

UDC 327(71)

DOI 10.25128/2225-3165.19.01.07



Bogdan Buyak

PhD hab. (Philosophy), Professor,
Department of Philosophy and Social Sciences Studies,
Ternopil Volodymyr Hnatiuk National Pedagogical University (Ukraine)
bbb261074@gmail.com
ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1496-7573>

Богдан Буяк

Доктор філософських наук, професор,
Кафедра філософії та суспільних наук,
Тернопільський національний педагогічний університет
імені Володимира Гнатюка (Україна)



Maksym Buyak

Student,
Faculty of International Relations,
Ivan Franko National University of Lviv (Ukraine)
maksbuak@gmail.com
ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3950-6036>

Максим Буяк

Студент
Факультет міжнародних відносин,
Львівський національний університет імені Івана Франка (Україна)

SOFT POWER AS AN INSTRUMENT OF CANADA'S FOREIGN POLICY

Summary. The article describes the meaning of “soft power” and the use of it in countries foreign policy. Facts of Canada’s appliance of the concept in the interaction with different countries of the world have been presented. The works of home and foreign scientists have been used in the course of the topic study.

Keywords: soft power, hard power, foreign policy, Canada, educational policy, educational-cultural programs, science, education, image of a country, attractiveness.

М'ЯКА СИЛА ЯК ІНСТРУМЕНТ ЗОВНІШНЬОЇ ПОЛІТИКИ КАНАДИ

Анотація. У статті з'ясовано значення “м'якої сили” та використання її у зовнішній політиці країн. Наведено факти використання концепцією Канади у взаємодії з різними країнами світу. Під час дослідження теми використано праці вітчизняних і зарубіжних вчених.

Ключові слова: м'яка сила, потужна сила, зовнішня політика, Канада, освітня політика, освітньо-культурні програми, наука, освіта, імідж країни, привабливість.

The problem statement. The beginning of the XXI century had been ushered as a period of active searching for new ways of developing the system of international relations. Within the context of its realization, education, science, technology and culture have become the meaningful domains. Active actors of world politics have launched various international programs, projects, competitions, grants.

The increasing role of education and science is inherent for the modern stage of international relations' formation. They totally impact on their condition and on socio-economic development both of the whole world and of states and nations. As stated in Universal Declaration of Human Rights: “Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace” (Universal declaration of human rights). That's why educational, cultural and social domains are promoted by the external activities of many countries, the priorities of which are directed primarily on

international cooperation, peacekeeping, economic and social growth of countries, preservation of cultural heritage.

Nowadays, Canada is one of the most economically developed, socially secured and politically stable countries in the world. Yearly Canadian educational programs, particularly related with international academic mobility, are becoming popular in cultural diplomacy. Over time, they have turned into the important part of the “soft power” of Canada’s foreign policy.

One should be taken into account that a numerous Ukrainian diaspora is located in Canada. Considering the continuous close and loyal diplomatic relations between Ukraine and Canada, the cooperation of these countries is relevant in educational-cultural sphere.

The purpose of the study is to figure out the role of “soft power” in exercising of Canadian foreign policy course at the beginning of the XXI century.

According to the complex purpose, we can single out main tasks of study:

- to characterize the research status of the chosen title;
- to analyze the history of involving the concept of “soft power” as a means of state’s foreign policy;
- to examine the realization of “soft power” concept in Canadian foreign policy.

The object of study is the scope of “soft power’s” implementation within the context of Canada’s foreign policy realization.

The subject of a study is to determine the “soft power” factor in realization of Canada’s foreign policy during the post-bipolar period.

The analysis of the sources and recent researches. The issue of “soft power” concept was found in many scholars’ works, that represented different scientific views. A significant contribution in elaborating the issue was made by the foreign scholars, such as J. Nye (jr.), J. Akshay, R. Armitage, Z. Brzezinski, R. Keygan, R. Keohane, A. Cohen, S. Lux, J. Mattern, W. Owens, I. Parmar, N. Snow, S. Walt, M. Fraser, F. Fukuyama, P. van Ham, C. Hill etc. The opportunities of using the concept of “soft power” in Ukraine’s foreign policy were raised for discussion by domestic researchers recently. Thus, the theoretic level of studying this issue is yet quite meagre in comparison with the USA, China. The theory is concentrated in works of A. Divonchuk, V. Holovchenko, V. Horbatenko, A. Lutsenko, O. Mykhailovska, N. Nikulishyn, V. Panteleyeva, I. Slisarenko, Y. Turchyn, M. Tsyurupa, O. Shevchuk, S. Sherhin, I. Khyzhniak, V. Tsymbalistyy, L. Chekalenko, S. Yurchenko etc.

