Global Affairs

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Chapter Two: Understanding Foreign Policy and Diplomacy

- **Introduction**
- National Interest

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Defining National Interest

- Refers to set of ***values, orientation, goals and objectives*** a given country would like to acheive in its IR.
- It has been the main ***driving force that determines the contents of foreign policy***
- K. Holsti, defines as an image of the future state of affairs and future set of conditions …

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National Interest…

- Foreign policy can subordinated to a principle of national interest.
- The total task of foreign policy is to preserve national interests peacefully and rationally.
- The goals and objectives of any state foreign policy constitute national interest as a basis.
- Even if the national interests of states vary in that detail, core national interests are the same for different countries.

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National Interest…

- The minimum essential components of the national interest of any state are:-
  - Security,
    - National development, and
    - World order

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Criteria‘s used to determine the national interest of states?

- **Operational Philosophy**
- Depending on time, location, your orientation toward the world around you, and in particular the action of your predecessors -you may choose one **of two major style of operation**
- First, act in a bold and sweeping fashion.
  - Up on taking office, introduce major new practices, policies, and institutions and discontinue others.
- The second major style of operation is to act in caution, probing, and experimental fashion
  - The decision maker in an incremental orientation assumes that political and economic problems are too complex to proceed with bold initiative without worrying about their consequence.

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Ideological Criteria:

- Most of the time, governments employ ideological criteria and establish their relations
- They may identify their friends or enemies countries using the litmus test of ideology.
- During cold war, the ideology of communism and capitalism had been often used to establish cooperation or conflict with countries.
- Hence, national interest may be shaped by underlying ideological orientations of the regime in power.

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Moral and Legal Criteria:

- Moral behavior, in international politics involves **keeping your promise** –
  - treaties,
  - avoiding exploitation and uneven development between the developing countries and the developed ones
- Acting legally means, abiding by the rules of international law to the extent that such rules are identified and accepted

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Pragmatic Criteria:

- As pragmatist, your orientation is low key, matter of fact, not on emotions and professions
- On the basis of the scientific analysis of cost and benefit or merit and demerit to your country interest,
- the practical utility of merit of your action will be counted other than morality and personal sentiments.

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Professional Advancement Criteria:

- In this case, action may be manipulated and adjusted in consideration of professional survival and growth.

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Partisan Criteria:

- Here you tend to equate the survival and the success of your political party, or ethnic or religious origin with the survival and success of your country.
- You may tend to equate the interest of your organization (the army, the foreign office, and so forth) with the national interest

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Foreign Dependency Criteria:

- These criteria usually applies to less developing countries, who had fallen under the yoke of colonialism, and now, even after political independence
- These countries are still dependent on their ex-colonial states for technical aid, expertise and technology, sometimes even for their security.
- As a result of this, the less developing countries face difficulties to defend and promote their national interest.

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- Discuss in groups whether there is a single criteria in determining national interest of states?

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Understanding Foreign Policy and Foreign Policy Behaviors

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Understanding Foreign Policy and Foreign Policy Behaviors

- Foreign policy refers to the sets of objectives and instruments that a state adopts to guide its relation with the outside world.
- The objectives of foreign policy which a state wants to achieve are in one way or another related to national interest.
- national interest is often considered as the objectives of foreign policy of a state.
- something that a state would like to achieve in its external relations with others

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FP..

- Involves general purposes, priority of goals to be realized and achieved
- It also encompasses specific strategies and instruments, economic and diplomatic tools that states employ to achieve their objectives.
- These objectives, visions and goals state aspire to achieve is commonly referred as national interest. All states would like to promote their national interest

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Foreign Policy Objectives

classifications of foreign policy objectives is based on the combination of the three criteria:

(1) The value placed on the objective;

(2) The time element placed on its achievement; and

(3) The kind of demands the objective imposes on other states in international system.

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FP Objectives

- Based on the above stated criteria, the objectives can be classified as:
  - (1) core values and interests
  - (2) middle range goals and
  - (3) universal long range and goals-
- ***Core Interests and Values (Short Range Objectives)***
  - most frequently related to the self preservation of political and economic systems, the people and its culture, and the territorial integrity of a state.
  - These are short-range objectives because others goals cannot be realized if the existence of the state and its political units are not ensured.

