

Chapter 2: Understanding Foreign Policy and Diplomacy

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Chapter Objectives

Up on completing this unit, students will be able to:

- Acquaint themselves with the debates on national interest
- Appreciate different patterns of foreign policy behavior
- Understand the different tactics and instruments of foreign policy
- Analyze how power or capabilities influence foreign policy decisions and behavior
- Critically examine the foreign policy determinants of Ethiopia under successive regimes

Brainstorming Exercise

1. Have you ever thought about national interest? If so what do you think is it?
2. As a citizen, have you ever participated in setting the national interest of your country? If so, explain how?
3. What are its characteristics and whose interest is represented in it?

2.1. Defining National Interest

- National interest refers to set of values, orientation, goals and objectives a given country would like to achieve in its international relations.
- It has been the main driving force that determines the contents of foreign policy.
- It is the reason of State to justify its actions and policy towards other states at international level
- There are controversies regarding the exact meaning, scope and contents of national interests
- A. K. Holsti says: “an image of the future state of affairs and future set of conditions that governments aspire to achieve
- Seabury defines in terms of Normative(set of purposes which a nation...should seek) and descriptive sense(those purposes to be pursued persistently over time)

Criteria used in defining National Interest

- operational philosophy: what is happening around you (past/present/future)?
 - a) *Synoptic style (better informed assumption)*: act in a bold and sweeping fashion (introduce all new)
 - b) *incremental style*: act in caution, probing, and experimental fashion (assumes complexity)- **conservative**
- Moral (commitment to agreed/accepted) and legal criteria,
- pragmatic criteria (the practical utility of merit/rationality of your action will be counted other than morality and personal sentiments)
- ideological criteria (underlying ideological orientations of the regime in power against the prevailing one)

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- professional advancement (personal success matters i.e. more conformist Vs resisting of new/change to politics)
- partisan criteria (be biased to prioritize the most important state survival/party survival, etc)
- foreign -dependency criteria (developing on developed)

The Realists Vs Idealists view on the Criterion

Realists	Idealists
- reject the ideological, legal and moral criteria - prioritize pragmatic criteria (objectively defined in terms of ensuring survival and security of a state) - a rational diplomat is a prudent diplomat (balancing needs and aspirations with others)	• strong belief in the relevance of legal, ideological and moral elements • the marriage of different criteria that include legal and moral criteria, ideological criteria and prudence or pragmatism-practical necessities on the ground. • call for global solutions than local (national) solutions

Q: What, how and why is Foreign Policy

- Foreign policy refers to the sets of objectives and instruments that a state adopts to guide its relation with the outside world.
- It involves the general purposes and specific strategies a state employs to achieve or promote its national interest (survival, preserving identity, security...)
- Foreign policy also involves specific instruments and tactics that must be employed to realize those objectives and goals.
- The most widely employed instruments include, diplomatic bargaining, economic instruments, propaganda, terrorism (sabotage), and use of force (war).

Foreign Policy Objectives

- Foreign policy objectives can be short, medium or long term
- Such classifications of foreign policy objectives is based on the combination of 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

Based on this, FP objectives are

- (1) core values and interests, to which states commit their very existence and that must be preserved or extended at all time;
- (2) middle range goals, which normally impose demands on several others states (commitments to their achievement are serious and time limit is also attached to them); and

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(3) universal long range goals-which seldom have definite time limits. In practice, leaders rarely place the highest value on long range goals and it's very much dependent on the capability and ideology of the state

Core(short range)	Middle Range	Long Range
- most people are willing to make ultimate sacrifices - stated in the form of basic principles of foreign policy and become article of faith - the self preservation of core values (base for others) - Exact defn. depends on the attitudes of those who make foreign policy but mostly common from state to state	- drastically varies across states (capability matters) - take a course of actions that have the highest impact on the domestic economic and welfare needs through r/ns - Attempts to meet economic-betterment demands - To be achieved within not short-not long time period	- Is about influencing the external environment - plans, dreams, and visions concerning the ultimate political or ideological organization of the international system, and rules governing relations in that system. - in pursuing long range goals, states normally make universal demands

Foreign Policy Behavior: Patterns and Trends

- Foreign policy behavior refers to the actions states take towards each other.
- It is not easy to label countries as simply peace loving or war-like. But patterns of the behaviors are visible
- Arnold Wolfers suggested that all foreign policy behavior ultimately boils down to three possible patterns:
 - (1) self-preservation (maintaining the status quo); eg. USA
 - (2) self-extension (revising the status quo in one's own favor); eg. NEP (Newly emerging Power: China, India, Brazil, German)
 - (3) self-abnegation (revising the status quo in some else's favor); eg. LDC (weak states) (compromise its long lasting national interest for temporary and immediate benefits)

2.2.4. Foreign Policy Dimensions

- It is all about how behaviors are expressed: alignment, scope and modus operandi
- **Alignment:** *alliance, neutrality and non-alignment*
 - **alliance:** formal agreements to provide mutual military assistance; they carry legal weight and certain benefits as well as risks (interference by the ally);
 - **Neutrality:** formal non partisanship in world affairs;
 - **Nonalignment:** not aligning with one or the other side
- **Scope:** Some countries have extensive, far-reaching international contacts, while other countries have more limited activities abroad. Three patterns of foreign policy behaviors: some actors act in **Global** terms, others at **Regional** terms, and those that follow policy of **Isolationism**.

