

# USE OF SMART POWER AS AN INSTRUMENT OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY\*

*Kamu Diplomasisi Aracı Olarak Akıllı Güç Kullanımı*

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## **Abstract**

Power has been the dominant concept in all relationships throughout human history. Societies that hold power have always tried to use this advantage in their bilateral relations. In the discipline of international relations, there are two different types of power. These are; hard power and soft power. In the past, states and societies have generally tried to develop hard power opportunities and tried to maintain their relations through this power. But over time, only hard power was not enough for the states; soft power elements have also started to be used. Especially with the transition to the unipolar world order, it has taken its place as a new alternative besides soft and hard power. In this study, as a public diplomacy tool for the samples examined smart power usage in Turkey and a number of analyzes have been made.

**Keywords:** Soft Power, Smart Power, Public Diplomacy, Politics, Power.

## **Öz**

Güç, insanlık tarihi boyunca tüm ilişkilerde başat kavram olmuştur. Gücü elinde bulunduran toplumlar, ikili ilişkilerinde hep bu avantajı kullanmaya çalışmışlardır. Uluslararası ilişkiler disiplininde, iki ayrı güç türü vardır. Bunlar; sert güç ve yumuşak güçtür. Geçmişte devletler ve toplumlar genellikle sert güç imkânlarını geliştirmeye ve ilişkilerini bu güç üzerinden yürütmeye çalışmışlardır. Ancak zaman içinde, devletler açısından yalnızca sert güç yeterli olmamış; yumuşak güç unsurları da kullanılmaya başlanmıştır. Bu doğrultuda sert ve yumuşak gücün ortak kullanımı olarak da tanımlanabilen "akıllı güç" kavramı da ortaya çıkmıştır. Özellikle tek kutuplu Dünya düzenine geçilmesiyle, yumuşak ve sert gücün yanında yeni bir alternatif olarak yerini almıştır. Bu çalışmada, bir kamu diplomasisi aracı olarak Türkiye'de akıllı güç kullanımıyla ilgili örnekler incelenmiş ve analizlerde bulunulmuştur.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Yumuşak Güç, Akıllı Güç, Kamu Diplomasisi, Politika, Güç.

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## INTRODUCTION

Throughout history, the concept of power have been a concept that has come to the forefront as an important concept in every organization from tribes to nation states. In the discipline of international relations, power has been discussed in the literature since the beginning of academic studies. In the field of international relations, power is basically divided into two categories which are hard power formed by military and economic power and soft power, which we can describe as more abstract, identified with the culture and values of the country.

Hard power is a type of power that involves mostly coercion and no consent. Soft power, on the other hand, is based primarily on consent and persuasion. Throughout history, states have given more importance to hard power elements and ignored soft power in order to survive and dominate other states. However, reasons such as the blurring of borders, the development of mass media and technology, and the formation of a new world order, especially with the increase of globalization, have increased the importance of soft power for states.

During the Cold War years, public diplomacy activities were increased, especially by the USA, and activities were carried out to shape the US perception of the people in the Warsaw Pact countries within the framework of the “American Dream”. After the collapse of the USSR, the USA, which continued to use its soft power elements in the said geography, expanded its influence even more.

After the Cold War, especially in the period of G. W. Bush, the balance in the use of hard and soft power was disturbed and more weight was given to hard power. Negative developments in the Middle East and in countries where mostly muslim people live have negatively changed the image and perception of the USA. The USA, which was admired in the

past, started to be seen as an hostile country by other peoples after the 2000s for various reasons (the Middle East policies it implemented, its desire to withdraw from the Paris Climate Agreement despite the high carbon emissions, etc.).

CSIS, one of the US think tanks that shares the opinion that the image of the USA has deteriorated, has introduced the concept of “intelligent power” in order to change this negative perception before the 2008 presidential elections and to make the USA a global brand again. Intelligent power, which is roughly expressed as a mixture and application of hard and soft power, has been presented as a recipe to correct the negative image of the USA in the eyes of the people.

In this study, the concepts of power, soft power, hard power, smart power and public diplomacy, which have been on the agenda in recent years, are mentioned. Within the scope of public diplomacy, suggestions were made by giving examples of soft power and smart power in Turkey.

