

POLITICAL SCIENCE

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The Concept of "Smart Power" and Its Implementation Prospects in Foreign Policy of Ukraine

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The article considers the main approaches to the definition of the concept "smart power" and prospects of its implementation in the foreign policy of modern Ukraine. The author concludes that there is a chain of conditions to be accomplished by Ukrainian state for successful implementation of the national "smart power" strategy in foreign policy. It might also serve as a tool for improvement of Ukrainian state image on the international arena.

Keywords: "smart power", "hard power", "soft power", Ukraine, public diplomacy, BSEC, CDC, GUAM, Russia.

In connection with continuous and dynamic development of international relations, there is a process of reformatting of basic tendencies in global political space. It pre-determines the question of search of alternative ways of conduct in foreign policy by the main actors of international co-operation. The newest rules of playing in the international scene, first of all, involve the rejection of "hard power" methods and application of "soft power" constituents which also do not always give a desirable outcome. Consequently, today J. Nye's concept of "smart power" which tends to become a conceptual basis for foreign-policy strategies of states at the beginning of the XXI century is being widely popularized.

Ukraine, having been proclaimed an independent state in the early 90's of the XX century, became the valuable subject of international co-operation and at the same time came across the problem of searching for optimal ways of foreign policy implementation. Taking into consideration Ukraine's geopolitical position and its available resources, it is necessary to analyze the opportunity to apply "smart power" politics constituents that can become effective instruments of expansion of intergovernmental collaboration, moreover, positioning the country in the international arena as the developed, reliable and stable partner.

The theoretical basis and practical application of "smart power" strategy, its resource and spring base are reflected in the works by such foreign scientists as J. Nye, R. Armitage, S. Nossel, C. Crocker, F. Hampson, P. Aall, O. Stoletov, I. Chyharev and others. Some aspects of "smart power", mainly in the context of the U.S. and China national security, are considered by the representatives of national political science, namely: K. Shynkaruk, I. Pohorska, H. Pocheptsov, I. Kyrychenko, M. Kapitonenko, E. Makarenko and others. At the same time, the issue of implementation of "smart power" policy by Ukraine is still hardly being explored. Therefore, the aim of the publication is to reveal the ideas of leading foreign scientists regarding the content of "smart power" and consider the possibility of its application in foreign policy of the modern Ukrainian state.

Today, scientific circles are conducting debates in relation to the primacy of introduction of the "smart power" concept into the scientific-communicative domain. Authorship of the outlined term is added to two scientists, namely S. Nossel and J. Nye. Thus, S. Nossel used the "smart power" concept for the first time in 2004 in the

article "Smart Power". In her article the author asserts that statesmen should improve the conducting of foreign policy, promote its efficiency, mainly, in the fight against terrorism, and also distribute reasonable application of force that might help to advance interests of the USA through the permanent structure of allies, institutes and institutional norms [24, p. 132]. Under the structure S. Nossel understands a power net that is the original system of power "explorers". In her opinion, the similar model of the world order was created by F. Roosevelt and H. Truman, and personified in itself an "equilibrium, stable structure between different sources and consumers of energy" [24, p. 138].

J. Nye began to use the concept "smart power" in the process of improving his author's concept of "soft power" in 2003. In accordance with J. Nye "smart power" is, first of all, the ability of political elites to combine "hard" and "soft" powers in an effective strategy [26, p. 43].

Ch. Crocker, F. Hampson and P. Aall share similar views, considering "smart power" from position of the strategic use of diplomacy, persuasions, gradual increase of potential and projection of force, and also influence by means of those facilities that are cost-effective and have political and social legality. In fact, the issue is about the simultaneous use of both, the military power of the country and all possible forms of national diplomacy [20, p. 13].

Important point in the context of foreign policy strategy of the state is the question as to the sources of implementation of "smart power". It is possible to draw a conclusion that sources of "hard" and "soft power", in particular, a compulsion, payments and attraction are the sources of "smart power" at the same time. If in the first two cases power sources are used independently from each other, in the latter one the application is accomplished as combining of sources of "hard" and "soft" powers [12, p. 33-34]. Special attention should be paid to the concept of "contextual intelligence", introduced by J. Nye, which is one of the sources of realization of "smart power" politics. The researcher determines "contextual intelligence" in foreign policy as "intuitive diagnostic skill that helps politicians to coordinate tactics with the aim to create smart strategies" [25].