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- ***Mode of Operation/ “Modus Operandi”***
 - Is the method of operation opt by a given state such as Unilateral(acting by own capability/resource), Bilateral (one to one) or Multilateral(through Inter Gov’tal Organizations).
 - Uni/Bilateral are costly than multilateral
 - More powerful states, mostly opt Unilateral
 - The more unilateral, the more likely to initiate actions or resist initiatives by others
 - The more multilateralist a state is, the greater its tendency to seek solutions to problems through diplomatic forums
 - The unilateralists may use carrot and stick approach

2.2.5. Instruments of Foreign Policy

- ***Diplomacy***
 - a system of structured communication between two or more parties
 - Is historical but differs from modern times (earlier not organized, latter years-formalistic, rigid, bilateral)
 - diplomacy can promote exchanges that enhance trade, culture, wealth and knowledge.
 - Is a process between actors (diplomats, usually representing a state) who exist within a system (international relations) and engage in private and public dialogue (diplomacy) to pursue their objectives in a peaceful manner.
 - **two key ingredients of FP**: its actions and its strategies for achieving its goals.

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- To interact without diplomacy would typically limit a state's foreign policy actions to conflict (usually war, but also via economic sanctions) or espionage(spying).
- Diplomats are there to bargain interests of their states (through persuasion, offering rewards, exchange concessions, or making threats, etc)
- Diplomatic bargaining is used primarily to reach agreements, compromises, and settlements where governments' objectives conflict.
- diplomacy is being conducted for the most part between states.
- **Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations (1961)**
assumes only states. But in modern times, IGOs, INGOS and/or NGOs

Rules of Effective Diplomacy

- **Be realistic:** have goals that match your ability to achieve them
- **Be careful about what you say**
- **Seek common ground:** maintain a degree of flexibility
- **Understand the other side**
- **Be patient**
- **Leave avenues of retreat (withdrawal) open**
- **“carrot and stick” (mostly used)**

Economic Instruments of Foreign Policy

- There hardly exists a state that is self-sufficient.
- Degree of dependence and interdependence varies across states.
- states often use their economic muscle to influence the behavior (reward or punish through the manipulation of economic policies)

Q: Why Economic instruments used by states?

- to achieve any foreign policy objective by exploiting need and dependence and offering economic rewards, or threat, ending or imposing economic punishments
- to increase a state's capability or deprive a potential enemy's capabilities ;and
- to create economic satellites (guaranteed markets and resources of supply) or help maintain political obedience in satellites by creating a relationship of economic dependence

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- Some of these economic instruments are: tariffs, quotas, boycotts, embargos, and aid.
1. **Tariff** (tax to protect domestic products)
 2. **Quota** (limiting the amount of product)
 3. **Boycott** (eliminate the import or export)
 4. **Embargo** (prohibiting transaction with company's)
 5. **Loans, Credits and Currency Manipulations**
 6. **Foreign Aid:** military aid, technical assistance, grants and commodity import program, and development loans

2.3. Overview of Foreign Policy of Ethiopia

2.3.1. Foreign Policy during Tewodros II (1855-1868)

- **from** the chaotic Era of Princes
- concerned with establishing control over the fragmented parts of the Empire
- He wanted to create a united Ethiopia
- introduced the idea of modernity and modern army
- tried to develop a dynamic foreign policy that reached out beyond the Horn Region
- sought the Western Christian world to recognize his country (Britain, France and Russia) in his fight against the Turks, Egyptians and Islam, claiming Christianity as instrument of foreign policy

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- When his passionate demand for modern technology and skilled man power from Britain was not responded,
- took desperate measures by taking hostage of several British missionaries
- Tewodros's Troops were easily defeated and the King did not surrender but tragically committed suicide.

2.3.2. Foreign Policy during Yohannes IV (1872-1889)

- Similarly, considered Islam as a threat to the territorial integrity
- With motive to control the source of Blue Nile, Egypt attempted several battles but lost in Gundet and Gura.
- saw European expansionism as greater threat to the survival of the country, Italy at Massawa; but died fighting with Mahadists (believing Emp. Collaborating with Britain)

2.3.3. Foreign Policy during Menelik II (1889-1903)

- was aware of the strategic importance of outlet to the sea
- His southward expansionism policy was mainly targeted to have access to Sea Port, Zeila
- Italy had good diplomatic relation with Menelik before throne, and he comfortably exploited the opportunity to consolidate his power
- Italy expanded towards the hinterland of Ethiopia from its first hold of Bogoss, later named Eritrea
- The emperor followed double track diplomacy to contain or reverse Italy's expansion and maintain the territorial integrity of his country

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- On the one hand, he entered many treaties and agreements to solve the challenge amicably e.g. '*Wuchalle*' friendship and peace treaty
- At the same time, preparing to defend militarily
- due to Italy's misinterpretation of the treaty, Ethiopia abrogated it (Claims Italy to be Ethiopia's protectorate)
- Italy started the war; Ethiopia won at Adowa, 1896.
- many European powers recognized Ethiopia as an independent African state, resulting in formal exchange of Ambassadors including Italy
- As the boundary issue was not settled, there have been disputes and counter claims with the neighboring countries especially with Sudan, Somalia and Eritrea
- Ethiopia's foreign policy of the forthcoming rulers has significantly been informed by the notion of territorial integrity of the country.
- And the issue of outlet to the sea remained the burning question determining its policy and role in the region.

