Brazil’s Smart Power: A New Way to Influence International Politics

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SUMMARY

The strategy of Brazilian foreign policy in the last decade shows a latent desire to increase your international importance and regional leadership. However, the molds of this projection and leadership were grounded, reveals a change in traditional patterns of international influence, the focus of Brazilian’s foreign policy is influence others countries without coercive force, just with cooperation and multilateral relations. In that sense, this paper aims to explore the idea of a new form of leadership and international influence that can be analyzed through the conceptual prism of Smart Power created by the author Joseph Nye Jr., and how this new perspective can be applied in the current Brazilian foreign policy. Smart Power is understood as the junction of three kinds of power: military, economic and soft power, and to improve it is necessary to think develop five areas: alliances, partnerships and institutions, global development, public diplomacy; economic integration and innovation and technology. So, this paper wants to show how that new way of power, SMART POWER, can be useful to build a different kind of international influence in the twenty-first century.

Keywords: Smart Power, Absolute Gains, Foreign Policy, Brazil

1. Introduction

To think the Brazilian’s strategy foreign policy in the last decade, more than an exercise in analyzing the facts of reality, it is a rethinking of theories of international relations and how States, major actors on the international scene, adapted their actions to achieve their political, economic and also military objectives. Accordingly, contextualize the emergence of “smart power” is beyond a necessity epistemological, is a theoretical and historical obligation that aims to understand the evolution of international relations after the end of the Cold War.

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A first important concept to struggle when it comes to foreign policy is the
construction of State power, and how the projection of this power can be an
important tool to achieve an international influence and relevance. Thus, power
will be directly related to the concept of hegemony. According to political
scientist Norberto Bobbio, the classical concept of hegemony can be understood as:

The hegemonic power that exerts a preeminence over the others not
only military, but also economic and often cultural, inspiring them and
conditioning yours options, both by virtue of his prestige as, in other
hand, for a result of its high potential for intimidation and coercion.
(BOBPIO et al., 1998, p.579)

Complementing this concept, Bobbio (1998) will say that hegemony is
not a rule of law, but an interstate influence that does not need a regulation for
exists and be applied.

With the development of the relationship between States in the
international arena, the concept of hegemony will undergo changes, not at its
core, it comes to exercise powers of leadership, but rather in how this
leadership will be achieved and exercised. According to João Gomes Cravinho
(2002, p.243), hegemony is the "set of pressures that define the acceptable
limits for autonomous decisions and produces therefore repeated patterns of
behavior in the international arena." The idea of the author is that hegemony is
exercised not only in military and economic, but also in a number of forces that
are not measurable as the ideas, actions and experiences of the hegemonic
actor, producing a leadership but without destabilizing the international system.
As argued Triepel (apud BOBPIO et al., 1998), is a species of particularly strong
influence exercised without the use of weapons and force, and therefore rooted
in some degree of legitimacy.

These two ideas of hegemony can be related, respectively, with the two
main classical theories of international relations, realism and liberalism.
However hegemony that imposes its will on other States, is not the kind of
international integration that aims, in this article. For Brazil in the XXI century,
quite the contrary, the idea is to realize the construction of a new international
dynamic that privileges cooptation of allies through multilateralism and
projection of absolute gains\(^2\). It is a standards-based multidimensional
hegemony (GOODIN et al., 2005), in an attempt to influence the partners
without the use of coercive military force, but, taking into account economic
factors and soft power, which can be classified as projection of ideas and
culture of each State.

Thus, the theoretical perspective of this article is not to present a
proposal to change the status quo of the world order, which sees the world as
anarchic and where the goal of the State is fighting for its survival, in others
words, keep your sovereign power and its regional integrity, as advocated by
realism (WALTZ, 1979). Instead, the focus is search for an order that is based
on cooperation and interdependence (PECEQUILO, 2004). A vision neo-
institutionalist who believes that rules, norms and institutions\(^3\) are the best
means of ensuring security and stability in the international system (KEOHANE;
NYE JR., 1989).