Taking into account the aforesaid, the character of politics of "smart power" seems to be utopian. At the same time, in the history of international relations there have

been cases of its successful practical approbation. It concerns the activity of such American presidents as R. Reagan, G. H. W. Bush, and also current president – B. Obama. Today researchers also mention Turkish Republic which demonstrates an active and fairly successful realization of "smart power" politics in the region. In particular, Turkey's activity in foreign-policy plane is based on the new state policy of "absence of problems", which involves maintenance of balance between security and democracy, adjusting of relationships with neighbouring countries (Iran, Syria and others), active diplomacy, multidimensional foreign policy, etc. Such approach, undoubtedly, assists strengthening of Turkish "soft power" both, in the region and in the world in general [2]. As to "hard" potential, Turkey enters fifteen country-leaders with the highest level of military spending, that, at the same time, proves high level of economic development of the country [19, p. 142]. Experience in application of "smart power" in the international arena is owned by China that in recent year leads or is included in the top five leaders of practically all world rating of development of countries, including economic one, and also investments in a military sphere, spending on branding needs, etc.

If to talk about possibilities of Ukraine in implementing the policy of "smart power", first of all, one should analyze correlation potential of the state in the presence of structural elements of both "hard" and "soft power". "Hard power" is, first of all, durability of the state in such its constituents as the army, natural and human resources, economy, etc. Their complex or partial application constitutes the content of "hard power".

It should be noted that after disintegration of the USSR Ukraine automatically obtained such important resource of hard influence as the Armed forces. Nevertheless, ineffective economic politics of the Ukrainian state has led to that today there are less than 200 thousand persons left in the Armed forces out of 1200 thousand persons of personnel as of 1993. The process of reduction of servicemen has been continuing at present (Fig.1). The strength of military technique was also undergone, for example battle contingent of the AF has been reduced in 7 times, and panzer troops – in 6 times [8, p. 152].

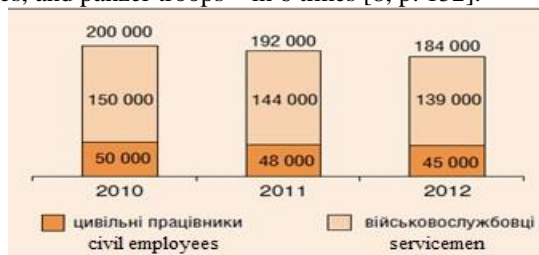


Figure 1. Strength of the Armed forces in 2010-2012 (at the end of year, persons) [13, p. 65]

At the same time, since 2012, the insignificant intensification of the military-technical politics has taken place and oriented to the medium-term prospect. In particular, the chain of government programs ("State special-purpose defensive program of armament development and military equipment of the Armed Forces of Ukraine during 2012-2017 years"; "Nationwide special-purpose defensive program of creation of troop-carrier An-70 and its purchases for government defensive order"; "State special-purpose

defensive program of creation of rocket complex"; "State special-purpose defensive program of building of ships class "corvette" according to the project 58250") have been adopted. The main task of these programs is retooling and modernization of the Armed Forces of Ukraine. With the aim of successful implementation of military reform in 2012 the sizes of assignments in a military sector were also increased in 4,3 milliards hrn. and 2,1 milliards hrn. in comparison with 2010-2011 accordingly [13]. However, in 2013 financing of the Armed Forces has increased only in 0,5 milliards hrn. and stated 15,3 milliards hrn in general (or 0.97% of GDP) [17].



Figure 2. Level of financing of the Armed Forces needs in 2010-2012, milliards hrn. [13, c. 11; 17]

However, the amount of financing is insufficient to maintain the proper state of military equipment, realization of the skilled combat training of servicemen, etc. It is expedient to compare military expenditures data by such leading states of the world as the USA, China, Russia, and others (Table 1).

