Geopolitics of Portugal in Atlantic Sea

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Abstract— **Neo-realism argues that states belong to an anarchic world in which there is no great power governing on it. State is required to have survival capability in a self-help system. Inter-state relations may encourage a country to exercise their power as a means of survival in an anarchist world. The Atlantic Sea plays a vital role in maintaining international stability and security to balance the power distribution within the region. Since days of discovery, Portugal have shown their capabilities in navigating the sea, through high seas, islands and across continents in looking for most-wanted sources at the time, spices. They have cemented their dominance at various strategic points along international shipping lanes. Further, having the longest coastline in Europe makes Portugal´s politics in maritime realm quite decisive. Based on the neo-realism perspective developed by Kenneth Waltz, the author outlines the strategic steps adopted by Portuguese towards transition of global power during post World-War II. This article reveals that construction of Portuguese national identity determines their national interest in regards of their foreign policy in maritime security policy.**

Keywords— **neo-realism, international politics, Portugal, United States, geopolitics, Atlantic Sea, cold war, alliance**

I. INTRODUCTION

After World War II, international politics has shifted from multipolar to bipolar. European traditional forces such as France, Germany and Turkey are heavily suffered by wars. Following to that, their position in global politics are in question. The only states that still stood are United States (US) and Russia (formerly Uni Soviet). Those two giants finally came to dominate the global political world. They also have successfully managed to alter mechanism of international structure. Consequently, other states have to pull out all of their strength to balance or at least, reach the capabilities of those two great powers.

This article proposes a research question in regards of what is the Portuguese geopolitical strategy in exercising their interest in Atlantic Sea during post-world war II? Author will rely on neorealism school of thought of Kenneth Waltz based on his book *The Theory of International Politics.* This essay aims to give an understanding to scholars of international relations, related to security realm, how geopolitics strategy viewed in foreign policy. The paper also destined for scholars who have interest in maritime subject, especially related to geopolitics in Atlantic Sea.

The author divides this article into three main sections. First section describes the structure of essay and highlight of the main argument. Second section will discuss the findings of the main assumption of this paper, about power distribution after World War II, Portuguese geopolitical position from US perspective, and their acceptance to be member of NATO and its consequences. Lastly, third section, will reveals all debates within the discussion to justify the validity of main argument.

II. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Realism is the oldest school of thought in international relations studies. The first theory known as classical realism, started from Thucydides era. Classical realism argues that states should put defense as main aim of international relation and it views power as main objective of interest. Realism assumes that powers as main aim to aim their interest.

While neo-realism assumes that state lives in an anarchic system in which there is no supranational power above them. Neo-realism appears as critics of realism. As Kenneth Waltz argued, state is no longer pursue power as their main objective rather they tend to survive in a self-help system. As a result, state should be capable to support themselves and should follow and being adaptive to current structure that convenient to their domestic policy. It also needs to conform to their foreign policy and prioritize its interest. Therefore, neo-realism is often seen as defensive realism.

Interconnectivity between each actor in international politics has successfully placed power as main tools of survival in an anarchic world. As a result, states feel that superiority over others is above everything. Thus, the nature of cooperation between states is highly questioned. Neo-realism believes states act in accordance to anarchical structure that enforced them to rely only in their interest. It could be presumed that when realism sees state's behavior highly represented by its nature, they will heavily dependent on their interest and keep the protection of its natural resources in order to maintain the stability of international structure. Thus, states will accept the situation in international politics so they will be able to ensure the equilibrium within the system, which required the independences of its members.

The situation post-Cold War is fundamental to draws the transition of multipolar to bipolar system. If during past days, tension between states always had discussed on battle ground, since the Cold War, states is no

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longer consider such ways. This because states calculate the gains or losses which may affect their position. In bipolar world, a defeat for one actor means a gain for other. This is a contrast situation comparing to what was admired in previous era.

