

Chapter Two

Understanding Foreign Policy and Diplomacy

- **National Interest** is the sum total of all the national values which a nation pursues or projects objectively in its interactions with other nations in the international arena for the **common goal of the country**.
 - the **reason of state** to justify its actions and policy towards other states.
 - Set of values, orientation, goals and objectives of a given country in IR.
 - The main driving force for the contents of foreign policy.
 - Has Normative and Descriptive sense.
- NI may focus on one or more of the following:
 - **Economic prosperity**
 - **Security and Safety**
 - **Beliefs and values**
- National interest is not static or not unchanging.
- Events within a country can change people's opinion about what is in the national interest.

Differing Views of National Interest



For example, many Canadians take pride in Canada's reputation as a nation of peacekeepers. Their course of action may depend on whether or not it promotes peace in the world.

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In another example the Chinese government believes that a strong military is essential. “China’s military might is meant to safeguard it’s own security and stability. It is meant to deter the hostile elements of Cold War mentality who attempt to threaten China’s national

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- For **Colmbis**, there are multiple **criteria used in defining national interest**:

A. Operational Philosophy: two major style of operation.

1. Act in a bold and sweeping **fashion-synoptic in the decision making literature**.
2. Act in caution, probing, and experimental fashion(**incremental in the decision making literature**).

B. Ideological Criteria: governments employ ideological criteria and establish their relations on the basis of that criteria.

C. Moral and Legal Criteria: sometimes states are expected to act morally equated with acting honestly in public decision.

D. Pragmatic Criteria: decisions are made without considering normative issues, issues that involves judgment, be it bad or good.

E. Professional Advancement Criteria: action may be manipulated and adjusted in consideration of your personal success .

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- **F. Partisan Criteria:** 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.
- **G. Foreign Dependency Criteria:** apply to less developing countries, who are colonized, and even after political independence.

How has national interest shaped foreign policy?

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- A country's government is responsible for developing both domestic policy and foreign policy.
- Foreign policy decisions may have short term effects or long term effects.
- Some foreign policy decisions made at the end of World War I are still affecting the world today.
- Many people believe that the turmoil in the Middle Eastern countries related directly to the foreign policy decisions of the United States and European countries as they pursued their own national interest.
- Just as national interest shapes foreign policy, foreign policy can also affect national interest.
- For example, a governments foreign policies can affect its citizens safety and security, their economic future, and their values and culture.

2. 2.1. Defining Foreign Policy

- Foreign policy is defined as the totality of a country's policies toward and interactions with the environment beyond its borders.
- Is the courses of action adopted by a nation in the interest of the welfare of its peoples.
- **FP** of a state is the actions, decisions and goals that states pursue towards.
- Adopted to achieve and promote **national interests**.
- Involves the **general purposes and specific strategies**.

❖ Why Study Foreign Policy?

Elements of the Concept of Foreign Policy

1. There is a wide circle of important actors actively present in the international relations of the globalized world.
2. Foreign policy is managed in the name of the State and for the State by the organs authorised for this particular function.
3. Foreign policy of every State is influenced by the international environment.
4. Foreign policy is a constant process of undertaking one's own initiatives and adapting to the initiatives of others.
5. The foreign policy ambitions of every State comes up against certain restrictions (endogenous & exogenous).
6. In the enforcement of a country's self-interest, there are various means that can be employed in the foreign policy of any State.

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- Elements of foreign policy

Tangible

- Geography
- Natural resources

Intangible

Industrial
Economy
population

Cont'd

- **Who or what influences foreign policy?**
- shaped by both **external and internal** factors.

1. External Factors-

- International regimes
- International organizations
- The prevalence of great powers at international level

2. Internal factors-

- The economic
- Technological and
- Military capabilities of states
- The idiosyncrasy of leaders

2.2.2. Foreign Policy Objectives

- **Foreign policy objectives** can be understood as a range of intended actions as well as a set of strategies adopted by some sovereign actors to express purpose of influencing the behaviour of other sovereign actors within the international system.
- There three classifications of **FP objectives**:

A. Core Interests and Values (Short Range Objectives):

- Core value or interest in a country depends on the attitudes of foreign policy makers.
- The most essential short range objective are:
 - To ensure the sovereignty and independence of the home territory
 - To perpetuate a particular political, social, and economic systems based on that territory.

