national identity, and sports teams on the world stage. Without the ability to host the 1964 Olympics, Japan may not have been able to accelerate its soft power abilities. Another Asian state who had its soft power capabilities increased thanks to the Olympics was China. In 2008, Beijing held the 2008 Summer Olympics for the first time

in China's history and was only the third Asian state to do so. In a 2011 article, China not only was the best state to compete but also used the Olympics to showcase cultural traditions.²⁸ In the article by Clifford Coonan, one of the most notable events was the drum ceremony where 2,008 drummers beat illuminated drums in perfect sync. The opening ceremony of the Olympics provided an open forum for China to showcase its achievements and which they did during the four-hour spectacle. Thus, sports are important when increasing a state's soft power but so is the power of cultural traditions and imagery. Therefore, in addition to Cha's article on the impact that sporting events have on a state's soft power ability, Yiğit Güzelipek talks about the importance of the US movie industry during the Cold War.

Güzelipek thesis is that the Hollywood movie industry used movies to portray US ideals and support US policy decisions during the Cold War to increase the soft power of the US. Since Hollywood was and still is, the most premier movie industry in the US, if not the world, the impact that they had was far-reaching. Güzelipek writes that cinematography, but Hollywood in particular, can "impact socio-political mindsets of the "masses."²⁹ Güzelipek writes about three main things in his article: how Hollywood misinformed communist ideology, the idea of the "American dream" is conceived as invincible, and Hollywood supported the US's defensive agendas. First and foremost, Hollywood ensured that communism was not present.

The second Red Scare in the US occurred after World War II and ended with the demise of Senator Joseph McCarthy's political standing. Senator McCarthy was the namesake of McCarthyism which was a period of unjust accusations, paranoia, and mass confusion in the US. McCarthyism seeped into Hollywood very soon after its rise because of the fear that civilians

²⁸ Coonan, Clifford. "Opening Ceremony: the Meaning behind the Spectacle." *The Independent*. Independent Digital News and Media, October 23, 2011.

<https://www.independent.co.uk/sport/olympics/opening-ceremony-meaning-behind-spectacle-889294.html>.

²⁹ Güzelipek, Yiğit Anıl. "THE IMPLEMENTATION OF USA'S SOFT POWER VIA HOLLYWOOD: LOOKING BACK TO COLD WAR." *Journal of Suleyman Demirel University Institute of Social Sciences*, n.d., 228-40. Accessed September 26, 2020.

had with famous and popular actors. As a result, the House Committee on Un-American Activities made a “blacklist” of Hollywood actors that would be banned from any movies in Hollywood.³⁰ This infamous list caused fear and paranoia within Hollywood and led to many US ideals being prominent. Güzelipek writes that *The Iron Curtain* (1948) movie was one of the famous anti-communist movies during the early years of the Cold War. The movie is based on a true story of a Soviet intelligence officer, his wife, and his kid who live and work in the Soviet embassy in Canada. Wanting a better life for his family, he defects to Canadian authorities and brings along top-secret Soviet documents to prove his true intentions. The movie contributes to Güzelipek’s conclusion regarding Hollywood and the soft power of the US because it portrayed democracy and freedom as good and righteous ideals. Whereas, communism and socialism were negatively portrayed. On the note of communism, Güzelipek continues to write about the term “American exceptionalism.”³¹ The term has been incorporated into the foreign policy of the US for years but its relation to Hollywood is quite crucial.

The US takes on the idea that their state is the best and that Americans view their state as exceptional. Also, US presidents have taken on the image of being a “searchlight for humanity.”³² This means that their actions, decisions, and words are cause for increased attention. The movies that Güzelipek chooses to showcase this idea are *Rocky IV* (1985) and *Rambo III* (1988). *Rocky IV* is the best example of what Güzelipek is saying because the fight between Rocky and Ivan Drago is symbolized as a fight between the US and USSR; capitalism versus communism; liberty versus censorship. “American exceptionalism” is portrayed in the movie because Drago constantly injures Rocky but ultimately, Rocky overcomes and beats Drago to

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Güzelipek, Yiğit Anıl. “THE IMPLEMENTATION OF USA’S SOFT POWER VIA HOLLYWOOD: LOOKING BACK TO COLD WAR.” *Journal of Suleyman Demirel University Institute of Social Sciences*, n.d., 228–40. Accessed September 26, 2020.