The emergence of the Soviet Union and American superpowers ignites a condition of wider-ranging and more efective cooperation among Western European countries. There, states are seeking to rebuilt after heavy loss following the World War II. As crises spreading through the region, states believe they should react independently, regardless the opinion from others. Crises are produced by the determination of a state to resist a change that another state tries to make. The scene of relation between United States and the Soviet Union pushed them to take some political decisions. For the first time, determinants of war and peace lay outside the European states. One of the most significant part was removal of fear related to possible usage of military against the others. Since then, security depend on the policies of others.

International politics is the arena of struggle for power and how accomodate it. Kenneth Waltz defines power as a means rather than see it as an end[1]. If state decide to join weaker side, they will be more appreciated and safer, providing that the coalition they join possess enough defensive or deterrent capabilities to dissuade adversaries from attacking them. They cannot let power become the final end. If a state expected to maximize power, they would join the stronger state then dismiss the opportunity of having a hegemony in the structure. State is not to maximize power but to maintain their positions in the system

Therefore, the behaviour of states is defined mostly by position of state in international politics. As noted by Waltz, he argued that the world politics is formed in order to cultivate the principle of self-help that applies to the actor. Beyond the survival motive, states may have another ambition

A. Portuguese and Maritime Realm

Back to the time of discovery, maritime discovery during 15th-16th century has transformed Portugal from small and periphery country in Northwest Europe into a great empire across ocean. Portugal, adjoin with Spain, divided world into two as part of they agreement resulting form discovery. Tordesillas Treaty on 1494 was essencial in figuring the map of the world. Those historical pieces were fundamental in bringing Portugal's influence throughout the globe.Apart from the teritory in Europe, Portuguese spread in seven continents. They established a community of portuguese speaking countries, called CPLP, which integrate all geopolitical spaces and be represented in United Nations The nine countries of CPLP are Portugal, Brazil, Angola, Cabo Verde, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau, Guinea Equatorial, São Tome e Principe and Timor-Leste.

The end of World War II marked a change in the international political system, including European countries. This lies behind the transition from multipolar to bipolar. Politics among major European countries requires implementing a zero-sum game, where each country assesses that the defeat suffered by one of the parties means victory[1]. When states placed in a position to survive in order, each state becomes increasingly interested. The emergence of two major powers from the Soviet Union and the US that encouraged effective and broader work among European countries. They became as the object of security concerns, and later formed the basis for the formation of the League of Nations.

Cooperation does not necessarily reduce insecurity between countries in the Western European region and end the conflict, but changing the direction of the conflict. The political discourse between European countries became different because of the transition from multipolar to bipolar after World War II.

In the bipolar world, the leadership of an alliance can form maximum agreement from its partners. Despite considering importance of contributions from allies, it is not merely required. They draw on policies and strategies that are in accordance with their calculations and interests. If military cooperation does not come to reality, they will concern about opinions from fellow alliance members. Waltz sees this case reflected in the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO. In 1976, the Soviet military budget issued 90 & of the total WTO spending while, the US spent 75% more than NATO[1]. In fact, NATO provided assistance provided by partners in Europe and Canada. As one of state owns nuclear weapons, the United States of America protects European countries. But not with the US which does not get protection from European countries. This is due to the vast difference in capabilities between NATO member countries.

Portugal should be grateful of the political transition in world politics hence it release them out from it comfort zone as the country fitting themselves to international security. The peninsula country then became active player in the region. Armed with geostrategic potential, a country with the largest Economic Exclusive Zones (EEZ) in Europe subsequently played an important role in establishing the alliance in the Atlantic, sided with the United States. Regardless their "mini" size, Portugal was able to play an important role in the security of the Atlantic Sea through the formation of the North Atlantic defense pact, known as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

The role of Portugal during World War II was dominated by the discussion of the Anglo-Portuguese alliance in the context of complex displacement, political and military considerations. Portugal's active movement in the international political arena is a reflection of its domestic politics. As Waltz (1979, p. 81) argues that domestic politics are arranged hierarchically, through the placement of institutions and actors that face each other in subordinate interactions. The principle of structuring in a system informs how parts of a field are interrelated. The structure of domestic politics is defined according to the principle as to which they are directed, with functional

specifications consisting of units that are formally differentiated as well as through the distribution of capabilities between these units. The political process is constituted by the political structure which can be seen by comparing the differences in government systems.