Towards the construction of international power of a State through
cooperation and interdependence with other States in the international arena,
the smart power, will emerge as an alternative that will merge two types of
powers, the so-called hard power with soft power. These two powers will
sustain the resources of state power into three categories\(^4\): a) structural b)

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\(^2\) If absolute gains considers equitable distribution of gains in the relationship between states, in
other words, the symmetry between the benefits generated by the cooperation. The relative
gains would be the reverse, in other words, disproportionality between these gains, and a state
would gain more from cooperation than the other, which will necessarily lose something.

\(^3\) According to historical institutionalism and its theorists, institutions can be defined as: "a
comprehensive way so as procedures, protocols, standards and conventions official and
unofficial" (HALL; TAYLOR, 2003, p. 196), in others words, aren't only formal and legal rules,
control of the structure, but also conventions of behavior that shape the structure.

\(^4\) The structural category refers to what Keohane (1984) classifies as traditional power
resources, which are the territory, armed forces, population, and geographic location; already
the institutional factor is a creation of norms and institutions that can govern the relationship
between States in a cooperative way, and finally, the situational factor is the State's ability to
project his ideas and principles to the other actors (PECEQUILO, 2004).
institutional and c) situational (PECEQUILO, 2004). Together, these categories of power resource will form what we call smart power, as shown by the table below:

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<th>Classification of resources of State Power</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Hard Power</strong></td>
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<td>Structural</td>
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<td>Institutional</td>
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Source: AYRES PINTO, 2009

The smart power is understood as the totality of power which covers the areas of economic and military power of a State, and will seek to develop other areas, to complement the first two strands. The development of these areas should focus on five main points: a) alliances, partnerships and institutions b) global development, c) public diplomacy d) economic integration and f) technology and innovation (ARMITAGE; NYE JR., 2007, p.5).

Thus, we can classify the emergence of smart power as a joint, necessary in the late '90s, neo-realism and institutional-liberalism, and you can find this aspect of power in the theoretical assumptions of neo-institutionalism. The main changes in the neo-institutionalism include: the recognition of the State as a relevant actor in international politics, but also the acceptance of the anarchic international system environment. These changes denote an approximation of realist theory, but with a differential, as the neo-institutionalists believe that despite the power struggle and the adoption by the State of survival strategies in this environment, the result will not be a conflict of forces, but the creation of an opportunity for cooperation and interaction between these actors. For neo-institutionalists, this cooperation will occur less in the sphere of transnational actors and will have its focus on the interstate cooperation (NOGUEIRA; MESSARI, 2005).
The concept of cooperation that will be used in this article is the idea proposed by Keohane (1984) in his book After Hegemony. When Keohane analysis cooperation, harmony and discord, the author will say that cooperation is not always separate from the conflict, on the contrary, many sometimes cooperation born of the conflict. The cooperation aims profound results, as to produce an interdependence between States, where interest in resolving differences would be more by cooperation than by armed conflict, armed conflict to be seen a much more costly.

Thus, cooperation Keohane:

Occurs when actors adjust their behavior to the actual or anticipated preferences of others, through a process of policy coordination. To summarize more formally, intergovernmental cooperation takes place when the policies actually followed by one government are regarded by its partners as facilitating realization of their own objectives, as the result of a process of policy coordination. (KEOHANE, 1984, p.51-52)

From this perspective, now we are focus in the five main areas to be developed within the strategy for the construction of smart power, and then try to show the foreign policy of the Lula’s government, and currently in Rousseff’s government, as these areas are being worked on.

2. **Areas to be developed to strengthen the State Smart Power**

Think the Power in the XXI century, is a task beyond pure maintenance of a higher power leading actors in the international arena to undergo "a powerful leader and coercive", the focus is mainly on the complexity of the relationship between these actors in the international space, and the ability of each one to produce what we call "international public goods". In this sense, Joseph Nye Jr does in his newest book an assertion relevant and insightful about smart power:

A smarter power narrative for the twenty-first century is not about maximizing power or preserving hegemony. It is about finding ways to combine into successful strategies in the new context of power diffusion and the "rise of the rest". (NYE JR., 2011, p. 208).
From this perspective the five suggested areas to be developed are entirely linked to a more interdependent and cooperative way between the members of the international space, but not only for his own benefit, but also to the development benefits that have a global reach, and that provide gains for all actors in the international system.