2.3.4. Foreign Policy during Emperor Haile Selassie I (1916-1974)

- dedicated to the creation of a stronger, centralized and bureaucratic empire with unquestioned respect by the international community
- Teferi Mekonen, facilitated Ethiopia's entry to the League of Nations (1923), instigated by the ever present danger of invasion by Italians.
- When the Italian Fascists finally invaded Ethiopia between 1936 and 1941, the Emperor fled to London and established a government in exile
- the League ultimately failed to take any substantive measure against Italy and the plea of the King was ignored
- The emperor recognized Ethiopia's need for a powerful external patron until he could restore the independence of his country

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- His diplomatic skills and Britain's own strategic necessities in the area enabled him to elicit the aid of the British in securing the liberation of Ethiopia.
- Fearing of British, the Emperor moved to seek alternative relationships that would allow him to loosen Ethiopia's tie with Britain
- As an emerging power, U.S was willing to heed emperors plead to strengthen diplomatic relations
- Through diplomacy, Haile Selassie was able to regain complete administrative control over the territory he claimed and more by 1954.
- In 1952, a U.N. resolution had made possible a federation between Ethiopia and the former Italian colony of Eritrea.

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- British Military Aid was withdrawn in 1952, and the King moved quickly to firm up relations with the United States
- USA setting up a radio tracking station in Eritrea
- Two agreements were concluded in 1953 to formalize this new relationship
- Military Assistance Advisory Group (from US) trained Ethiopian force for 23 years (since 1954)
 - \$ 280 million
 - 3978 trained soldiers in USA
- played significant role in fighting colonialism and apartheid
- Was founding member of UNO
- Was one of the founding fathers of Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1963

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- peacekeeping operations in Korea in 1951 and the Congo in 1961
- Of course the emperor's strategic alliance with outside powers helped him to stay on power for decades.
 - restore and consolidate his power again by eliminating his potential rivals at home
 - distanced potential rivals (Italy, Somalia, Sudan, ...)
 - secured the territorial integrity of the country and also secured port through Eritrea

2.3.5. Foreign Policy during the Military Government (1974—1991)

- adopted a foreign policy largely oriented to socialist ideology
- primary objectives of the foreign policy were
 - survival of the regime and
 - maintaining the territorial integrity of the country
- The major strategy to achieve the stated objectives heavily focused on building the military capability of the country
- the country was very much dependent on economic and military aid on the others (i.e. Soviet Union)
- This resulted in declining Ethio-US relations
- Many external actors were involved in sponsoring the rebel group, including; Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Sudan, Somalia and later USA itself

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- The corner stone of Ethiopia's foreign policy at the time was maintaining continuing friendship with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.
- The Soviet Union and its allies were thus able to exert immense influence in both domestic and foreign affairs of Ethiopia.
- Apart from socialism, Ethiopia's strategic locations (in the Horn) and other questions, such as; Eritrea, Somalia, and the issue of the Nile, had also shaped the foreign policy orientation and behavior of military government.
- played significant role against colonization and apartheid
- Supported Angola, Rhodesia, Palestine (against Israel)
- The country's policy towards its neighbors, the region, and the Arab world remained unchanged

2.3.6. The Foreign Policy of Ethiopia in the Post 1991

- a new foreign policy orientation and objectives were adopted
- driven primarily by the quest to ensure national interest and security
 - ensuring the survival of the multi- national state
 - realizing the real interest of the people mainly democracy and development (EFP visions)
- domestic problems were identified as the main challenges to ensuring the survival and national interest of the people
- Due to this, “inside-out” approach was devised (forging national consensus and reducing vulnerability to foreign)
- At diplomatic level, economic diplomacy is adopted (involves attracting foreign investments, seeking markets for Ethiopian exportable commodities, seeking aid and concessional loans too)

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- Economic diplomacy helps the country to cope up with the challenges of globalization through creating self reliant and sustainable development
- a kind of East-look policy was also adopted i.e. appreciates the East Asian countries' economic successes and development paths
- Peaceful dialogues and negotiations are of priority but
- building up the military capability of the country is another strategical approach to preserve security and national interest. And recently, some changes are [there](#).

Changes and Continuities over the last 3 regimes

- There are, but all worked to maintain the territorial integrity and independence; to this end
- All employed a combination of both military force and diplomacy