Table 1.

Military expenditures by countries in 2011-2012 [7; 19; 13]

Country	2011		2012	
	Expenditures on armaments, billion dollars USA			
		% of GDP		% of GDP
USA	\$ 711 bill.	4,7	\$ 668,8 bill.	4,4
China	\$ 143 bill.	2	\$ 157,6 bill.	2
Russia	\$ 71,9 bill.	3,9	\$ 90,6 bill.	4,4
France	\$ 62,7 bill.	2,6	\$ 62,6 bill.	2,3
Great Britain	\$ 62,5 bill.	2,3	\$ 59,8 bill.	2,5
Japan	\$ 59,3 bill.	1	\$ 59,2 bill.	1
Ukraine	\$ ≈ 1,58 bill.	0,94	\$ ≈ 1,85 bill.	0,97

Consequently, with the aim of strengthening domestic hard potential of foreign policy, Ukraine has to pay attention to the modernization of the Armed Forces of the state that is accomplished extremely slowly, in spite of availability of considerable number of proper developments in the field of military-industrial complex. Except for this, the state should draft a precise and scaled program of rearmament, modernization of army, and extension of servicemen professionalism, providing level of financing.

Another important thing is economic development of Ukraine as a component of "hard power". However, the current stage of the state development is characterized by deterioration of economic situation. Confirmation of it is the insoluble conclusions of Government Service of Statistics of Ukraine and International Monetary Fund concerning catastrophic reduction of GDP in Ukraine (Fig.3) [1; 9]. International experts in the field of economy among principal reasons of GDP fall distinguish slackening of positions of Ukrainian export and internal demand, falling of production in industry and building

sphere, etc. [9; 18]. The economic system of Ukraine needs fundamental reformation that involves optimization of national economic model, modernization of production in accordance with the last world criteria, etc. Such approach will facilitate increase of competitiveness of the Ukrainian state and show oneself as a reliable partner in the international market.

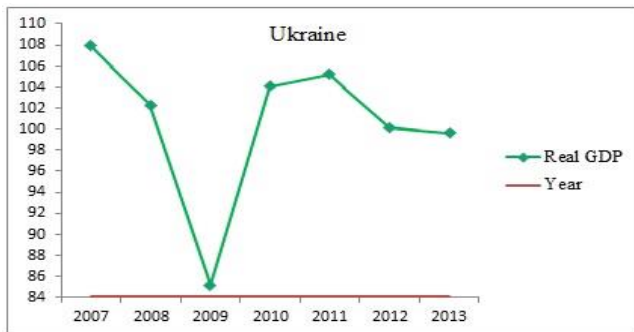


Figure 3. Indicators of Ukraine's GDP since 2007 to 2013 [3, p. 4; 1]

In relation to possibilities of application of "soft power" by Ukraine, situation looks more perspective in this case. Thus, the political elite of the state tries to activate soft influence on world community through three major constituents, in particular: culture, politics, democratization of society, and public diplomacy (in the broadest sense).

Since Ukraine has become an independent state, it consistently tries to adhere to the indicated principles which are the important constituents of Ukrainian "soft power". However, despite legally enforceable status of the political system as democratic, the actual level of democracy in Ukraine, according to the basic indexes, has been substantially decreasing. Thus, according to the International NGO Freedom House, Ukraine as of 2013 belongs to "partly free" countries. On the grading scale, where 1 is the best result, and 7 is the worst, freedom rating equals to 3,5 points, civil liberties – 3, political rights – 4 (Fig. 4).