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Middle Range Objectives

- This particular category is comprised of :
  - economic uplift of the people,
  - raising their life standard, enhancing prestige and status of the nation, and
  - expansion both territorial, as well as ideological.
- Foreign policy aims at achieving economic prosperity, as only an economically prosperous nation is to play more assertive role in international politics.

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Long- Range Objectives

- Plans, dreams, and visions concerning the ultimate political or ideological organization of the international system.
- **in pursuing long range goals, states normally make universal demands**
- long range visions and dreams may have international repercussions as far as they are complemented by the capabilities and powers
  - After the Communist Revolution of 1917 the Russian communist leaders, Lenin and Stalin reiterated that they would endeavor to expand communist ideology through the every nook and corner of the Globe, as to them the capitalist system was defective and exploitative in its very nature.

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Foreign Policy Behavior: Patterns and Trends

- Foreign policy behavior refers to the actions states take towards each other.
- It is important to note that these ***actions usually are not as ends in themselves***
- Arnold Wolfers, suggested that all foreign policy behavior ultimately boils down to three possible patterns:
  - (1) **self-preservation** (maintaining the status quo);
  - (2) s**elf-extension** (revising the status quo in one‘s own favor);
  - (3) s**elf-abnegatio**n (revising the status quo in some else‘s favor).

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Foreign Policy Dimensions

- Dynamic

Foreign policy behavior can be broadly classified along three crucial dimensions:

1. **Alignment**
2. **Scope and Interest**
3. **Modus operandi or Method of Operation**

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- 1. **Alignment** : the tendencies to choose to ally with some countries or remaining neutral changes with time in response to changing circumstances and policy behavior
- **3 patterns of alignment tendencies**
- Alliances
- Neutrality
- Non Alignment

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FP Dimensions…

- 2. **Scope and Interest :** the scope of which a country decides **to what extent it engages itself in international affairs** or it follows a policy of isolationism
- 3. **Modus operandi or Method of operation:** states exhibit certain characteristics behavior and **patterns to pursue their goals**. These set of patterns could be either Multilateralism or activism

➢ **Multilateralism** refers to seeking joint solutions to problems through institutions like the UN than bilateralism

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Instruments of Foreign Policy

Diplomacy

- Diplomacy can be defined as a process between actors (diplomats, usually representing a state) who exist within a system (international relations) and engage in private and public dialogue to pursue their objectives in a peaceful manner.
- The interaction one state has with another is considered the act of its foreign policy.
- Diplomacy *is not foreign policy* and must be distinguished from it.
- It may be helpful to perceive diplomacy as part of foreign policy
- When a nation-state makes foreign policy it does so for its own national interests
- This act typically takes place via interactions between government personnel through diplomacy.

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Rules of Effective Diplomacy

- **Be realistic:**
- **Be careful about what you say:**
- **Seek common ground:**
- **Understand the other side:**
- **Be patient:**
- **Leave avenues of retreat open:**

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Economic Instruments of Foreign Policy

- **Tariff:**
- **Quota:**
- **Embargo:**
- **Loans, Credits:**
- **Foreign Aid:**
- **Military Aid:**

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Overview of Foreign Policy of Ethiopia

- **Foreign Policy during Tewodros II (1855-1868)**
- Throughout its long history, Ethiopia has been in many ways ***connected to the outside world***.
- Ethiopia has a long history of diplomatic relations with the outside world.
- 'Modern Ethiopia' is understood as Ethiopia **after Tewdros-II**.
- Throughout his reign Tewodros tried to develop ***a dynamic foreign policy that reached out beyond the Horn Region***.

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- He **sought** the **Western Christian** world to **recognize his country and help him to modernize his country**.
- Moreover, as Keller has put it —”he appealed specifically to Britain, France and Russia as Christian nations to assist him in whatever ways possible in his fight against the Turks, Egyptians and Islam”.
- Attempted to establish his diplomatic relations to fight his immediate enemies **claiming Christianity as instrument of foreign policy**

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Foreign Policy during Yohannes IV (1872-1889)

- Yohannes IV succeeded Tewodros II.
- Like his predecessor, Yohannes considered Islam as a threat to the territorial integrity of the polity.
- Indeed Egypt tried to put a serious security threat in its continued attempt to invade the country under many pretexts,
- yet its motive was to control the source of Blue Nile.
- Yohannes IV gave priority to diplomacy than military confrontation.