## POWER

### THE CONCEPT OF POWER

According to Joseph Nye, who made important contributions to the international relations literature; “Power is like the weather. Everyone depends on it and talks about it. But few understand it.”<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, it can be said that everyone gets different meanings from the concept of power. The meaning of power is different for a business person, farmer, athlete, worker or unemployed. Therefore, it is difficult to give a single definition of power. Although the concept of power in the discipline of international relations is mostly of interest to the realist paradigm, other theories inevitably tried to define power and could not avoid using the

<sup>1</sup> Joseph S. Nye, *Yumuşak Güç Dünya Siyasetinde Başarının Yolu*, Elips Publishing, Ankara 2005, p. 11.

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concept.<sup>2</sup> However, since the perspectives of the theories on the concept of power differ, a common definition could not be put forward. The reason why a common definition of power cannot be made is that the scope of the concept is extremely wide and its nature is uncertain, it is variable and it shows differences according to time or system. As a matter of fact, while power was evaluated only according to the number of soldiers and equipment in international relations, today the evaluation of power has changed with the consideration of different power components such as the quality of diplomacy, information resources and control over communication processes.<sup>3</sup> To give an example of their definitions in academic studies on power; the realist theorist Morgenthau identifies the purpose of international politics with the search for power and the struggle for power. According to him, power is seen as both the type of relationship, the purpose of international relations, and a necessary tool for the realization of that purpose.<sup>4</sup> According to Waltz, power is the capacity to make independent decisions from other actors in an international system based on interdependence and to be minimally affected by their decisions.<sup>5</sup> According to Holsti, it is the capacity of a country to direct the possibilities and abilities of a country by influencing the behavior of the other party in line with its own interests, through different strategies such as punishment, reward, persuasion, suggestion and coercion.<sup>6</sup> There are many definitions on power and although they have common points, each definition is shaped according to the perspectives of people.

2 Pınar Bilgin-Berivan Eliş, "Hard Power, Soft Power: Toward a More Realistic Power Analysis", *Insight Turkey*, 10(2), 2008, p. 5-20.

3 Haluk Özdemir, "Uluslararası İlişkilerde Güç: Çok Boyutlu Bir Değerlendirme", *Ankara Üniversitesi SBF Dergisi*, 63(3), 2008, p. 116.

4 Hans Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, Alfred A. Knoff, New York 1985, p. 127-164.

5 Kenneth Waltz, "Realist Thought and Neorealist Theory", *Journal of International Affairs*, 44(1), 1990, p. 35.

6 Özdemir, *op.cit.*, p. 116.

## ***DIMENSIONS OF POWER***

When the power relations between two or more actors are observed, in reaching the desired result; it can be seen that the features, capacities and methods possessed come to the fore. Robert Dahl, in his article "The Concept of Power"<sup>7</sup> defined power as the capacity of an actor (A) to make another actor (B) do what he cannot do. Steven Lukes, on the other hand, stated that in order to say that the current relationship is power-oriented.<sup>8</sup> A must be able to change B's behavior in a way that is contrary to his own interests without using a method of persuasion. Lukes did not equate the the method of persuasion it with the use of force on the possibility that actor B, whose behavior will change, perceives a situation for his own benefit and therefore acts.

In this context, the idea that the power applied without harming and encountering resistance and power practices without conflicts, resistances and complaints can be considered as the most effective method. In the definition of power, its use as a deterrent can be used too. Morgenthau has also made definitons of the use of power for the purpose of protecting or changing the existing situation or for the purpose of prestige.<sup>9</sup> In other words, as A player is an actor and B can change his behavior in proportion to his own interests; when B is an actor, power is exerted when A's range of action is narrowed in proportion to national interests, by neutralizing the pressures, coercion and persuasion practices that may come from A.

In fact, although the limitation and maneuverability of a state in the world determines the power of that state, it is stated that the effectiveness of the power method that changes the behavior of the actors cannot always be clear in determining the process due to the

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7 Robert A. Dahl, "The Concept of Power", *Behavioral Science*, 2, 1957, p. 201-215.

8 Steven Lukes, "Power: A Radical View", *Political Studiens Rewiew*, 4, 2006, p. 136-145.

9 Morgenthau, *op.cit.*, p. 52-53.

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complex structures of the systems and the number of actors. According to Kenneth Neal Waltz, the processes and results of power should not be confused with each other. Because being able to lead others is a result of power.<sup>10</sup> However, the ability to affect the processes may not be at the desired level due to the different reactions of the system. In observing the situation and power, which Robert Keohane and Nye define as "complex interdependence",<sup>11</sup> many states are connected to each other by political and social ties. It is an environment in which pressure, direction, coercion and strategy development remain in the background. According to complex addiction theory, in order to gain power, it is necessary to have the capacity to establish relations between problems, to set the agenda, to change the agenda, to establish relations beyond nations and governments, and to have a say in international organizations.