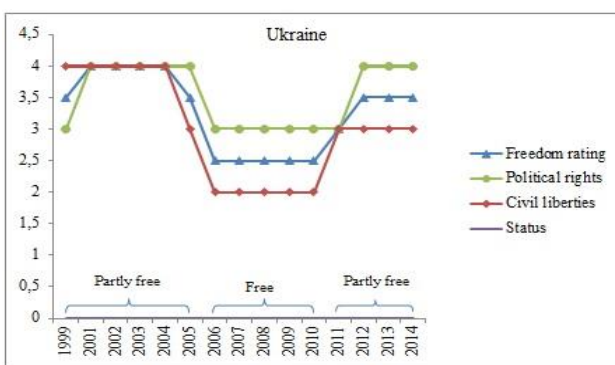


Figure 4. Rating and average scores of Ukraine since 1999 to 2014, where 1 is best result, 7 – worst [21]

The process of settling a civil society is also taking place slowly enough in our state. Confirmation to this is the "average" score of civil society, according to International NGO Freedom House that equals to 2,75 points (Fig. 5). For today, Ukraine, for many figures in international relations, is associated with selective justice, high level of corruption, political instability, etc. Thus, according to the research of the Institute of World Policy held in 2011, Polish experts find Ukraine as the state with the

deficit of democracy, corruption and oligarchs [11, p. 11]. Similar position is shared by Romanian experts, associating Ukraine with "immature democracy", "inconsistent politics" and pursuit of opposition [11, p. 15]. Another negative issue that does not add to the positive attitude towards Ukraine is the fact that our state is among the five leading countries according to the number of complaints to the European Court of Human Rights [5].

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Electoral Process	4.25	3.50	3.25	3.00	3.00	3.50	3.50	3.50	3.75	4.00
Civil Society	3.75	3.00	2.75	2.75	2.75	2.75	2.75	2.75	2.75	2.75
Independent Media	5.50	4.75	3.75	3.75	3.50	3.50	3.50	3.75	4.00	4.00
Governance*	5.25	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
National Democratic Governance	n/a	5.00	4.50	4.75	4.75	5.00	5.00	5.50	5.75	5.75
Local Democratic Governance	n/a	5.25	5.25	5.25	5.25	5.25	5.25	5.50	5.50	5.50
Judicial Framework and Independence	4.75	4.25	4.25	4.50	4.75	5.00	5.00	5.50	6.00	6.00
Corruption	5.75	5.75	5.75	5.75	5.75	5.75	5.75	5.75	6.00	6.00
Democracy Score	4.88	4.50	4.21	4.25	4.25	4.39	4.39	4.61	4.82	4.86

Figure 5. Rating and average scores of nations in transit, where 1 – the best score, 7 – the worst [22]

Complete realization of Ukraine's foreign policy of "soft power" involves not only development and maintenance of democratic ideals in the domestic order but also observances of foreign-policy values (non-use of force, peaceful decision of international conflicts, sovereign equality of the states, etc.), that is fixed in the norms of international law, and also search of effective counter-weapons to the modern global threats. In relation to the last points, Ukraine has considerable positive experience. Thus, our state is a member of 27 international organizations, takes active part in solving international humanitarian and ecological problems and international conflicts [23, p. 30-31].

Analyzing the next constituent of "soft power" politics of Ukraine, namely cultural aspect, one may say that exactly in this field Ukraine has reached the biggest success. It is confirmed by the changes in legislative base both, on the federal and on the international levels, by active collaboration with the global community in the field of education, literature, arts, etc. For today, Ukraine incarnates politics of "soft force" in over 70 states of the world, using instruments of sociocultural influence. At the same time, the Ukrainian side develops its cultural policy unevenly, initiating, in a greater measure, cultural and humanitarian collaboration with the former republics of Soviet Union, states-participants of the EU, most developed (both, in technical and in cultural aspects) states of the world, and also countries with considerable concentration of Ukrainian diaspora.

The last, however not the least important element of implementation of national "soft power" (including "smart power") is public diplomacy – activity of the government, that is directed to the representation of national interests and ensuring national safety of the state through

informing and influencing public opinion in other countries [6]. Public diplomacy is the main instrument of "soft power" policy, and also inalienable and effective mechanism of modern foreign policy of the world leading states, international organizations, and institutions (such as the EU, NATO).