The presentation of the basic material. According to modern tendencies, the system of international influence is considered as a combination of different means, methods and resources, which the state possesses in order to impact on international environment and on other states on the basis of own interests and goals. The main resources of a state within this context are financial-economic, military-power, political-diplomatic, demographic, international structural-organizational (participation and exact role in international organizations and institutions) potentials etc. The state can have in its own arsenal some means and resources of influence, but it’s not the fact that it can manage with them well. Inefficiency of applying the resources of influence can be changed by successful diplomatic actions and also by usage of its analogs. Methods, means and resources of influence determine the potential of an exact state in international system. In world politics the “power” category is relevant in case it gives opportunity to a state to impact on others in order to reach its own goals. The meaning of “state” is being transformed constantly. Promoting the positive image of a country is one of the state’s influence instruments, and also the structural element of its “soft power”, which is established by the attractiveness of national cultural properties (Semchenko, 2014).

The category “soft power” was proposed by American political scientist Joseph Nye, who is the former Deputy to the US Defense Secretary and the author of world-

famous work “Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics” (1990) (Nye). However, in 1980-s R. S. Klein – the director of the US Georgetown University Centre for strategy and international relations researches – found a formula of evaluating the total state power: $P = (C + E + M) * (S + W)$, means “Power” = (Coverage + Economy + Military) * (Strategy + Willingness). The formula divides the determining aspects into two parts: material and moral. But J. Nye, recalling these factors, had divided the state power into “hard one” and “soft one”. The aspects of material part are equal to “hard power”, and the aspects of moral part – to “soft power”.

Thus, Nye claimed, that scholars were giving too much attention to the concept of “political realism”, relying on “hard power” with its military and financial-economic factors. “Power is the ability to affect others to get the outcomes you want. If you do it with coercion or for charge, I call it “hard power”. If you do it with attractiveness, I call it “soft power” – explained Nye (Nye). When he set this hypothesis, he was certain that the US have an undisputable advantage in “soft power”. In other words, he meant that the image of the USA as the most democratic and affluent country, “the country of opportunities” together with the Hollywood film industry and youth-based culture is quite popular in the world in comparison to the early offers of the USSR within the context of the ideological rivalry (Nye convinced, that after the World War II the Soviet Union had a great stock of “soft power”, which meant attractiveness, but it just disappeared after the invasion to Hungary in 1956 and, especially, after the invasion to Czechoslovakia in 1968). At the beginning of the XXI century everything, which J. Nye took into consideration, was well applied to the politics and tactics of international activity and foreign policy vectors of Canada.

The concept of “cultural-ideological hegemony” by A. Gramsci is considered as the predecessor of “soft power”. It was written in his “Prison Notebooks” in 1930– 40-s. This theory had become very popular among Western European neo-conservatists. Nevertheless, the ideas of “soft power” have their roots in beliefs of ancient Chinese philosophers. Laozi stated, that there’s no item in the world, that would be softer and more tender than water, but water can destroy the hardest item. The typical example of “soft power” is female allure in contrast to male “hard power” (Semchenko, 2014).

“Soft power” covers a set of resources and advantages of a state, that exist beyond “hard power”. It is described in details in works of J. Nye, C. Gadzhiev, I. Vasylenko, I. Radyk, Y. Leksyutin etc. The attractiveness of “soft power” can be explained by the fact, that its realization is performed without usage of weapons. Using these means is much more prestigious for the state than the instruments of “hard power”. That’s why the great states are willing to make the “soft power” a part of own foreign policy arsenal for a reason. It is becoming more obvious that it is “soft power”, which can contribute to solving the misunderstandings between the civilizations. Its structure consists of culture, the scale of moral universal values, the scientific and educational capabilities, and, of course, peace-loving foreign policy. It is difficult to deny the fact, that it is these options that are attractive for public opinion, and it is these ones that enable to find the allies among the biggest parts of population of different countries (Semchenko, 2014).