³² Ibid.

win. The win can be categorized as a form of “American exceptionalism.” Moreover, *Rambo III* deals with guerrilla warfare in Afghanistan. The location of this movie is related to the soft power of the US for two reasons: Sylvester Stallone and the Soviet Union’s occupation. Sylvester Stallone’s acting is often viewed as the revitalization of the US after its broken image abroad. The USSR occupied Afghanistan from 1979 till 1989 and left a lasting impact. Although the US never deployed troops, they did send munitions and supplies to combat the Soviet aggression. As a result of these two points, Güzelipek states that the *Rambo III* movie shows the impossibility of a victory over the US in guerrilla warfare and the rise of the image of the US post-Vietnam.

The third point that Güzelipek makes is the impact that the *Star Wars* (1977-present) series had on the defense policy of the US. After World War II, the concept of battles garnered a new location: space. The space race between the US and the USSR was another proxy war that occurred during the Cold War. From the late-1950s until the mid-1970s, the US and USSR both engaged in the Space Race in the quest to learn about the unknown. As a result of this, Güzelipek outlines how the *Star Wars* series was incorporated into the defense policy of Ronald Reagan. Reagan had the idea to create a defense system where the US could locate and destroy a USSR missile with pinpoint accuracy. Many scholars, and civilians, compared the defense idea to that which occurs in *Star Wars*. After all, Reagan was a former actor and led anti-communist protests in Hollywood. Even though he was a Democrat early on, he was firmly anti-communist. Going so far as to call the USSR “an evil empire.” Therefore, the impact that a movie, like *Star Wars*, had on the defense policy is another piece in the soft power of the US during the Cold War.

In closing, the cultural and sporting influences of Cha and Güzelipek are both vital to understanding a state’s soft power capabilities. Australia and Japan both used sporting events to

rise in world affairs after the conclusion of World War II. As a result of both states' success, they have risen to be included in many international summits and economic forums. In addition to sports, Güzelipek outlines how the movie industry impacts soft power as well. During the Cold War, the US actively used Hollywood to further its US ideals. Movies like *The Iron Curtain*, *Rocky*, *Rambo*, and the *Star Wars* series all are examples of Hollywood impacting the mindset of Americans and representing US ideals abroad. As such, the public opinion impact of these US movies can only be measured through outside polling.

The impact that Güzelipek writes about is being seen today through public opinion polling and viewpoints of the US after the Cold War. In a Pew Research Center report in 2019, Jacob Poushter writes about the top ten takeaways in Europe after the Iron Curtain fell in 1991. The fourth takeaway revolved around democratic institutions, free speech, and an independent judiciary.³³ Poushter writes that fourteen European states were researched and they all stated that features of a liberal democratic system are paramount in their respective states.³⁴ Those three issues which are vital in many European states were prominent themes in Hollywood movies during the Cold War. Güzelipek proves that the mindset Hollywood projected went far beyond the borders of the US. In an updated Pew Research Report regarding the confidence of democracy and liberal ideals in former Soviet states, many view the direction that their respective governments are not good.³⁵ In the 1991 report, 72% of Ukrainians and 75% of Lithuanians approved of democracy and capitalism compared to the former Soviet system.³⁶ In

³³ Poushter, Jacob. "10 Key Takeaways about Public Opinion in Europe 30 Years after the Fall of Communism," July 27, 2020. <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2019/10/15/key-takeaways-public-opinion-europe-30-years-after-fall-of-communism/>.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ "Confidence in Democracy and Capitalism Wanes in Former Soviet Union." Pew Research Center's Global Attitudes Project. Pew Research Center, July 24, 2020. <https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2011/12/05/confidence-in-democracy-and-capitalism-wanes-in-former-soviet-union/>.

³⁶ Ibid.

the updated report from 2011, Ukrainians give democracy and capitalism a 35% approval rating while Lithuanians give democracy and capitalism a 52% approval rating. In the end, the early viewpoints that Güzelipek writes about show how movies from Hollywood impacted the positive viewpoint of liberal ideals. In addition to cultural events, the second category from the Portland Communications report is government. As such, governmental institutions provide me with the framework to analyze how well a state conducts its soft power.