The political elite of Ukraine tries to use public diplomacy as an instrument of "soft power"/"smart power" in foreign-policy activity. It is necessary to emphasize that at present there is a process of institutionalization of public diplomacy in Ukraine and its regulatory and legal providing. Thus, in the legislation of Ukraine the concept "public diplomacy" is used in the "State Program of Providing Positive International Image of Ukraine in 2003-2006", "Conception of the State purpose program of forming of positive international image of Ukraine in 2008-2011" and, accordingly, in some documents dedicated to the question of cooperation with NATO. For example, in the Decree of the President of Ukraine "About ratification of the Annual national program for 2010 about preparation of Ukraine to acquire membership in The North Atlantic Treaty Organization" the question is the necessity of intensification of work in the field of public diplomacy, introduction of elements of public diplomacy in a close collaboration with Department of public diplomacy of NATO and Center of information and documentation of NATO in Ukraine [16, p. 14]. In Memorandum about partnership and deepening of collaboration in the field of European and Euro-Atlantic integration between Government of Ukraine and Government of the Republic of Bulgaria in 2005 one of directions about collaboration was indicated as public diplomacy and development of communication strategies to inform public about international safety and NATO, and also about rights, responsibility, and obligations caused by the future membership in NATO [10, p. 4]. Yet, it is too early to talk about the complex program of application of public diplomacy by the state. Public diplomacy, mentioned in documents, is foremost a component of diplomacy of NATO as an international government agency that carries out politics of "soft power" in relation to Ukraine, as to a potential partner. Afterwards, Ukraine is facing the necessity to intensify the use of national public diplomacy instruments towards other states.

As it can be seen, the Ukrainian state on the modern stage of its formation with its present socio-economic and political problems which, lately, have considerably been accentuated in connection with the vagueness of foreign-policy course, does not own sufficient potential for implementation of "smart power" strategy in its foreign policy. Obviously, today it is expedient to talk about realization of Ukrainian politics of "soft power" mainly through its cultural constituent. Such approach in a short-term prospect will create new possibilities for investment income in the economy of our country and will substantially improve the image of Ukraine in the world. That, in turn, will promote domestic "hard power", in particular in the way of reformation of the economic system, rationalization of production, renovation and modernization of the Armed forces, *etc.* Furthermore, active implementation of the national cultural policy will serve as the effective mechanism of enhancing political collaboration with the world community by means of cultural tools. Consequent-

ly, realization of Ukraine's "soft power" policy will allow creating reliable subsoil for the implementation of foreign-policy conception of "smart power" in a long-term prospect.

Analyzing the possibility of successful implementation of "smart power" politics in Ukraine, one should emphasize another necessary condition, namely, the development of the government program of its realization taking into account potential of international influence of the state. But obvious is the fact that, firstly, the use of "smart power" strategy in relation to certain countries will not always have effective results. For example, the prospect of foreign-policy course of Ukraine towards the states of European Union is the only one – implementing policy of "soft power" and cooperation on the mutually beneficial terms. All in all, the use of any other instruments of national policy, "hard power", in particular, will have negative consequences for a weak image of Ukraine, and also for its further European integration.

Secondly, the government program of implementation of "smart power" should contain the efficient separation of priority vectors of Ukrainian foreign policy. In fact, in the second half of the 90-s official Kyiv was actively using multi-vector politics (19 strategic partners) that became the reason for bringing it almost to absurdity. Most experts assert that country should have up to 2-5 strategic partners. The most of Ukrainians consider the priority to be the relationships with Russia – 86,9% of respondents, with the USA – 65,5%, with Belarus – 64,5%, with Germany – 62,0%, with Kazakhstan – 59,9%, with Poland – 56,8%, with Canada – 50,5%, with Uzbekistan – 48,8%. Appropriate expert survey gave the following results: with Russia – 80%, with the USA – 66%, Germany – 62%, Poland – 52%. The experts' recommendations are reduced to the necessity of intensification of international contacts in three basic directions – the EU, Russia, the USA [4, p. 239].

Russia, no doubt, remains prior direction in foreign-policy activity of Ukraine. And exactly in relation to Russia the most optimal thing is implementation of "smart power" policy. First of all, it is necessary to use an economic tool to solve this question. Since market of Ukraine is attractive for Russia, it comes forward as a solid argument in defending national interests. In addition to this, participation of Ukraine in European projects of alternative energy supply and transit of Russian sources are also the significant factors of introduction of "smart power" policy in relation to Russia.