Since 1947, the Prime Minister of Portugal, Antonio de Oliveira Salazar, was aware of the new fresh-look of international order particularly in global security issues, including the threat of development of communism in Europe. When UN General Assembly, Salazar felt summoned by the speech of Paul-Henri Charles Spaak, who called on the leaders of member countries to be aware of the Russian threat. However, Salazar and Portugal did not pay special attention to the work of Western multilateral diplomacy, especially the United States after World War II (PD) II and Western democracies that dominated the global political arena at that time[2].

In a self-help system, each actor dedicates a part of his efforts, not in putting forward his own interests, yet rather preparing to protect himself against other parties. Actors are also concerned about their ability to survive and the conditions for their behavior[1]. Differences in international and national structures can be seen from how actors in the system determine goals and develop ways to achieve them. In the anarchist domain, actors who share similar functions acts like working to maintain independent status and even achieve sovereignty.

Self-help system is a system where those who don't help themselves, or who do it less effectively than others, fail to succeed, so they open themselves to the threat of danger and suffering. This fear of unintended consequences stimulates the state to behave in ways that tend to lead to the creation of a balance of power.

Anarchy is not only the absence of government, but also the emergence of order and disorder. Conditions in the political world, although not entirely peaceful and fail to avoid chaos, academics tend to see a decrease in anarchy in every split. The lack of regular and formally organized institutions and procedures cannot be separated from the increase in transactions between national borders and when international agents develop.

Portugal's geopolitics

A policy is prepared with the aim of being able to adapt to changes in the prevailing international structure. This is manifested in the geopolitical system which dominates and occurs at the geostrategic level. Geopolitics is a product of the past and its definition has evolved according to its period. Rudolf Kjellén in Cohen, who coined the term in 1899, described geopolitics as "state theory as a geographical organism or phenomenon in space. Meanwhile, for Karl Haushofer, a German geopolitical figure, state that "Geopolitics is a new national science of the state, as a doctrine of the influence of spatial planning in all political processes, based on broad geographical foundations, especially political geography"[3].

Statesmen and academics interpret geopolitics as a medium for geographical integration and international politics. It also could be valuable to define geopolitics not as a school of thought but a way of analysis, by linking the diversity of content and the scale of geographical mapping to the implementation of political power and identifying spatial framework through which power passes through it.

As a major actor of the Cold War, the United States views geopolitics as the basis of national policies aimed at confronting the Soviet Union and international Communism. Based on this, Portugal views geopolitics in line with US thinking. From the perspective of Portugal's foreign policy, all the seas, not only the Atlantic, are important. What is effectively at stake here is the security dimension of the Atlantic region. This is reflected above all of the Atlantic Alliance's membership and in relation to most of the important partners, who in this context are England, for almost seven centuries, and the United States, from the mid-20th century onwards[4].

In the spatial hierarchy of global structures, the highest level is the geostrategic realm. This domain is a part of the world that is large enough to have characteristics and functions that affect globally and which serve the strategic needs of the large countries, states and regions they comprise. Their framework is shaped by circulation patterns that connect people, goods and ideas and is integrated with control over strategic land and sea lanes[4].

B. Portugal joining NATO

Portugal's strategy to achieve power in the North Atlantic region is motivated by three aspects. First, the nature of US invitation to Portugal. Second, the factor behind acceptance of Portugal to join NATO as one of the founder. Third, Portugal membership in NATO in regards of its domestic and foreign politics.

The reason why the US decided to invite Portugal to the NATO was due to the fact that Portugal possesses geopolitical and geostrategic function in which referred to the constitution of a new security system that was designed to deal with Soviet threats[4]. This geopolitical factor consists of two pillars. The potential strategy of the United States as the most influential state of North American continent and based on the geostrategic side, the European continent, the vanguard and direct defense, in which the countries of the Brussels Treaty of 1948. However, in order to the system could work smoothly, it requires not only protect the north and south sides, but also the synergy among the guard in front and back. This is why Portugal was invited to join NATO, as per represented by the Azores region. The Azores region was included in the Pentagon's military defence system in the postwar period and its base was the subject of a bilateral agreement between Portugal and the United States in 1948.