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Contnd…

- Moreover, Yohannes IV concluded agreements externally with the British and Egyptians.
- He signed **peace *treaties and commercial agreements.***
- The Hewett Treaty (1884) with Anglo-Egyptians was one of the eminent treaties concluded during his reign.
- These, however, were not successful as Egypt faced subsequent defeat both at of Gundet and Gura respectively (Keller)

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Foreign Policy during Menelik II (1889-93)

- Menelik was the King of Shoa region before his coronation as the Kings of Kings of Ethiopia.
- He had expanded his sphere of influence towards the far South and East incorporating new areas and communities peacefully or otherwise
- Before the death of Yohannes Italy had good diplomatic relation with Menelik with the objective of weakening its immediate enemy in the North, Yohannes
- Following the death of Yohannes, however, Italy continued to be the main challenge in the North.

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- scramble of Africa was heightened. Italy expanded towards the hinterland of Ethiopia from its first hold of Bogess, later named Eritrea, and Missawa port crossing Tekeze river.
- The emperor followed double track diplomacy to contain or reverse Italy‘s expansion and maintain the territorial integrity of his country.
- **One of the remarkable treaties was the _*Wuchalle‘ friendship and peace treaty where the parties agreed to avoid war and solve the problem peacefully***

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- However, the emperor‘s diplomatic endeavor with Italy failed to result in peace due to Italy‘s misinterpretation of the controversial article 17 of the *‘Wuchalle’ treaty.*
- According to the Italian version, Ethiopia failed under the protectorate of the former which then led to the abrogation of the _*Wuchale‘ treaty by Ethiopia in 1893.*
- ***On other hand the emperor was preparing himself by accumulating military ammunitions to defend the aggression from any side of colonial powers***
- As a result, Italy prepared for war and started its systematic penetration of the country from the north.

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Policy during Emperor Haile Selassie I (1916-1974)

- To ensure the legal and diplomatic security of the state, he wanted the friendship of the Europeans.
- He made Ethiopia, a member of the League of Nations.
- Ethiopia's policy objectives to enter in to the League of Nations as a member were:
  - To make Ethiopia's defense the responsibility of external power *via* the *collective security* mechanism ;
  - To show Ethiopia's *belief in the power of diplomacy* in international relations;
  - It was a gesture to show that Ethiopia is a *modern* and an *independent* sovereign state i.e. the strategy was to cut the intention of the colonial power' expansion to Ethiopia.

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- His idea of *consolidation* of power at home and his intention of having *many friends* abroad was interrupted by the Italian invasion.
- In the post independence period the most important foreign policy agenda of the Emperor was to reduce the British dominance in Ethiopia and in the Horn of Africa.
- Britain after 1941 dominated important positions. The British predominantly controlled the military and the economy.
- In 1945 the emperor met president Roosevelt of America in Egypt secretly.
- This was aimed at finding other ally.

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Policy during Emperor Haile Selassie I ….

- Emperor Haile Sellassie had different stand as far as British was concerned.
- For one thing he wanted to remove the British from the Horn of Africa because she was dominating the region.
- Secondly, he wanted the British because had it not been for the British support, Emperor Haile Sellassie would not have defeated the challenges of the first ***Woyane Rebellion*** of the Rayas.

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Policy during Emperor Haile Selassie I…

- Anyways the Emperor chose the United States of America than the British.
- This is because,
  - The USA was able to give technical and military assistance in the post war period. This is related with the fact that the Second World War has exhausted other powers in many aspects.
  - The USA is an emerging economic power. The perception was that the USA was able to give ‘liberal’ economic assistance that is not tied to any conditional ties.
- As a result in 1953, Mutual Defense Agreement was signed between the two. For security purpose the treaty had a positive contribution for the Emperor.