Another perspective direction of application of "smart power" strategy in the foreign-policy course of Ukraine is regional strategy towards neighboring countries such as Slovakia, Hungary, Romania, Moldova, Bulgaria, Georgia and others. The striking instance here might be the Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC), in which Ukraine finds, first of all, an important international legal instrument of development of the whole spectrum of relations between the countries of the region. In this very segment of international cooperation it is possible to trace direct implementation by Ukrainian "smart power" policy. So, after "orange" revolution Ukraine, for many states of the former Soviet Union, became the eference point of development of democratic values that was the striking manifestation of the use of "soft power". To-

day Ukraine continues to implement "soft power" policy through maintenance of democratic processes in the countries of BSEC. On the other hand, defending national economic interests by Ukraine with the use of economic sanctions (or threats of their use) towards the countries of the region implements another aspect of "smart power" policy – namely, the hard one.

One can hardly ignore the process of forming comparatively independent systems of international cooperation and attempt of Ukrainian leadership in the region. Thus, the following organizations have been formed on the initiative of Ukraine: GUAM (Organization for Democracy and Economic Development, 1997) and Community of Democratic Choice (CDC, 2005). The last, in our opinion, was the political instrument of "soft power" in relation to the countries of the Baltic-Black Sea-Caspian region and the policy of "smart power" of Ukraine in relation to Russia. The participants of the initiative were nine countries of the Baltic-Black Sea-Caspian region (Georgia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Moldova, Romania, Slovenia, Ukraine), which spoke in support of "adjusting closer connections between governments and societies in different spheres, collaboration concerning the issues related to promoting active and strong democracy" [15]. Certain Russian political scientists considered creation of CDC as the "plan of the Baltic-Black Sea Union that separates Russia from Europe", "Anti-CIS" [14, p. 213]. Ukraine tried to convert CDC and GUAM into powerful regional organization that is why the process of institutionalization of such interaction should continue for the future. Creation of independent systems of international cooperation is one of the prospects of Ukraine's foreign policy.

Summarizing, it might be suggested that "smart power" strategy is the optimal way of conducting foreign policy

of the Ukrainian state. Expediency of implementing just policy of "smart power" is due, first of all, to the advantageous geopolitical location of Ukraine. However, on the modern stage of settling of Ukraine, the strategy of "smart power" could be considered only in a long-term perspective predefined by strengthening negative tendencies in political, economic, and other spheres of current public life of the state. Consequently, the top priority task on the way to successful realization of constituted foreign-policy course is, as has already been mentioned, implementation of Ukrainian "soft power" policy. It may in the shortest time allow carrying out reformation of Ukrainian domestic policy with the aim of maintaining, first of all, political, and at the same time, economic stability within the state. Since today, the question of political stability has been one of the most problematic issues of political life in Ukraine. Taking into account the events of the last months (creation and functioning of EuroMaydan), social and political situation in Ukraine seems to acquire more and more radical character, and, consequently, requires making urgent civilized decision. In the process of preparation to the introduction of foreign-policy conception of "smart power" special attention should be paid to the development of the government program, in which the vectors for foreign-policy orientation of Ukraine, and also mechanisms for realization of "smart power" policy in relation to each separate direction will be clearly prescribed. The consecutive following the indicated conditions will enable Ukraine to successfully promote national interests of the state and also prove itself to be an influential and stable player in the international arena. As the question of implementation of "smart power" policy by modern Ukraine hasn't been studied properly yet, it, in turn, provides the basis for further detailed scientific research.

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Никוליшин Н. В. Понятие "умная сила" и перспективы ее реализации во внешней политике Украины

Аннотация. Проанализировано основные подходы к определению содержания понятия "умная сила" и перспективы ее реализации во внешней политике современной Украины. Сделано выводы о необходимости выполнения Украиной ряда условий для успешной реализации национальной стратегии "умной силы" во внешнеполитической сфере, а также улучшение имиджа украинского государства на международной арене.

Ключевые слова: "умная сила", "жесткая сила", "мягкая сила", Украина, публичная дипломатия, ОЧЭС, СДВ, ГУАМ, Россия.