Now we will take the five areas detailed and try to show how their improvement can result in absolute gains in international space.

2.1 **Alliances, Partnerships and Institutions**

This area is related not only as a way to interact in the international sphere, but it is how to build a new way to respond to global challenges and changes the status quo of power in the international system. Alliances, partnerships and institutions are actions that seek to end the isolation of the State, and proposes to divide between the international State actors the bonus and the onus to act in the international arena.

We can divide this area in the three main points: a) renew the commitment of the State with international institutions, b) reinvigorate traditional alliances with partner states and c) Search standardize the State's actions against the international law. (ARMITAGE; NYE J R., 2007)

Regarding the commitment to international institutions, it is necessary to review the States' commitment to strengthening of the multilateral organisms such as the UN, IMF, World Bank, ILO, WTO, the focus is that organisms are able to supply the needs of all its members, bringing a collective benefit.

In alliances, one way we can think of this reinvigoration is under the prism to produce bilateral or even multilateral according to be effective means of cooperation and benefits to all participants, and they are also a way to produce a global public good. It makes no sense for smart power, producing a gain from a particular group of states, if the consequence of this gain is a loss at the global level.
Finally, when we talking about standardization State forward their actions under international law, the focus is to deepen the search for a collective global interest protected by agreements where all States are present. That is, the idea is not the State to ratify only the international agreement that bring beneficial or less costly for yourself, but the objective is the State enlarge your interest in the range of international standard to promote the creation a network of effective protection in the International Area, who will not ceasing to be anarchic and with State sovereignty, but it will have rules and limits of action clearer and more effective.

2.2 Global Development

This area is directly related to the State ability to acting in promotion of development (economic, political and social) of other states. For this, the internal development of the State that pretend to put into practice building strategies of smart power are essential. The example of internal development should be the focus of the international action.

In this sense, the global development aims not only the donation of funds from one State to other more needy, but the concern in the quality of this that aid, and the real effectiveness that it will have to modify unfavorable situations. Another important point is that aid not be taken as only an official State contribution, but in fact the concern of creating a network of engagement around the purpose of promoting global development, for example: that institutions such as foundations, universities, corporations, religious organizations, NGOs, and others participate in the process of overseas development assistance.

However, promoting the global development also involves the sensitive issues and least practical from the standpoint of external action in the field. That means promoting the global development involves issues such as debt forgiveness States, release of fair trade among countries, the end of exploitation of cheap labor, etc.
As commented Nye Jr and Armitage (2007) the main point of promoting global development is to give needy States and their citizens the ability to achieve their aspirations without being deprived of basic needs such as health, food, education, fair wages, access to technology, among others.

2.3 Public Diplomacy

The public diplomacy is perhaps the most difficult area to define within the approach on a strategy of smart power. Public diplomacy is much more than transparent performance of diplomatic officers of the State, is nevertheless a dialogue of the State with the domestic and international public opinion.

The idea is that public diplomacy is in everything what State and his society does and says, means as the country's image is passed to others in a non-official way. Public diplomacy happens through networks of relationships created by non-governmental organizations and citizens who form society in such State, and how their interaction with other societies mold their ways to self-recognize.

Here goes an important caveat, public diplomacy is not a mere propaganda that a State does about his actions, is an attitude focused on cognitive perception of individuals about the real attitudes of a State, and how importance they give to the culture, values and procedures practiced by that State.

To better elucidate this issue two good examples of public diplomacy are: a) the educational exchange between young people and b) the exemplary treatment given to immigrants in a country. The purpose of these examples is to demonstrate that this kind of diplomacy includes an exchange of ideas, information passed between people through education and culture, with the increased range of new technologies, etc. These types relationships approaches individuals, breaking taboos, stereotypes and create a trust, not only in others but also in their native culture and society. (ARMITAGE; NYE JR., 2007)
As said John Zogby cited by Armitage and Nye Jr (2007, p. 47) "public diplomacy ‘smart’ is one that shows respect to other States and a desire to understand the needs and relevant issues in this country."