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- In general, the foreign policy principles of the Imperial Regime as identified by Professor Ayele Nugussie are three:
  - 1. When there is good will all international disputes will be resolved peacefully. Therefore, one of the objectives was *peaceful resolution of international conflicts*.
  - 2. His continued belief in the membership to and support of international organizations. *Collective security* continued to be another major principle of the government. The failure of the League of Nations in 1935 to safe Ethiopia from Italian invasion did not make him stop believing in collective security. Being member also implies recognition.
  - *3. Strong defense capacity*

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Policy during Emperor Haile Selassie I…

- It can be also stated that the diplomatic and neutrality position of Ethiopia made the OAU to be established in the soil of Ethiopia
- Ethiopia's active involvement in the Non-Alignment Movement after 1955 was also part of the continuation of Ethiopia's support to international originations.
- During this time when the world was divided in to two blocs ideologically, Afro-Asian countries took a neutralist position.
- By joining NAM, Ethiopia wanted to diversity friendship, assistance and diplomatic support.

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Foreign Policy during the Military Government (1974—1991)

- The military regime that took control of state power in 1974 adopted a foreign policy largely oriented to socialist ideology.
- The primary objectives of the foreign policy were **survival of the regime and maintaining the territorial integrity** of the country.
- Apart from these, restructuring the society along socialist lines was also considered as the foundation for the foreign policy motives at home.
- The major strategy to achieve the stated objectives heavily focused on building the military capability of the country.

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- The Dergue regime was actively involved in African politics.
- The military regime supported Africa issues or liberation movements.
- Ethiopia’s prestige in Africa also continued.
- Bringing the country’s foreign policy with in the orbit of the Eastern bloc was the dramatic reversal.
- This was highly influenced by the 1977/78 Ethiopia-Somalia War.
- Soviet Union was the willing and capable power to assist the military regime to channel weapons.

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- It was the Cubans who sent troops to fight the Somalia aggressions and weapons were from Soviet Union.
- The regime became friendly with Libya, South Yemen and the former Eastern European states especially with East German.
- However, the Dergue's foreign policy was not successful in winning the support of the West.

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The reasons for the failure of the Dergue's foreign policy were:

- The regime cracked down by the various opposition groups. Its choice of using force to put down its opposition groups changed the minds of the masses
- It is external relation with Western Europe was not positive rather it was abysmal.
- Bad human rights record because of Red Terror
- Famine and hunger that become recurrent under the regime
- The Dergue's turn to the Soviet Union. To weaken Mengistu the west supported TPLF and EPLF.

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The Foreign Policy of Ethiopia in the Post 1991

- Ethiopia‘s foreign policy is driven primarily by the quest to ensure national interest and security.
  - To ensure the survival of the multi- national state.
- National interest of the country is understood in terms of realizing the ***real interest of the people mainly democracy and development.***
- It refers to the primary interest of the people to live freely from poverty, disease and ignorance
  - In this regard, foreign policy has been considered as an instrument to solve the domestic problems of the country, including; lack of good governance, instability and lack of economic development

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- The foreign policy of Ethiopia has been designed to create favorable external environment
  - to achieve rapid economic development and build up democratic system.
- The primary strategy in realization of these goals is to put the focus on domestic issues first.
  - ***This strategy is called an —inside-out approach.***
- The inside out approach would help to reduce the countries vulnerability to threat.

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- At diplomatic level, economic diplomacy is adopted to strengthen the domestic efforts in fighting poverty and address the issues of development.
  - ED involves attracting foreign investments, seeking markets for Ethiopian exportable commodities, seeking aid and confessional loans too.
- The Security and Foreign Policy of the country also indicated that Ethiopia would adopt a kind of **East-look policy.**
- Ethiopia appreciates the East Asian countries economic successes and development paths.
- The other foreign policy strategy is building up the ***military capability of the country.***

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synthesis

- Though strategies of all regimes sometimes differ the primary foreign policy objective of all the three regimes remained the maintenance of the territorial integrity and independence of the country.
- To this end the **three regimes used** a combination of **both military force and diplomacy to address both internal and external challenges** depending on the circumstances.

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