The motive behind Portugal's acceptance of the invitation to join NATO is understood as a long and complex process of dynamics Portuguese foreign policy. In the 1950s, Henrique Carvalho saw that it was not only the Soviet threat that pushed for the formation of an Atlantic alliance as a way out for Western security, but also Portugal's geostrategic situation and in particular, the adverse effects of the Cold War that prompted Portugal to

join the alliance and not merely a bilateral agreement with US.

Furthermore, Teixeira, quoting Franco Nogueira, argued that the personality of a Salazar was the background of Portugal's acceptance of the invitation to join NATO. In addition to the political position and diplomatic steps of Salazar , it could be argued that Portuguese participation to NATO contributes to push decision of Salazar. It is his ambition to admit the idea were the ideological and moral instincts against Communism in defending western and Christian civilizations[4].

Consequently, the afirmation of NATO's participation produces significant impact on both domestic politics and foreign policy. In the domestic sphere, this issue divides politicians into two groups, pro-Soviet, communism and pro-American, imperialism. Then, it also had an impact on military institutions and defense policy. Despite differences in the concept of Portugal's security strategy and the polemics of two generals Santos Costa and Raul Esteves, the military institution agreed on Portugal's joining NATO, bringing hope that the US could contribute to the institutional modernization and the renewal of Portuguese Armed Forces technical equipment[4].

Despite its pacifity in international realm, Portugal is able to adapt to a dynamic and rapidly changing international situation. Plus, it is often influenced by the uncertainty and discomfort that comes from other parties in it. NATO intends to project security in all front guard, taking into account the threats that emerge from the East and Southeast borders. Even when it acts in other areas, such as in the Atlantic, it does so with the primary, if not exclusive, concern to ward off and overcome threats from the East.

The most appropriate illustration in understanding the value of national interest in the pattern of state behavior is through Portugal's work in international organizations, in this case NATO. As one of the founders of the Atlantic alliance, Portugal has maintained its existence for 50 years of participation in the organization, since 1949. Relations between Portugal and NATO have often been discussed, both from a political and diplomatic point of view, military strategy, and, adapting to the demands of changing foreign policy ideas the land of Portugal[2].

Whatever the situation, Portugal remains a close ally in NATO through its commitment to deepen project cooperation in European security. The same applies to alignment in other sectors where Portugal participates with its partners to overcome common threats[2].

State behavior changes following international structural patterns. The power and capacity of the state have a great influence to support the country's efforts to pursue power so that it is able to adapt through the dynamics of global politics. Domestic political conditions, as previously described, also become an important point for a country to navigate international competition. Portugal's participation in NATO can be interpreted as a concrete example if the state acts according to the surrounding situation. To put in consideration, several key factors such as the economy, energy and resources, the country are decisives in achieving the political equilibrium within the region. As one of the practical steps, Alliance formed a plural steps taken by the state in seeking a balance of power.

C. Portuguese Security Concept

National security and defense politics consists of several principles and objectives that are translated into the constitution and the law, including directions and priorities stipulated in the strategic concept and then implemented in each government program. Security and defense politics are rooted in national interests that drive the existence of Portugal in the global sphere through consolidation with its international alliances. Inter-actors discussion could be also influential in constructing Portugal's reputation its foreign credibility which is appreciated by the Portuguese community . As a result, international community accepts Portugal as one of the major world player in promoting human peace and security with respecto to the international law[5].

Portugal has a relatively stable international position by representing Western world democracy, as a permanent member of the European Union and NATO council and the establishment of the *Comunidade dos Paises da Língua Portuguesa* (CPLP). To implement the security objectives in the region, Portugal has projected three national strategies: achieving national sovereignty, stabilizing threats and risks, overcoming national obstacles and vulnerabilities, maximizing natural resources, and exploring opportunities.