According to this concept, which is one of the products of the neoliberal approach; today, the scope of action of actors is limited by the principle of dependency and complex relationship, the national interests of an actor can suddenly become a global problem and the use of military force puts states in difficult situations, while civil societies and international organizations can interfere with the foreign policies of states.<sup>12</sup>

### TYPES OF POWER

There is no consensus on a common definition of power, nor is there a consensus on its categorification. According to some, power is categorized as military power, economic power and soft power; according to others, it is classified as hard, soft and smart power. In this study, categorification is chosen as hard power, soft power and smart power.

10 Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Relations*. McGraw Hill, New York 1979, p. 12.

11 E. Fuat Keyman, "Küreselleşme, Uluslararası İlişkiler ve Hegemonya", *Uluslararası İlişkiler*, 3(9), 2006, p. 1-20.

12 John Aquilla-David Ronfeldt, *The Emergence of Noopolitik: Toward an American Information Society*, Rand Corporation, Santa Monica 1999, p. 30-31.

Hard Power: Hard power is defined as the capacity of a state to make other states do their will by using its coercive abilities through its economic and military power.<sup>13</sup> Basically, it is aimed to establish dominance over other states by using military and economic force, and as a result, to act in accordance with the interests of the state using force. Hard power is based on deception or threats.<sup>14</sup> In the use of hard power, states generally use threats to change the behavior of other states for the sake of achieving their goals. This move is seen as one of the most important moves to deter the other side. The important point is that the threatening state stands behind this threat and acts as necessary. If it bluffs and does not fulfill the action it claims, the power of that state will be questioned and it will be difficult for it to get the reaction it expects in his next threat.<sup>15</sup> For example, although it is said that the authority to shoot will be used in case of a border violation, if this authority is not used in cases where the violation occurs, the next threat will not be taken into account and the violations will continue.

Another feature of hard power is that if applied, it can give results more quickly than soft power. For this reason, states prefer hard power opportunities as the first choice and develop instant reflexes by reaching the result immediately.<sup>16</sup>

Soft Power: According to Nye, soft power is based on the ability to shape the preferences of others not only by command, but by setting an example or charming.<sup>17</sup> The respect of other states can be earned and requests can be made by this way. The most distinctive feature of soft

13 Robert Cooper, "Hard Power, Soft Power and the Goall of Diplomacy", *American Power in 21st Century*, 2004, p. 167-180.

14 Nye, *op.cit.*, p. 14.

15 Matteo Pallaver, *Power and Its Forms: Hard, Soft, Smart*, The London School of Economics and Political Science, (Unpublished Master Thesis), London 2011, p. 81.

16 Bekir Aydoğan, "Güç Kavramı ve Kamu Diplomasisi", *Politika Dergisi*, [http://politikadergisi.com/sites/default/files/guc\\_kavrami\\_ve\\_kamu\\_diplomasisi\\_-\\_bekir\\_aydogan-pdf.pdf](http://politikadergisi.com/sites/default/files/guc_kavrami_ve_kamu_diplomasisi_-_bekir_aydogan-pdf.pdf), (Date of Accession: 29.11.2019).

17 Nye, *op.cit.*, p. 15.

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power is that it can influence other states with its own charm and make their wishes come true without resorting to any coercion. The soft power country is the center of attraction and thanks to this power, other people and countries try to emulate and mimic the country with this power.<sup>18</sup> In this case, with little effort, a situation arises where others can easily behave in the way you want. The decisions of other states can be changed by force with hard power elements; but if other states behave the way you want, like Adam Smith's invisible hand, your soft power is working.<sup>19</sup>

Soft power is not a type of power that is applied or threatened to be applied to the target country or countries. Soft power is passive and stays in place; other countries come under the influence of this power and become ready to change their behavior.<sup>20</sup> Many methods are used under the name of soft power to influence other states and make the said state more attractive. In general terms, soft power is more than a country's military and economic power; economic capacity, international competitiveness, creativity, human capital, value given to freedoms, democracy level, prosperity, cultural richness, art, history, knowledge, architecture, cinema, music, education system, innovation capacity, science and technology infrastructure, diplomatic skills and is also expressed as the sum of the ability to express itself. For example, the European Union itself is a soft power element for countries like Turkey that want to be included in the Union. For this reason, in the process called the process of harmonization with the EU, it has become necessary to make reforms in many and various fields. There is no compulsion of the Union here. Turkey and the states that want to be included in the Union know and implement these reforms.