Figure 3: Top Ten Takeaways, J. Poushter

Judicial fairness, gender equality seen as very important priorities across Europe

% who say ___ is very important

● Most common response
● Second most common response
● Least common response

Central and Eastern Europe

	Fair judiciary	Gender equality	Free speech	Regular elections	Free internet	Free media	Free opposition parties	Free civil society	Free religion
Greece	95%	85%	87%	85%	71%	89%	75%	55%	83%
Hungary	95	85	87	87	77	76	68	63	70
Sweden	93	96	83	85	80	82	73	66	53
UK	92	92	68	78	66	77	72	68	75
France	91	90	83	78	70	65	60	72	52
Netherlands	89	92	69	70	70	64	69	60	58
Spain	87	84	79	80	77	79	67	72	54
Germany	86	90	86	70	74	67	60	66	72
Bulgaria	86	73	74	70	61	67	58	57	58
Czech Rep.	82	70	73	67	67	67	58	46	47
Italy	72	74	63	59	52	56	42	35	61
Poland	72	69	61	63	60	64	49	57	56
Slovakia	69	67	60	61	59	56	51	49	52
Lithuania	69	62	64	57	53	59	47	55	48
EU Median	87	85	74	70	69	67	60	59	57
Ukraine	81	57	59	62	54	63	36	48	59
Russia	63	54	45	40	40	38	23	31	42

Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q55a-f & Q57a-c.

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According to Jan Melissen, a state's government soft power can be achieved through the use of public diplomacy.³⁷ This means that a state uses domestic radio or news services to communicate internationally to the world. Melissen writes that public diplomacy is a state's "communications with the world."³⁸ A government can use the necessary funds to positively

³⁷ Heing, Bridey. "Chapter 1: Does Soft Power Positively Influence International Affairs?" Essay. In *Soft Power and Diplomacy*, 17–49. New York, NY: Greenhaven Publishing, 2020.

³⁸ Ibid.

portray a wide array of items for international purposes. Therefore, public diplomacy has been an age-old way for governments to have their state represented abroad and is a form of soft power. During the Cold War, the US, the United Kingdom, the French Republic, Germany, and the USSR all spent money to ensure positive public diplomacy. Of course, the main two powers during the Cold War were the US and the USSR. *Pravda*, *Voice of America*, and other public mediums all were used by the USSR and US, respectively, to influence soft power.

Despite this, the public diplomacy initiatives undertaken by both states originated before the conclusion of World War II and the beginning of the Cold War. After World War I, US President Woodrow Wilson and Vladimir Lenin both engaged in a soft power battle over ideas and values.³⁹ The soft power duel that Wilson and Lenin engaged in created a new medium for states to increase their soft power abilities. As a result of their differing viewpoints on the international stage, the public diplomacy aspect of soft power was now more public and open compared to the backroom, smoke-filled diplomacy of the past. Melissen closes with the fact that the diplomatic community is much more open now and the main actors do not have as much power as they used to. Public diplomacy encourages a state's soft power to rise because it increases communication and enables a state to portray itself more accurately. As a result of this, many emerging states in world affairs can explain their rise due to their soft power.

Francesca Centracchio writes about the relationship between Brazil's rise in world affairs and their soft power abilities. As Joseph Nye has stated, "Soft power is the ability to affect others to obtain the outcomes one wants through attraction and persuasion rather than coercion or payment."⁴⁰ Brazil has been able to enter the world stage through its soft power and has seen its

³⁹ Heing, Bridey. "Chapter 1: Does Soft Power Positively Influence International Affairs?" Essay. In *Soft Power and Diplomacy*, 17–49. New York, NY: Greenhaven Publishing, 2020.