Thus, this area although complex is an important source of power, and can’t be neglected by government entities, we need public policies that strengthen these actions and they start to have a significant weight in the foreign policy agendas of a country.

2.4 Economic Integration

This is the most sensitive area for the construction of smart power strategy, because it is directly linked to maintenance guidelines fiercest and prejudicial means of capitalist production and accumulation, which in turn throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century in international politics proved an effective way to submit all actors to the will of a hegemon State.

However, the reality of the late twentieth century and early twenty-first century brings a increased global economic integration. This does not mean greater economic integration areas (Mercosur, ASEAN, EU and NAFTA), but greater dependency among actors at global trade.

Thus, economic integration think for the smart power aims to produce a scenario that while satisfies the business needs of a State, worry about all the benefits that can be generated for the entire international community, and especially to the poorest countries in the globe.

Measures such as reducing or eliminating barriers to the products, especially the poorest countries, reassess and reduce the cost of workers affected by globalization, equitably strengthen financial institutions and international trade measures are essential for building a power grounded in absolute gains.

A global trade policy seen as smart, depends on the design of an economy that is sufficiently flexible and competitive to distribute economic
benefits for all, while minimizing human costs into the processes of globalization and economic displacement. (ARMITAGE; NYE JR., 2007)

It is important to realize in this area the difference between strategy of developed State and the developing State. Both are on opposite sides of the "fight" global economic and trade. However, both have to find a new way to enter into international trade in order to open markets that are sustainable, in both ways: economically and human. Keep old standards no longer will strengthen the strong economies, or improve the medium ones. The old standards only simply will increase the burden on developing countries and further limit your ability to grow and become somehow competitive.

2.5 Technology and Innovation

For understand this last area we have to think it in the reality of the world in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century, more precisely in the climate change and the need to seek alternative means of energy production. Thus, technology and innovation are closely linked the way a State can build its international power through investments in new energy matrices to support the national and international development, without affecting life on earth.

A State capable of supporting your development in the twenty-first century in these parameters will be preparing not only to protect its population from climate change deep, but will be building a technology park for you can put the State as a differential in the international system.

However, this is not an isolated action of a State, and this is where power through smart power strategies can be erected. Being able to promote a change in environmental policies and energy production can create an empowerment of the State in the international system, which will put the State as a reference to the other. This strategy will create a power of cooptation with absolute gains with partners rather than coercion and maintenance of ways pollutants production that can be promoters of inequality among State actors.
According to Armitage and Nye Jr (2007), states that want to have power to influence the international system in the twenty-first century need to be able, among other things: establish a charter of principles to promote energy advance, the international security and sustainability, as also, create and participate in a free market for goods and products from clean energy matrices.

Again, this is another area where developed, developing and underdeveloped countries will be in a latent conflict. But to get power in the international system is only possible for those who have the ability to build consensus among all, who promote the equitable development while protecting the environment. However this idea is not only supported by the production of new energy matrices, but mainly by promoting economic development of all States, together with access to education and the possibility for all seek a clean way, in the ecological point of view, to insert yourself in the scenario of international trade.

3. Brazil’s Foreign Policy

It would be naivety to think that in few pages on this article could address all the nuances of Brazilian foreign policy\(^5\), and his actions to build the Brazil’s power in the international sphere. So, we want in this piece only demonstrate the traditional dichotomy existing in Brazilian foreign policy, and as Presidents Lula and Dilma positioned themselves in relation to this dichotomy and how we can relate its main external acts with the basic perspectives of smart power.