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18 Sait Yılmaz, *Güç ve Politika*, Alfa Yayınları, İstanbul 2008, p. 26.

19 Nye, *op.cit.*, p. 16.

20 Yılmaz, *op.cit.*, p. 39.



## ULUSLARARASI KRİZ VE SİYASET ARAŞTIRMALARI DERGİSİ

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Smart Power: Although the concept of smart power was first mentioned by Suzanne Nossel in *Foreign Affairs* magazine,<sup>21</sup> the concept of smart power in today's sense emerged in 2007 before the US Presidential elections. A report containing policy recommendations to the newly elected President of the United States was published by a commission founded by the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) and headed by Joseph Nye and Richard Armitage. In this report titled "Smart Power for a Smarter and Safer America", the theoretical infrastructure of the concept of smart power has been established.<sup>22</sup>

The main purpose of the report can be summarized as restoring the declining prestige of the USA, correcting its damaged image and finally making the USA a "global brand" again. According to the report, smart power does not mean maximizing power or maintaining hegemony. It is to find a way to successfully blend power resources with the right strategies and policies in an environment where other countries are on the rise and power is distributed to different actors.<sup>23</sup> In addition, the report took the view that smart power can be applied not only for the USA but also by other relatively small states.<sup>24</sup>

Today's world is seen as the age of information and technology, and therefore traditional practices and policies have gradually begun to lose their meaning. In this context, the report argues that when only hard power elements or soft power elements are applied alone, no results can be obtained, and argues that more success can be achieved by intelligently coordinating the two together. According to Nye; armies can be used to destroy countries, but to fight ideas, armies alone are useless, so it would

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21 Suzanne Nossel, "Smart Power." *Foreign Affairs*, 83(2), 2004, p. 131-142.

22 Richard Armitage-Joshep Nye, *CSIS Commission on Smart Power: A Smarter, More Secure America*, CSIS, 2007.

23 Nye, *op.cit.*, p. 17.

24 Armitage-Nye, *op.cit.*, p. 7.

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be more appropriate to discuss the viability of the two together. According to some, this situation is likened to Marx's dialectic; hard power policies emerge as thesis, soft power policies as antithesis and smart power as synthesis.<sup>25</sup>

## PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

### THE CONCEPT OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

This concept was first used by the dean of Tufts University, Edmund Gullion in 1965.<sup>26</sup> Gullion defines public diplomacy as "Public diplomacy deals with the influence of public attitudes on the regulation and conduct of foreign policy.<sup>27</sup> It encompasses international relations dimensions beyond traditional diplomacy; the interaction of private groups and the interests of a state with each other; governments to form public opinion in other states; foreign affairs reports and their impact on policy; intercultural communication processes between those whose job is to communicate, diplomats and foreign representatives."<sup>28</sup>

It is evaluated that Gullion's definition is different from the classical diplomacy understanding carried out during the Cold War period and is comprehensively beyond the discipline of international relations. Many academics and researchers, who followed this path opened by Gullion and contributed to the development of the concept, conducted studies, and states, especially the USSR and the USA, benefited from the studies carried out in propaganda activities.<sup>29</sup>

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25 Hendrik Hertzberg, "Smart Power", *New Yorker*, <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2009/01/26/smart-power>, (Date of Accession: 29.11.2019).

26 Nicholas Cull, *Public Diplomacy: Lessons from the Past* Nicholas, University of Southern, California 2009, p. 17.

27 Muharrem Ekşi-Mehmet Seyfettin Erol, "The Rise of Turkish Soft Power and Public Diplomacy", *Gazi Akademik Bakış*, 11(23), 2018, p. 18.