⁴⁰ Nye, Joseph S. "Public Diplomacy and Soft Power." *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616, no. 1 (2008): 94–109. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716207311699>.

labor rewarded. Brazil's economy has been in the top ten internationally, has aligned with pro-democratic states like the US, and before the current times, had political stability emerge from its democratic government.⁴¹

Centracchio writes that the impact of soft power has been tremendous for a state with very little hard power like Brazil. Just like Melissen wrote about the relationship between public diplomacy and soft power, and Cha wrote about the connection between sports and soft power, Centracchio compares the inclusion of Brazil internationally to its soft power. Within South America, Brazil has a wide array of influence and very few enemies. The reason for this stems from its Federal Constitution and Article Four in particular. Article Four states the following, "The international relations of the Federative Republic of Brazil are governed by the following principles: national independence; prevalence of human rights; self-determination of the peoples; non-intervention; equality among the states; defense of peace; peaceful settlement of conflicts; repudiation of terrorism and racism; cooperation among peoples for the progress of mankind; granting of political asylum."⁴²

Article Four contributes to Brazil's soft power because it relies on inclusion, influence, and cooperation. Centracchio notes that the implementation of Article Four has given the rise to Brazil in South America specifically. The international organization BRICS, which is an economic competitor to the European Union and United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement, has furthered the rise of Brazil in international affairs.⁴³ In closing, the rise of Brazil has emerged from its emphasis on soft power and emerges from Article Four in its Federal Constitution. Also, public diplomacy can help a government's soft power. The battle over communication and

⁴¹ Heing, Bridey. "Chapter 1: Does Soft Power Positively Influence International Affairs?" Essay. In *Soft Power and Diplomacy*, 17–49. New York, NY: Greenhaven Publishing, 2020.

⁴² "Brazil - Constitution," June 12, 2019.

<https://dredf.org/legal-advocacy/international-disability-rights/international-laws/brazil-constitution/>.

⁴³ Heing, Bridey. "Chapter 1: Does Soft Power Positively Influence International Affairs?" Essay. In *Soft Power and Diplomacy*, 17–49. New York, NY: Greenhaven Publishing, 2020.

diplomats is an ever-present medium to influence populations. Melissen and Centracchio both further my argument regarding the category of government as a way to analyze soft power. In closing, the final category from Portland Communications is engagement. Engagement is a state's ability to foster connections with other states and maintain strong diplomatic relations through trying times.

During the Cold War, tensions between the West and East were always on high alert. As a result, to foster shared communication after the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962, a red telephone was installed in the White House and the Kremlin for the general secretaries of the USSR and the presidents of the US to communicate directly. Despite this, the relationship between Canada and the USSR was becoming more and more hostile for one reason: ice hockey. Ever since the late 1940s and early 1950s, ice hockey had grown in the USSR and numerous state hockey teams were the best in Europe. By the 1970s, Canada started to feel intimidated by these new upstarts in the USSR who were calling themselves “world champions.”⁴⁴ As such, in 1972 the Canadian government and the USSR government both agreed to financially and logistically support an eight-game ice hockey series where four games would be played in Canada and four games would be played in the USSR.

From the beginning, the series was not there to declare a winner, or earn a medal at the end of the series. Despite this, everyone did know that the Summit Series of 1972 was a “War on Ice” and was the ultimate proxy war up to that point.⁴⁵ Both economic systems, capitalism versus communism, and political systems, democracy versus totalitarianism, were at stake here. The Canadian and the USSR governments both used the series to prove which system was better and as an affirmation of what they each stood for. In an article by J.J. Wilson, the eight-game series is

⁴⁴ *Cold War on ICE Summit SERIES '72 HD*. Canada. Accessed March 29, 2021. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WPzaVDilFEI>.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

unpacked and explained to show how the series was a proxy war between Canada and the USSR and its impacts on the Cold War.⁴⁶

Before the series was to start, many hockey analysts, sportswriters, and hockey experts gave the Canadian team a clean sweep against the Soviet team. There was the occasional writer or expert who gave the Soviets a win but overwhelmingly the press predicted Canada's domination of the Soviets. On a warm September evening in Montreal game one, occurred at the old Montreal Forum with Roger Doucet singing "O Canada" and an instrumental version of the Soviet national anthem being played. Early on, Team Canada scored a goal thirty seconds into the first period and then five minutes later scored another.⁴⁷ After that, though, Team CCCP completely overtook the game and wore Team Canada out. Team Canada played a more sophisticated game that could, and did, not overcome the superior passing, puck control, and endurance of Team CCCP. The final score: 7-3 in favor of Team CCCP.⁴⁸ One legendary sportswriter Dick Beddoes predicted a clean sweep for Team Canada and wrote that if the Soviets win one game he would eat his words. Well, the next morning Beddoes did just that by dipping his article in borscht and eating it on the steps where the Soviet team was staying.⁴⁹