Analyze the theme of the intentions of international projections and regional leadership of Brazil means, at the same time, analyzing the foundations of your foreign policy outlined by the Ministry of Foreign

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\(^5\) This article uses the definition of foreign policy of the researchers Amado Cervo and Clodoaldo Bueno, which is as follows: "The foreign policy corresponded, in the last two centuries, one of the tools that governments affected the fate of their people, keeping peace or making the war, managing the conflict or cooperation, establishing results of growth and development or backwardness and dependency" (CERVO; BUENO, 2008, p.11).
Affairs(Itamaraty) throughout history. In this context it is possible to identify a reality of Brazilian foreign policy that works on two fronts: a first unilaterally subordinate to the great powers, and a second which seeks autonomy, not always in the independent aspect, of Brazil in relations of the great world powers (VIZENTINI, 2003). This dichotomy will permeate the entire Brazilian foreign policy, and this will create for the State advances and setbacks that are crucial to understand your current reality in the international system, and to verify the possible foundations for a foreign policy strategy premised on the smart power.

The most obvious nuance that can be seen in Brazilian foreign policy, is a great movement of national political will between the position of being aligned with the hegemonic power of the period, or seek autonomy in order to create a distinct political identity. Since independence this will be the national political reality, which can bring benefits and losses to development and international insertion of Brazil.

That idea can be seen in the following comment:

The question of the degree of political autonomy was, since Independence and during the Republic, a central axis of the debate on foreign policy. Thus, the search for a relationship of “friendship” with the United States and a strategy of “autonomy through participation” (maintaining the “leeway” with the expansion of economic interdependence) are trademarks referring to “diplomatic schools” of Rio Branco (1902-1912) and Aranha (1938-1943). Moreover, the idea that one should defend the sovereignty and the “national interests”, even creating potential conflicts with the United States, is clearly in the tradition of “independent foreign policy” by San Tiago Dantas (1961-1963), reiterated by Azeredo da Silveira. (VIGEVANI; CEPALUNI, 2007, p.276)

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6 Itamaraty is the name by which is commonly called the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Brazil, this name has your origin in the installation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at the Itamaraty Palace in Brasilia, the Federal Capital of Brazil. For more information about this ministry: [http://www.mre.gov.br/](http://www.mre.gov.br/).
4. **Pillars of Foreign Policy from Lula and Dilma**

In this part we need special attention, for not confuse Lula and Dilma as an absolute continuity of the assumptions of both the internal and external policy. The government of Dilma Rousseff is still in its first half, which nevertheless makes us have little material for analysis of foreign policy, but we can see their initial actions (ie as opposed Brazil's position on Iran's Human Rights Council UN) as a small but significant change in the dynamics hitherto practiced by President Lula in international relations. However, as the Minister of Foreign Affairs Antonio Patriota said in his inaugural speech at the Foreign Ministry, the premise is to continue in the solid ways grounded by Lula "We will oriented the Brazil outside action for preserve the gains of recent years and building our foreign policy on the strong foundation of accomplishments government of President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva "(PATRIOTA 2011, s/p)

Lula's foreign policy, however, was marked by a shift in international action, which aimed to put Brazil on a level of autonomy in the international sphere, as can be seen in the speech of the Lula’s Foreign Affairs Minister Celso Amorim (2008, p. 28) "We have an international insertion that [...] has a lot similarity with our independent foreign politicy, non-confrontational, but at the same time without asking permission to do things."

In practice this policy vision of the Lula government will produce a new paradigm of external action aimed at two points: a) multilateralism of reciprocity and b) economic internationalization (CERVO; BUENO, 2008).

Multilateralism of reciprocity show to be the foundation base of Lula's foreign policy, this is due to an essential question, that this multilateralism is exacerbated economic and trade issues, it also aims at reciprocity in matters of health, human rights, environment and international security. The focus is a diversification of the issues discussed at the international level, bringing the relevant issues for developing and underdeveloped countries (ie hunger and development), to the center of the debate, making clear that if these issues are
not discussed, will not be achieved social justice and international security (VIZENTINI, 2007).

That idea of multilateralism will sustain who doesn't matter globalize democracy, it is necessary to democratize globalization (AMORIM, 2008). Despite being a well-crafted rhetoric, this perception is the root of Lula's foreign policy and will contain solid assumptions of:

- strengthening the role of the State as an international negotiator,
- sovereign defense of national interests, alliance with emerging countries starting with South America, and cooperative dialogue no longer subservient to the developed countries, and finally, a hint of moral, combat poverty and hunger. (CERVO; BUENO, 2008, p.493-494).