28 Cull, *op.cit.*, p. 17.

29 Muharrem Ekşi, *Kamu Diplomasisi ve Ak Parti Dönemi Türk Dış Politikası*, Siyasal Kitabevi, Ankara 2014.

## ULUSLARARASI KRİZ VE SİYASET ARAŞTIRMALARI DERGİSİ

Hans Tuch, a US diplomat, also defined the concept of public diplomacy as “the communication process carried out for foreign peoples to understand the ideas and ideals, institutions and culture of a government, as well as its national aims and current policies.”<sup>30</sup> In Turkey, this concept came to the fore especially after the establishment of the Public Diplomacy Coordinatorship and started to be discussed. According to İbrahim Kalın, who was influential in the establishment of the Office of Public Diplomacy Coordinator and also served as the Coordinator, “Public diplomacy, which is used as an effective political communication language by the leading countries of the world, is the effort of a country to present the story that it wants to share with the world in a consistent and convincing manner.”<sup>31</sup> The concept of public diplomacy is also in the dictionary of the Turkish Language Institution. It is defined as “the policy applied to explain the thoughts, goals, ideals, current policies, institutions and culture of a nation to the public of foreign countries.” (“kamu diplomasisi”, n.d.)<sup>32</sup>

Although there is no common definition of the concept of public diplomacy, as it can be understood from the definitions made, countries have a common goal of influencing and attracting people in other countries. In summary, in other words of Kalın, public diplomacy can be defined as “the sum of activities of understanding, informing and influencing the public.”<sup>33</sup> Public diplomacy activities are applied in different ways by most of the states. It is possible to say that global powers such as the USA, EU and Russia are more fortunate in this area, since public diplomacy activities are directly related to soft power resources. According to Cull, although public diplomacy consists of five components such as listening, advocacy, cultural diplomacy, exchange

30 Gaye Aslı Sancar, *Kamu Diplomasisi ve Uluslararası Halkla İlişkiler*, Beta Yayıncılık, İstanbul 2012, p. 79.

31 İbrahim Kalın, “Türk Dış Politikası ve Kamu Diplomasisi”, *Kamu Diplomasisi*, <https://www.kamudiplomasisi.org/makaleler/makaleler/100-tuerk-d-politikas-ve-kamu-diplomasisi>, (Date of Accession: 29.11.2019).

32 TDK, [www.tdk.gov.tr](http://www.tdk.gov.tr), (Date of Accession: 29.11.2019).

33 Kalın, *loc.cit.*

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programs, international broadcasting;<sup>34</sup> today, public diplomacy fields such as development aid, sports diplomacy, faith diplomacy, and citizen diplomacy are also mentioned.<sup>35</sup> We can consider these application areas under various headings.

### **CULTURAL DIPLOMACY**

Cultural diplomacy activities are the field that has contributed the most to public diplomacy in recent years and provided its development. Many fields, from art to literature, from music to painting, are evaluated within the culture, and therefore the use of this aspect of public diplomacy offers diversity in terms of countries' management of their perceptions on other states in this field.<sup>36</sup> Cultural diplomacy, in essence, is to export one's own culture to other countries.<sup>37</sup>

### **CINEMA AND TELEVISION**

The rapid effect of cinema and television, which conveys images that can easily affect millions of people simultaneously, has been discovered by states and states have started to use these tools for their own political purposes. The use of cinema for this purpose goes back to the years of the First World War, and films have been used for both propaganda and public diplomacy activities since then.<sup>38</sup> Especially the United States of America uses cinema and television widely as a tool of public diplomacy. In this context, a large number of serial films were made, especially about the Vietnam War, and they were watched in cinemas and televisions almost all over the world.

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34 Cull, *op.cit.*, p. 10.

35 Ekşi, *op.cit.*, p. 128.

36 Cynthia Schneider, "Culture Communicates: US Diplomacy That Works", J. M. ed., *The New Public Diplomacy*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York 2005, p. 147.

37 Cull, *op.cit.*, p. 19.

38 Johanna Blackley, "Propaganda, Pop Culture&Public Diplomacy", *Lear Center*, <http://learcenter.org/pdf/WWBlackley.pdf>, (Date of Accession. 29.11.2019).

## ***MUSIC***

Music is also an important sector used in terms of public diplomacy activities. Music is easily used in public diplomacy activities of countries because it has an important place in people's entertainment culture and especially recently it has been a part of social life with digital media players and smart phones.

## ***SPORTS***

Sports are included in public diplomacy activities due to the encounters between the countries themselves and between the countries. If football, one of the most watched sports branches of today, is evaluated in the context of the subject; World cup tournaments, which are held every 4 years, are one of the activities watched by millions of people and contributed significantly to the promotion of countries.