In monography “Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics” J. Nye has given the next definition to “soft power”: the ability to get the outcomes you want by own attractiveness, not by coercion”. The scientist has defined three basic components of this phenomena:

- The culture of a state (by which the state attracts).
- Political values (whether a state follows them in its domestic and foreign policy).
- External relations (are they perceived as legitimate and morally meaningful) (Slisarenko).

“Soft power” is determined by the capability of state “to impact on world public opinion with materiality and attractiveness of national culture, the ability to persuade

others that you're right and winning the sympathies among various classes of people in different countries" (Semchenko, 2014).

In Canada people understand it clearly, claiming that strengthening the positions of the country in the world, promoting national interests by humanitarian means are one of the most important priorities for the country. For instance, a migrant policy (especially considers migrants from Syria) of Canada's Premier Minister Justin Trudeau. With these very actions he assured the world that Canada is "open for everyone". After liberals took power, the agenda of which was different to the "hard power" of former Prime Minister Steven Harper, the state has targeted the usage of "soft power" concept and free trade policy. Instead of participation in military conflicts against the ISIS, Canada has focused on humanitarian aid (Chwalisz).

If we review Canada with liberal government, we might notice, that "soft power" must build on the liberal regime, maturity, universality of culture and powerful instruments of its distribution, progressive educational system, advanced communicational system, national and socio-cultural unity, and also on political liberty, freedom of speech and the ability to adapt and to defend own national identity and own national interests. "Soft power" has become a traditional means of forming a positive image for a state in modern international relations, and public diplomacy is an instrument of "soft power".

Despite inconsiderable expenditures and intellectual efforts, Canada manages to renew its "soft power", which means that the attractiveness of ideas with "Made in Canada" mark, unlike the USA. According to these factors, professor J. Nye, considering the problems of the US in realizing the "soft power" programs, offers a new concept – "smart power": "soft power" + "hard power". During the hearings in Congress Nye defined directly this concept: "The ability to combine "soft" and "hard" powers – stick and carrot, and attractiveness – that's what I call "smart power". Authors think, that instead of invest capitals into counter-terrorism and military actions in Iraq, it would be more beneficial from the economic point of view to sponsor certain international organizations and establishments. It will help to involve several states to international projects (Slisarenko).

The former traditional "hard power" gave ground to "soft power" in XXI century. "Hard power" means intimidating the foe by means of weapon, and soft power means attracting others by means of culture, values, ideas, symbols etc. "Hard power" is a combination of coercion means (military-political, economic, diplomatic). However, in modern world it wouldn't be enough, or in other words it is unacceptable for developing the image and the potential of a state. Now "soft power" is, without exaggeration, one of the main indicators of state's strength. The former communicational system "from government to government" has received a new principle "from country to country".

T. Berger, while researching "soft power" of Japan, highlighted three groups of factors, that determine it: economic influence, membership in international regional institutions and the image of Japan among neighbor countries (Berger, 2010).

As it is defined by the researchers, possessing the attractive culture, following the generally accepted moral norms by citizens, maintaining peaceful foreign policy is not a fact that the state has "soft power". It is true that in literature this definition matches some countries, such as modern Canada, Switzerland, Sweden, Norway, which have a great popularity in the world. Nevertheless, we should consider only peaceful, predictable, reliable member-states of international community, that have only positive image, not opposite (Semchenko, 2014).

Some researchers claim, that international image and "soft power" are tightly connected. However, as I. Radikov and Y. Leksyutina highlighted, the meanings "international image" and "soft power" should be distinguished. For sure, some states that have an international image don't even use "soft power", defining it as the creation

and distribution of exact values and norms, own military-political model and their popularization abroad (Radikov, Leksyutina, 2012). Assuming this fact, it should be noticed that the states which possess “soft power” can offer their own system of socio-political values and they are the candidates for the role of a dominant structure in world politics. They are not marginalized, but they are a real powerful center. For instance, the US and China. Nevertheless, the scholars take into account the fact, that foreign policy ambitions of these states were based on “hard power”.