The next three games went moderately well for Team Canada but exceptionally well for Team CCCP. Games two and three went to Team Canada while game four went to Team CCCP before the series moved to the USSR. Unlike the games in Canada where they were played in four different cities, Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, and Vancouver, the four games in the USSR were all played in Moscow. The four games in Moscow are where engagement most assuredly

⁴⁶ Wilson, J.J. "27 Remarkable Days: the 1972 Summit Series of Ice Hockey between Canada and the Soviet Union." *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions* 5, no. 2 (2004): 271–80.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/1469076042000269257>.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Westhead, Rick. "Newspapers in U.S.S.R. Had Different Take on 1972 Summit Series." *thestar.com*, September 23, 2012.
https://www.thestar.com/sports/2012/09/22/newspapers_in_ussr_had_different_take_on_1972_summit_series.html.

occurred since the Canadian players walked around Moscow and engaged with the general public. Unlike the Soviet officials who Team Canada dealt with off the ice, the general public was very friendly towards the Canadian players.⁵⁰ One of the most interesting things was the clothing of the Canadian players compared to that of the Soviet civilians. Jeans, brightly clothed items, and “loud” shirts were quite a sight in Moscow when those items were only available for high party members. Another connection the players had was with children when handing out candy, gum, and other sweets when the KGB wasn’t looking.⁵¹ In the end, Wilson writes that the series did lead to conflict on the ice but for the game of hockey, it helped the sport.⁵²

Figure 4: Summit Series 1972 Breakdown

Game One	Team CCCP 7 vs. Team Canada 3
Game Two	Team CCCP 1 vs. Team Canada 4
Game Three	Team CCCP 4 vs. Team Canada 4
Game Four	Team CCCP 5 vs. Team Canada 3
Game Five	Team Canada 5 vs Team CCCP 4
Game Six	Team Canada 3 vs Team CCCP 2
Game Seven	Team Canada 4 vs Team CCCP 3
Game Eight	Team Canada 6 vs Team CCCP 5

⁵⁰ *Cold War on ICE Summit SERIES '72 HD*. Canada. Accessed March 29, 2021. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WPzaVDilFEI>.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Wilson, J.J. “27 Remarkable Days: the 1972 Summit Series of Ice Hockey between Canada and the Soviet Union.” *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions* 5, no. 2 (2004): 271–80.

In the final game, Team Canada was able to overcome a seemingly imminent win for Team CCCP until Paul Henderson scored with less than a minute on the clock to carry Team Canada to a 6-5 victory. The game, which was broadcasted all over Canada, was met with immediate elation for Canada and utter disappointment for the USSR. Wilson states, the Soviet players felt a sense of loss and sadness overcome them as the final horn sounded but that is not how the series should be remembered. Even though Team Canada did win the series by games and points, Team CCCP showed two things: Canadians are beatable and that their system of hockey worked. After the series had concluded, many National Hockey League teams incorporated many of the on-ice and off-ice drills that the Soviet team had done. As such, the engagement between the Canadian players and Soviet civilians was one of two ways engagement occurred during the Summit Series of 1972. The second way was through the mixture of ideas, drills, and hockey systems that Team CCCP used during the series.

Outside of the Wilson article, the Soviet newspapers covered the Summit Series, and especially the final game, in a more realistic light. Rick Westhead has written an article about the difference between the Canadian press and Soviet press during and after the Series.⁵³ In the article, the Canadian press, like Wilson, examines the positive achievements that Canada had while downsizing the Soviet achievements. On the other hand, in *Pravda*, the authors noted the Series contributed to a “moral victory” for Soviet hockey and the justification of the violence during the Series.⁵⁴ Even though Team Canada won more games than Team CCCP, on the scoresheet the Series was much closer with Team CCCP typically scoring more goals and assists. Moreover, the legends that were on Team Canada, Tony and Phil Esposito, Ken Dryden, Bobby