## ***INTERNATIONAL EVENTS***

Events such as international symposiums, fairs, festivals, panels and exhibitions organized by countries can also be evaluated in terms of public diplomacy. Thanks to these activities, public diplomacy activities can be carried out effectively in a very short time. In particular, the traditional annual events of these events make significant contributions to the cities and countries where they are held. While no one knew the name of the French city of Cannes in the past, today the whole world is following this city with interest thanks to the Cannes Film Festival.

## ***EDUCATION AND EXCHANGE PROGRAMS***

Education is one of the fields used for public diplomacy activities in terms of societies leaving permanent effects on people. Education for public diplomacy is generally carried out through academic and cultural exchange programs

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and language schools that countries have opened to spread their own languages. In this way, the participants of the exchange program can either go to another country and see the life and culture of that country directly, or they can establish a bond with the countries that provide this opportunity by learning the language of that country through the courses opened in their own country. Today, student exchange programs are used for this purpose in many countries.

### ***ECONOMY AND DEVELOPMENT AID***

Another method used by states for public diplomacy activities is economic aid to generally underdeveloped or developing countries. The first examples of this practice can be seen in the Marshall aid given by the USA after World War II. With these aids, on the one hand, it was tried to prevent the states in the European continent from coming under the influence of the USSR, and on the other hand, it was foreseen to contribute to the market power of the USA by developing the liberal economy in these countries. Turkey benefited from the Marshall aid and with these aids given by the USA, it was aimed to prevent Turkey from taking sides with Russia during the Cold War years after the Second World War.

### ***INTERNATIONAL BRANDS AND COMPANIES***

Global brands and companies also contribute to the images of countries. The more a brand or company that has come out of a country spreads to more countries, the more it will gain to a certain extent. McDonalds and Coca Cola are among the most typical examples of this. Both of these brands are used almost all over the world and this contributes positively to the image of the USA.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Shaun Riordan, "Dialogue-Based Public Diplomacy: A New Foreign Policy Paradigm?" J. Melissen, ed., *The New Public Diplomacy*. Palgrave Macmillan, New York 2005, p.187.

**EXAMPLES OF SOFT AND SMART POWER  
APPLICATIONS AS PUBLIC DIPLOMACY  
INSTRUMENTS IN TURKEY**

We can consider the examples of soft power and smart power used as a public diplomacy tool in Turkey under separate headings as follows:

**EXAMPLES OF SOFT POWER IN TURKEY**

Television series and cinema: Television series and the cinema sector have been used for years in public diplomacy activities and in the promotion of countries, as in successful examples such as Hollywood. With the success it has shown in this field in Turkey in recent years, it has come to an important position especially in the television series category. After the TV series “Silver” was exported to countries in the Middle East region, many TV series joined this trend and started to be shown all over the world. Today, more than 70 Turkish series meet with the audience on TV channels of 75 countries in the Balkans, Central Asia, Europe, the Middle East, South America, and America. In addition to contributing to Turkey’s soft power, these TV series also provide an economic contribution of approximately 200 million dollars to Turkey.<sup>40</sup> While TV series episodes were between \$500 and \$200,000, the revenue from TV series exports increased 15 times between 2008 and 2013, rising from \$10 million to \$150 million.<sup>41</sup>

Cultural interaction activities: Culture is the source of soft power and is used as a foreign policy tool because it has legitimized policies and political values. Culture can be counted among the methods frequently

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40 “Türkiye’nin Dizi Film İhracatı 200 Milyon Dolara Ulaştı”, *Kamu Diplomasisi Koordinatörlüğü*, <http://kdk.gov.tr/haber/turkiyenin-dizi-film-ihracati-200-milyon-dolara-ulasti/362>, (Date of Accession: 05.12.2019).

41 “TV’lere Diziler Nefes Aldırıyor”, *Deloitte*, <http://www2.deloitte.com/tr/tr/pages/aboutdeloitte/articles/tvlere-diziler-nefes-aldiriyor.html>, (Date of Accession: 05.12.2019).