European Union also possesses “soft power” and it has the second place in the rate of J. Nye. He thinks, that idea of integration European countries is quite attractive. The success of image technologies and the opportunity to use them effectively as a “soft power” instrument is determined by the necessary mechanisms. J. Nye claims, that the level of “soft power” depends on the capability of a country to use cultural resources effectively in order to distribute own influence and to gain support around the world. Unlike “hard power” with its military, economic and political parts “soft power” takes an attractive look of a country or even an organization and uses certain means. Perhaps so did think the Nobel Committee, which awarded the EU the Nobel Peace Prize in 2012 “for the 60-year contribution of the Union and its predecessors in promoting peace and conciliation, democracy and human rights in Europe” (Nobelivs’ku premiyu vruchyly tryom kerivnykam Yevrosoyuzu).

If “soft power” is impressions, which an exact country gives in the world thanks to the visibility of its culture and lifestyle, place in international entertainment sphere, moral values, customs and beliefs, and also the qualities, that are inherent in the country and are unique, we may give an example of charming France. The researchers note, that France is a “seductress country”, which seduces others with its elegance, beauty, sensitive pleasures and happy people. The point of interpersonal relations in this country is in self-development, affairs, lifestyle, intellectual debates, during the elections and strengthening the power in the world. The social sphere development is the main strategy of France, which allows her to remain an influential country (Semchenko, 2014). According to the mission of realizing “soft power” by France, we can determine the typical qualities and way of implementing this mechanism in Canadian variant. It is the popularization of high life standards, comfort, social safety, stable economy.

The authors of a speech highlight 5 ways which the American government should take into consideration, but also which we can prolongate for the Canadian perspective:

Consolidation of old intergovernmental alliances and formation of new ones; search for the partners and formation of international institutions with various functions;

Global development, which is regarded as providing humanitarian, medical, educational, economic and technological support for requiring “third world” countries individually or by international institutes;

Public diplomacy, that is related with distribution of humanitarian exchanges between the US and other countries;

Correction of the mechanisms of economic integration, which must be based in the effective activity of international financial establishment, that are focused on helping poor countries and advancing the economic development of those, which grow rapidly.

Technologies and innovations within the context of ensuring the global energetic security (Semchenko, 2014).

Speaking of Ukraine and the present situation in Crimea and Donbass, J. Nye pointed out, that “the decline of Russian “soft power” has begun” (Putin’s Rules of Attraction), but it should be noticed, that both Canada and the US must support Ukraine as one of democratic states in all its struggles to maintain peace.

At the same time the question of strengthening “soft power” arises. It can be implemented by different informational and advertising activities in order to enhance the international image of a state. It includes such elements as public diplomacy, state

diplomacy, programs of providing help to countries and humanitarian aid. After that follows the “accountability” of a government concerning the realization of “soft power” concept, which finds its own view in different methods of its appliance. Moreover, in modern age states report to ministries and agencies, that are competent in foreign policy and economic relations, to promote national interests by realizing the previous means.

Nowadays, the USA is the leader in using “soft power”. Foreign policy initiatives of the country were confidently supported by many American political values. The experience of the US in creating the political image of a state by cultural means is quite interesting. Mass culture, which has its own level of popularity and attractiveness, can act as “soft power”, which facilitates the influence on the people. The US mass culture in its variety of types and genres, trends and symbols is an embodiment of social processes creates in a massive mind a political image of the US as a great power (SoftPower30: United States 2018 Overview). That’s why “soft power” was one of significant factors of US’s victory in “Cold War”.

Speaking of Canada, it should be taken into account that in the last years Canada has gained a status of a globally influential state, because of active social media usage by high-ranking officers (in particular by the Prime Minister), cultural events and Commemoration Days etc. Considering the fact, that Trump’s rates are falling down, Canada must take the initiative of an influential super power, using the very “soft power” and acting as a peculiar “liberal peacemaker”. For the foreigners Canada is a country good for tourism, work and residence, because the government creates all the necessary conditions. First and foremost, Canada can boast with its citizen freedom level, and the image is increasing due to its “openness” for the aliens.