⁵³ Westhead, Rick. “Newspapers in U.S.S.R. Had Different Take on 1972 Summit Series.” *thestar.com*, September 23, 2012.

https://www.thestar.com/sports/2012/09/22/newspapers_in_ussr_had_different_take_on_1972_summit_series.html.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

Clarke, Paul Henderson, and many notable others, were not as profound after the Series. Before the Series, many Soviet players attested to the fact the Soviet bureaucracy was worried about sending Soviet players against the “best in the world.”⁵⁵ As such, the impact of the Series was different in the publications from both state’s yet the public opinion on both sides was generally positive. The Series was hard-fought with exciting moments on and off the ice throughout. Therefore, the public in Canada and the USSR were completely consumed with something so unique and interesting. After all, the Series did not declare a winner. Yet, both sides emerged victorious with different definitions of victory.

In closing, the outcome of the Cold War was determined on December 25, 1991, with the resignation of Mikhail Gorbachev as President of the USSR. Although, the outcome could not have occurred without the influence of soft power. Another form of “power” is one which Joseph Nye has written about: hard power. Hard power is based on military strength, numerical strength, and tough foreign policy decisions.⁵⁶ The US and USSR certainly had the military might and numerical numbers to start World War III after World War II. Despite this, the US and USSR did engage in war through soft power, governmental engagement, and cultural events. The variables which I am examining all pertain to soft power because, throughout the Cold War, the variables impacted varying stages of relations between the US and USSR.

Sporting events like the Olympics and the Summit Series are some of the most vital ways in which the US and USSR could compete for soft power. The USSR used their hockey team to showcase the power of their governmental system and in fact, many players were in the Soviet military.⁵⁷ Most players were colonels in the Soviet Army and lived in barracks nine to ten

⁵⁵ *Cold War on ICE Summit SERIES '72 HD*. Canada. Accessed March 29, 2021. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WPzaVDilFEI>.

⁵⁶ Nye, Joseph S. “Public Diplomacy and Soft Power.” *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616, no. 1 (2008): 94–109. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716207311699>.

⁵⁷ *Cold War on ICE Summit SERIES '72 HD*. Canada. Accessed March 29, 2021. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WPzaVDilFEI>.

months of the year.⁵⁸ On the other hand, the US used mostly college or amateur athletes for Olympic events. That is why the 1980 Winter Olympics at Lake Placid were so profound for the society in the US. Compared to sporting events, movies were more profound inside and outside the US compared to the USSR. The reason I am using it as a variable here is because of the public opinion of the US. Due to this, the public opinion of the US was very high after the Cold War and movies played a key role in that. My thesis is regarding the outcome of the Cold War, as such the aftermath of the Cold War is related here.

Figure 5: Soft Power of US and Russia via Portland Communications

	2017	2018	2019
US	75.02 (3rd)	77.80 (4th)	77.40 (5th)
Russia	49.60 (26th)	51.10 (28th)	48.64 (30th)

All in all, the variables that I have chosen have been measured through the method of process tracing. This method is best for what I am evaluating because of the definition of process tracing. Using systematic and casual events to analyze and research a theory, is the most appropriate way to answer my thesis question.⁵⁹ Therefore, my thesis question is: did the use of soft power, through the use of culture, sports, films, and music, contribute to the outcome of the Cold War? The answer to my thesis question is in the affirmative. Throughout the Cold War, the US and USSR engaged in many of my variables opposite each other in the hopes of increasing their respective soft power. Moreover, the outcome of the Cold War was related to many events

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Beach, Derek. (2017). Process-Tracing Methods in Social Science. Oxford Research Encyclopaedia. 10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.176. and Collier, David. "Understanding Process Tracing." Berkeley: University of California, Berkeley, October 2011.

that occurred *during* the Cold War. The viewpoint of the US compared to the USSR was highly favorable and was the result of many of my variables. Many sporting events and cultural events throughout the Cold War persisted in the soft power battle. The US had the financial resources, governmental engagement programs, cultural connections, and sporting ability to win the Cold War through the use of soft power. Throughout the Cold War, the US was not as concerned with military preparation as the USSR was.