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used by Turkey.<sup>42</sup> Cultural interaction activities are; programs for public diplomacy, education, student exchange programs, developments in fields such as tourism and science, cooperation with the world, projects carried out in this context, in brief, activities that will support the promotion of Turkey's language, culture and itself.<sup>43</sup>

### EXAMPLES OF SMART POWER IN TURKEY

Hürkuş trainer aircraft: Hürkuş training aircraft can be given as one of the smart power examples of Turkey. HÜRKUŞ training aircraft received the "TT32 Aircraft Type Certificate" from the General Directorate of Civil Aviation (SHGM) on 11.07.2016. It has also been approved by the European Aviation Safety Agency (EASA), and HÜRKUŞ's certificate has become valid in all European countries. Thus, HÜRKUŞ became the first Turkish aircraft to receive a type certificate from the European Civil Aviation Authority. Serial production of HÜRKUŞ trainer aircraft has started to meet the basic training aircraft requirement of the Turkish Air Force.<sup>44</sup>

Atak tactical reconnaissance helicopter: In a way that will address the requirements of the Turkish Armed Forces (TSK); The T129 ATAK Helicopter, which emerged as a result of replacing the engine, powertrain and tail blades, as well as being equipped with national weapon systems, is the most effective attack helicopter in its class in the world. The ATAK Helicopter is designed in two types for close range air support missions: The T129A, designed for close range air support missions, is equipped with 76 units of 70 mm rockets and a 20 mm cannon with 500 ammo capacity. On the other hand, modern electronic warfare devices have been added to the T129B helicopter for multi-purpose missions, and it

42 Mehmet Seyfettin Erol-Emre Ozan, "Türk Dış Politikasında Süreklilik Unsuru Olarak Siyasal Rejim", *Gazi Akademik Bakış*, 4(8), 2011, s. 22.

43 Tuba Çavuş, "Dış Politikada Yumuşak Güç Kavramı ve Türkiye'nin Yumuşak Güç Kullanımı", *KSÜ İİBF*, <http://iibfdergisi.ksu.edu.tr/tr/download/article-file/107654>, (Date of Accession: 05.12.2019).

44 T.C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı Savunma Sanayii Başkanlığı, <https://www.ssb.gov.tr/Website/contentList.aspx?PageID=357&LangID=1>, (Date of Accession: 05.12.2019).



can simultaneously take off with 8 UMTAS anti-tank missiles, 12 CİRİT, 2 STINGER and 500 artillery shells. The first of the ATAK Helicopters was delivered in 2014, and their production and deliveries are still ongoing.<sup>45</sup>

T-155 K/M Fırtına Howitzer Fire Control System: It is a system that enables the FIRTINA Howitzer to be deployed, positioned, prepared to fire, fire control and fire control operations with the help of computer and digital integration with other fire support elements. The system consists of units that perform operations from the receipt of a firing order sent by voice or data communication by the howitzer until the bullet leaves the barrel.<sup>46</sup> General Features:

- Fire planning and firing mission execution in digital environment
- Rapid transition and deployment
- Fast and precise ballistic calculation using “NATO Armaments Ballistic Kernel (NABK)”
- Automatic and precise barrel guiding
- Execution of all artillery missions such as time on target, arrangement, effect, sight shooting, etc.
- Digital communication with fire support, command control and communication systems
- Task-oriented, menu-controlled color graphical user interface  
Sayısal ortamda ateş planlaması ve atış görevi icrası
- Main Units that Make up the System:
- Fire Control Computer

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> “Silah Sistemleri”, *Aselsan*, <https://www.aselsan.com.tr/tr/cozumlerimiz/silah-sistemleri/topobushavan-atis-kontrol-sistemleri/kundagi-motorlu-km-firtina-obusu-atis-kontrol-sistemi>, (Date of Accession: 05.12.2019).

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- Gunner Imaging Unit
- Assistant Gunner Imaging Unit
- Driver Imaging Unit
- Inertial Navigation System
- Initial Velocity Radar
- Power Control Unit
- Tower Additional Power Unit
- Digital Radio

### CONCLUSION

Power is aimed by states within the framework of the struggle for domination and survival for centuries. Thinkers, who took an important place in political history from Thucydides to Ibn Khaldun, Clausewitz to Morgenthau, focused on the definition of power. However, a common definition of power has not been made so far. In its most general form, power is divided into two as hard power and soft power determined by military and economic power. The first is the tough force, which is mostly related to the military and economic capacity of states. Hard power, which is a simpler and older concept compared to soft power; It is defined as the capacity of a state to make its own wishes to other states by using its coercive capabilities through its economic and military power. This type of power contains rather coercion and is not based on the consent of the countries.