To some extent, strengthen the defense and security system in terms of consolidating foreign cooperation in the defense sector, specifically with the European Union and NATO. The defense of constitutional values guarantees sovereignty, national independence and territorial integration so as to encourage the security of society and the freedom of individual and political rights as an expression of the function and role of a democratic state[5].

The involvement of the Portuguese military force in the NATO command structure or within the framework of the alliance plays a role in helping to strengthen the presence in the organization and encouraging actors in the global context to leave the traditionalist position as a passive consumer of international security by taking an active position as a global-level security provider[6].

Various aspects are interpreted as the division of strategic responsibilities, goals and vision of the Alliance in which Portugal cannot be ruled out in guaranteeing international security in the 20th century, especially in the regions where NATO and Portugal intersect, and for that it is implemented in Portugal's Foreign Policy. Institutional relations between NATO and Portugal have been tight since Portugal's participation in the NATO mission in the Adriatic Sea in 1992 and Bosnia in 1996[6].

In 2009, the armed forces participated in the most tense operations in the following regions, such as Afghanistan, the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, the

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Mediterranean Sea and Kosovo, involving 1,454 militaries. In the context of a number of missions in which Portugal participated, scattered in Afghanistan (ISAF, 191 soldiers) and Kosovo (KFOR, 301 soldiers). They represented 55% of the existing national army, with a total of 492 soldiers. The national commitment shows the significant efforts of Portugal which demonstrated the dominance of Portuguese soldiers on peace missions reaching 84% of the total NATO army.

It is important to underline that the international political order oriented towards the two main powers, the US and the Soviet Union[1], makes the format of cooperation and patterns of interaction very different. Multipolar systems last for no less than three centuries because there are some countries that have declined and there are some countries that have risen through the increase in capabilities. While the bipolar system survived for three decades in the absence of a third party capable of developing the ability to balance the power of the US and the Soviet Union. The main characteristic that distinguishes multipolar and bipolar is if in multipolar, the system persists even though identity changes. Meanwhile, in bipolar, the system appears to be very healthy and strong, although it has the possibility to not last as long as its predecessor.

Alliances, according to Waltz, occur only if the state has some common interests. The similarity is usually a negative thing, fear of the other party[1]. The strategy in an alliance is always in the form of an agreement or negotiation considering the interests of the alliance and their views on how to achieve security has never been the same. As with multipolar systems, despite the formation of blocks, one alliance can find a way of understanding with the opposing camp.

III. CONCLUSION

The main conclusion that can be drawn from this article shows that the international structure of anarchy is in fact able to encourage a country to behave to adapt to actual conditions. The assumption of power pursuit by a country in the view of neorealism is not to become super power, great power or hegemon, as echoed by realism, but is able to survive in an anarchist international system. According to Waltz, the State as a unitary actor is the main actor in the international structure because it has sovereignty. Although, the states still sees international institutions and organizations. That is why military dependence is low on the bipolar system and high on the multipolar system. Strong countries in multipolar systems depend on other countries to get political and military support in handling crises and war.

Portugal is a country with a relatively small geographical size but with a relevant geostrategic position in the context of the Atlantic Alliance (NATO) being a superior aspect that is able to encourage Portugal to play an active role in the international political arena and strengthen its existence as a major actor in international security. For Portugal, NATO is the implementation of the foreign policy which they place as a fixed agenda in the mission of protecting security and protecting borders, which is outlined in Portugal's new strategic concept.Apart from that, the participation of portuguese in NATO is vital steps to contain the communism in Western Europe.

The end of World War II marks the beginning of new form of international politics. One of the fundamental aspects was the establishment of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Portugal became the first European country joined the mentioned cooperation initiative.

Atlantic Sea plays role as an arena through which international stability and security is organized. It is seen as a central of gravity for international cooperation. Therefore, any format of cooperation that being accommodated has close relation to the state that belongs to Atlantic Ocean. Since the era of discovery, Portuguese people are renowned with their abilities in sea navigation. Together with Spain, they navigated the world and established their domination in various shipping lanes throughout the continents. Having the longest coastal line in Europe with widest Economic Exclusive Zone (EEZ), Portugal policy is fundamental as deciding factor of region's cooperation direction.

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