On this note, it is worth noting that the US did not view soft power as an affirmation of their system like the USSR did but rather an extension of the influence the US had during the Cold War. To understand this theory, Nye's definition of soft power and the metrics used by the Portland Communications report enabled me to confirm this. In my method section, Figure 1 shows a chart where I rank some of my events based on the Portland Communications metrics. The events I used were all events where the US and USSR participated, particularly my Olympic events. In my four key Olympic events that I had, the USSR won more gold medals than the US which shows how important sports meant to the USSR. Despite this, the impact that key victories had during these Olympic events, like the "Miracle On Ice" or ice hockey victory in 1960, were more significant for the US than the USSR.⁶⁰

In addition to the Olympic events, were the cultural events I ranked. The numerous newspapers and radio stations that were used by the USSR were meant for propaganda purposes. The editors and production managers in charge at the time provided information that was only allowed by the USSR government. Censorship was quite rampant in the USSR which was the opposite of what the US advocated. For instance, the *Voice of America* program was sponsored by the US State Department and contributed to viable, accurate information to the world.⁶¹ Even

⁶⁰ 1980 USA Hockey Team STORY/OLYMPIC Games in Lake Placid 1980, 2016. <https://youtu.be/LQg7AKIM924>.

⁶¹ Heing, Bridey. "Chapter 1: Does Soft Power Positively Influence International Affairs?" Essay. In *Soft Power and Diplomacy*, 17–49. New York, NY: Greenhaven Publishing, 2020.

though *VOA*'s charter was news-related, it also provided the US with the ability to showcase its influence abroad through enabling accurate news. Therefore, I was able to give the US a higher ranking compared to the USSR in certain cultural aspects.

Another cultural aspect were the film industries of the US and USSR.⁶² Güzelipek's article dealt with the use of movies and film series by Hollywood to positively showcase US ideals like freedom, democracy, and liberalism. On the other hand, the USSR film industry showcased the ideals of communism and its struggle over the capitalist West.⁶³ Moreover, the USSR film industry archives have been completely lost to history. On the other hand, Hollywood is still a major player in the international film industry. Knowing these two things, in conjunction to public polling, I was able to provide the US with a higher than the US. In addition, the overall governmental contributions made to Hollywood compared with the USSR government gave me more security in giving the US a higher ranking on this topic.

In addition to these rankings, it is worth noting the conclusion of the Cold War. On December 25, 1991 Mikhail Gorbachev resigned his post as President of the USSR which effectively ended the existence of the communist state and is the point where I have the Cold War ending. Thus, the entire Cold War was based on the ideological struggle between capitalism versus communism and East versus West. The resignation of Gorbachev and subsequent ending of the Cold War, shows that the West's ideals outlasted the East's and is the final determinator of my higher ranking to the US compared with the USSR. Moreover, public polling in many former Soviet satellites found that common Western ideals were widely supported and wanted.⁶⁴

⁶² Güzelipek, Yiğit Anıl. "THE IMPLEMENTATION OF USA'S SOFT POWER VIA HOLLYWOOD: LOOKING BACK TO COLD WAR." *Journal of Suleyman Demirel University Institute of Social Sciences*, n.d., 228–40. Accessed September 26, 2020.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Poushter, Jacob. "10 Key Takeaways about Public Opinion in Europe 30 Years after the Fall of Communism," July 27, 2020. <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2019/10/15/key-takeaways-public-opinion-europe-30-years-after-fall-of-communism/>.

Therefore, the idea that sports reaffirmed the USSR system worked for the Soviet citizens living in Russia but not other neighboring Soviet republics. Once again, this reaffirms my chart in the methods section and confirms my findings regarding my thesis. Through the use of soft power the US was able to influence the outcome of the Cold War by my chart and the US outlasting the USSR.

In closing, throughout the Cold War both the US and USSR engaged in a war on ice rinks, track fields, concert halls, and at governmental institutions all with one goal in mind: winning a war colder than the South Pole. The Cold War lasted for close to forty years with two superpowers dominating world affairs. The US and USSR both competed for ideological superiority and did so through a variety of means. One of those means was through the use of soft power. In the end, based on the rankings I gave specific events that occurred, the US was able to contribute to the outcome of the Cold War. The US was able to outlast the USSR in the long run and their involvement in events influenced their overall soft power. Therefore, my thesis question can be answered in the affirmative.

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