Hard power is the most obvious form of carrot and stick policy in international relations, and it enables all kinds of deterrence, deception and threat activities to achieve the goal. In addition, it is more preferred in terms of giving faster results compared to soft power. While military

power and economic power are two factors that make up hard power, military power is the most preferred type of power that determines hard power. The military capacity of the state, including the number of soldiers, weapons, tanks and planes that it possesses, is the biggest deterrent factor in the adoption of the harsh power of a state to other countries. However, governments use their economic power to act in favor of other countries' own interests when necessary, sometimes they prefer economic methods that include coercion, and sometimes they do this through incentives given to the other party. In this context, today, customs duties, quotas, legal sanctions, fluctuations in exchange rates, the natural resources of another country through cartelization, development aid etc. can be listed as known and frequently used methods.

Another power type is soft power. It is defined as the power that is based on the ability of others to shape their preferences and, without compulsion, shapes the decisions of other countries in line with their wishes with the existing appeal of that country. Soft power capacity varies depending on the country's culture, political values and preferences in foreign policies. Generally speaking, soft power is more than a country's military and economic power; financial and economic capacity, international competitiveness, creative thinking, human capital quality and social capital, emphasis on freedoms, democracy level, prosperity, cultural wealth, historical accumulation, art, architecture, cinema, music, education system, science and technology infrastructure is expressed as the sum of innovation capacity, diplomatic abilities and self-expression skills. While hard power elements can be more effective and result in the past and especially during the Cold War years, the use of soft power elements contributes more to the states in today's global world where information and communication technologies are developing.

If we define power as the capacity to impose one's will and ideas on others, the methods and means by imposition determine the type of power. In this respect, coercion, threats and financial means are the

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main tools of hard power. Emphasis on hard power has long been very dominant in international relations, as the concept of power is mainly associated with material capacities.

Understanding smart power is especially important in a world that is changing at an historically unprecedented rate and produces turbulent results. In fact, the greatest transformation of human life has occurred in the last century. This innovative wave of change has created a world system where the speed and magnitude of results confront nations with ever greater threats and opportunities. This has created a “hazy force field” much more so than has hitherto been embraced by academics and policy makers. National power has been transformed in ways that make it much more difficult to measure and ultimately manage. Thus, new approaches are required to examine power and its changing role in world politics. Nations will nevertheless rely primarily on strength to face these consequences and changes. But international power work is still quite underdeveloped compared to its importance in international politics. Traditional views of state power are not well suited to understanding the modern cosmopolitan world system, where there is a marked need for a more cohesive or cosmopolitan theory of power in world politics.

Smart power refers to a state’s ability to combine hard power and soft power tools in a successful strategy. At first glance, this definition may seem easy to deal with the concept. However, there are several nuances to consider. First of all, it should be clearly defined what is understood from the concepts of hard and soft power. The concept of power has long been widely used in the analysis of international politics and in the theories of international relations. Thus, some approaches consider this concept as the core of international relations and even social sciences.

Excessive use of force by the states leads to the deterioration of the image of the country and the decline in respect of the peoples. As a matter of fact, the image of the USA, which has had the most impact in both

hard and soft power factor in the last century, after the use of hard power rather than soft power (Iraq and Afghanistan occupations, etc.) and its wrong practices in this context, in this context is an important example. In this sense, a new concept has been developed and developed by various academicians and experts, especially Joseph Nye, in order to recover the damaged image of the USA and to be accepted by other countries.

“Smart power”, which can be roughly defined as a blend of soft and hard power, has been brought to the fore as a strategy that states like the USA, which may be a global power, should implement.

In the report published by the think tank named CSIS, especially before the US Presidential elections, it was stated that the USA started to exhibit a bad image, that a “global brand” should be re-established to correct this image, and the hard power that the liberal politicians advocated by the realist paradigm and the soft power shaped by the liberal politicians until now It has been suggested that it was used bilaterally and therefore no success. In this context, it was stated that a new policy should be developed and this policy could be a “smart power”. In the text, smart power is roughly expressed as “a mixture of hard and soft power and its use together” by Nye’s definition.

Generally speaking, hard power produces negative destructive consequences for both practitioners and those who apply. Smart power, which is described as a mixture of soft and hard power, not only gives respect to the country that possesses, but also increases its economic power. This study examined samples out of soft power and smart to use a smart power in Turkey in recent years it has also begun. With smart power, Turkey will start to become an active force in both; will also make important contributions to its economy. These developments, Turkey’s becoming a regional power will follow the way.

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