The concept of this multilateralism is that "reciprocity is established when the rules of the multilateral order to benefit all nations" (CERVO; BUENO, 2008, p.496). To achieve this design two assumptions are required: a) existence of rules to compose the international order and b) the joint development of these rules (Ibid: 497).

In this perspective, we can identify that in practice of Lula's foreign policy, demonstrated that its pillars are compatible with a strategy of international integration through smart power. As commented Pecequilo (2010, s/p):

In recent years, the strength of the Brazilian international relations became evident in the global scenario. Among the initiatives that represent this qualitative leap are: diversification of partnerships South-South and North-South, consolidation of coalitions with variable geometry as the commercial and financial G20, the IBSA Dialogue Forum, the command of the peacekeeping mission UN in Haiti (MINUSTAH), mediation of sensitive issues relating to nuclear proliferation (Iran) and political instability (Honduras, South America), the advancement of emerging nations (BRIC Summit), beyond aid and technical cooperation poorest nations.

And the author also stating (PECEQUILO, 2010, s/p):

For UNASUR (Union of South American Nations) to G20 business and financial, to IBAS, the exercise of leadership focused on social
issues (hunger, health, development) there is autonomy and balance. Making use of American terms, Brazil has the diplomacy of "smart power".

However, this scenario of growing power of Brazil is not just an isolated part of Lula's foreign policy, but a consequence of the transformation of the world political and economic scenarios, and the new division and dissemination powers in the international space (HISRT; SOARES DE LIMA; PINHEIRO, 2010).

Thus, Brazil's aspirations for regional leadership and international influence, can be grounded in a perspective more dynamic and promoter of absolute gains, and the key-elements of smart power can be an important reference in building a continuous, coherent and innovative strategy, for the new international insertion of Brazil. As said Celso Amorim, Brazil's concern should be to lead differently, in other parameters than no more the traditional sources of power:

Sometimes we wonder if Brazil wants to be leader. We have no pretension to leadership if leadership means hegemony of any kind. But, if our internal development if our attitudes [...] respect for international law, the search for peaceful solution to disputes, fighting against all forms of discrimination, the defense of human rights and the environment, whether these attitudes generate leadership, there is no reason to refuse it. And it would surely be a mistake, undue timidity. (AMORIM, 2003: s/p).

5. Final Considerations

Finally, we think that the process to build a foreign policy based on a strategy of smart power, is just beginning in Brazilian politics. To support these strategies, more than participate internationally is necessary takes an effort of the Brazilian State in ensuring the maintenance of the country's external actions. Is important that exist a policy of State\(^7\) for foreign affairs, and not a government policy.

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\(^7\) This State policy must be built in order to prevent that a change of government modify the assumptions of Brazil's foreign policy, because such a change would generate mistrust in regional and international actors.
The five areas adjacent to smart power: a) alliances, partnerships and institutions b) global development, c) public diplomacy d) economic integration and f) technology and innovation, should be a priority not only for the external scenario for Brazil’s action, but also reflect internal gains to Brazilian citizens. Thus, that they too may have a perception that their country has a weight, influence and is a distinguished actor in international space, and in that way, is also Brazilian society a source of spread of the values, ideals and Brazil's institutions across the world.

The foreign policy of President Lula was a milestone in the construction of this new international insertion of Brazil, however, we can’t just to think this is enough to build a differentiated strategy of international insertion for Brazil. In this way, the President Dilma’s pillars in foreign policy will be essential to strengthen and improve the reach of Brazilian influence, but also to ensure all partners, especially South America, that the rise of Brazil is not a threat to them, and yes, a chance that all can to get more space on international sphere, more negotiation power and achievements in international relations.

To finish we cite a very pertinent comment of Professor Cristina Pecequilo (2010, s/p) " The Current achievements, which became symbolic of the World Cup and the Olympics Games 2016, can't be seen as an end in themselves, but rather as part of a project to which exist alternatives, including to setback".

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