At the same time there are decreases in the rates of the small and medium-sized enterprises (SME) development and the competitiveness of several enterprises. That’s why in this case the Trudeau’s government must take into account two spheres of public affairs: external, which is to some extent primary for Canada, and internal, because without supporting it the popularity of the Prime Minister among the people is decreasing (SoftPower30: Canada 2018 Overview).

To sum up the article, we should notice, that in priority “soft power” is a means of public policy implementation in the world by supporting the main rights and freedoms of human, democratic society, providing public and cultural diplomacy and preference to humanitarian means of resolving military conflicts. “Soft power” as an instrument of realizing peaceful diplomacy is an integral part of Canada’s external activity, which tends to save peace and stability on a global level.

Having analyzed the research status of the topic, we can make a conclusion, that there are several analytical and monographic works, where the individual aspects are described. The works of famous American scientist Joseph Nye, who proposed the category “soft power” at the beginning of 1990-s, are mostly worth paying attention. At the same time, we point out that there are no comprehensive studies of this topic in domestic historiography.

Conclusions. Having observed different sources of information, we have managed to find out the features of “soft power” concept and its relevance, which it received under the post-bipolar world circumstances. Since 1990-s the “soft power” concept has gained popularity in international relations, because it includes means and methods of peace diplomacy, unlike weaponized resolution of conflict and controversial issues. One of the instruments of the concept were various educational-cultural programs, which advanced the development of academic mobility, active information exchange, scientific researches and cultural achievements. The country, where this concept was successfully integrated, was Canada.

References

- Korotkov, 2015 – Korotkov D. S. Kontsepsiya “m'yakoyi syly” v konteksti zovnishniopolitychnoyi diyal'nosti Ukrayiny. Grani. 2015. № 3 (119). S. 13–17. [in Ukrainian].
- Nobelivs'ku premiyu vruchyly tryom kerivnykam Yevrosoyuzu. URL: https://dt.ua/SOCIETY/nobelivsku_premiyu_miru_vruchili_trom_kerivnykam_evrosoyuzu_video.html. [in Ukrainian].
- Radikov, Leksytina, 2012 – Radikov I. V., Leksytina Y. V. “Myahkaya sila” kak sovremenniy atribut velikoy derzhavy. Mirovaya ekonomika i mezhdunarodniye otnosheniya. 2012. №2. S. 19–26. [in Russian]
- Semchenko, 2014 – Semchenko O. A. Imidzheva polityka Ukrayiny: monographiya. K.: VT “Academiya”, 2014. 272 s. [in Ukrainian].
- Slisarenko – Slisarenko I. Teoriya i praktyka “m'yakoyi syly” v mizhnarodnykh vidnosynakh. URL: <http://social-science.com.ua/article/24>. [in Ukrainian].
- Berger, 2010 – Berger Thomas. “Japan in Asia: A Hard Case for Soft Power”. 2010. [in English].
- Chwalisz – Claudia Chwalisz. Canada's soft power is back. URL: http://www.policynetwork.net/pno_detail.aspx?ID=5079&title=Canada%E2%80%99s+soft+power+is+back. [in English].
- Nye – Joseph S. Nye. Soft Power: The means to success in world politics (review) URL: <http://www.futurecasts.com/book%20review%206-4.htm>. [in English].
- Putin's Rules of Attraction. URL: https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/putin-soft-power-declining-by-joseph-s--nye-2014-12?fbclid=IwAR3fU5sEznqImxqP3losACZflXA1muUf8HhwS40e_SoCP7RyRdoq7hutyg&barrier=accesspaylog. [in English].
- SoftPower30: Canada 2018 Overview. URL: <https://softpower30.com/country/canada/>. [in English].
- SoftPower30: United States 2018 Overview. URL: <https://softpower30.com/country/united-states/>. [in English].
- Universal declaration of human rights. URL: http://www.un.org/en/udhrbook/pdf/udhr_booklet_en_web.pdf. [in English].