B. Middle Range Objectives:

- Are the primary commitment of many **modern governments**

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- have the **highest impact** on **domestic, economic and welfare needs and expectations.**
- Related with very great demands of people on governments to provide them essential services.
- Focus at the importance of **interdependence** to satisfy domestic needs and aspirations

C. Long- Range Objectives

- Objectives aiming at restructuring the international system.
- Plans and dreams which an ideology forms to establish the **IS** of its own liking
- Are the universal demands of states to reconstruct an entire **IS.**
- Every country has its own visions and ambition proportional to its relative strength.

2.2.3. Foreign Policy Behavior: Patterns and Trends

- **Foreign policy behavior**; is the acting out of the decision. refers to the actions states take towards each other.
- **Example**, it would be the act of invading Kuwait by Iraq
- These actions usually are not as ends in themselves.
- consists of the actions taken to influence the behavior of an **external actor** or to **secure a benefit for the country itself**.
- The outcome of actions depends not just on the **decision taken by the leaders** of one country, but also on how **other actors in the international environment** react to those actions.
- Arnold Wolfers suggested that all foreign policy behavior ultimately boils down to **three possible patterns**:
 1. **Self-preservation**-maintaining the status quo;
 2. **Self-extension**-revising the status quo in one's own favor
 3. **Self-abnegation**-revising the status quo in some else's favor

2.2.4. Foreign Policy Dimensions

- Specific foreign policy behaviors in light of **three** dimensions :
 1. **Alignment; refers to the tendency of a given state's external policy in terms of another state.**
 - Alignment tendencies may be such as **alliance, neutrality** and **non-alignment**.
 - A. **Alliances;** Are formal agreements to provide mutual military assistance.
 - B. **Neutrality;** is a stance of formal nonpartisanship in world affairs.
 - C. **Nonalignment:** NAM during the WW II called for a new foreign policy path/choice/ to be followed disregarding the both competing sides.
 2. **Scope:** is the scope of a country's activities and interests.
 - There are at least **three patterns of foreign policy behaviors**.

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I. act in **Global terms**; E. g. US foreign policy

II. Act in **Regional terms**

III. Act in policy of **Isolationism**

- Most countries in the world are essentially regional actors.

3. **Mode of Operation/ “Modus Opernadi”;**

- States with values of **Multilateralism** have tendency to seek solutions to problems through **diplomatic forums**.
- **Most developing countries** used the multilateral approaches to address many issues of concern.
- However, most countries that have strong economic and military muscles would prefer **unilateral approach** to settle problems.
- They play the **carrot and stick diplomacy** to affect the outcomes of events.

2.2.5. Instruments of Foreign Policy

- Instruments of foreign policy includes the followings:
- **A. Diplomacy:** defined as a peaceful process of achieving interests or resolving problems between actors.
- It is the **primary political instrument** used by states in pursuing foreign policy.
- It is a technique of coercion, persuasion, adjustment and reaching agreement through **direct communication**.
- The traditional diplomacy lacked many of the **characteristics of modern diplomacy**.
- **Diplomats** engage in private and public dialogue to pursue their objectives in a peaceful manner.
- Diplomatic practice **before WW I**;
 - Secret diplomacy
 - bilateral diplomacy
 - was the business of ambassadors,

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- Diplomatic practice **after WW I**; when President Woodrow Wilson inaugurated what is known as “**democratic diplomacy**”;
 - multilateral diplomacy
 - public diplomacy,
 - leader-to-leader (summitry diplomacy).
- However, the essence of diplomacy remains **bargaining in both trends.**
- **Bargaining-** a means of settling differences over priorities between contestants through an exchange of proposals for mutually acceptable solutions.
- **Diplomacy** is not an end but a means; not a purpose but a method
- It is the **agency** through which foreign policy seeks to attain its purpose by agreement rather than by war.
- Both **FP and diplomacy** aim at promoting and protecting **the interests of a nation.**

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

B. Economic Instruments; used to achieve the foreign policy of objective of a state through the manipulation of economic policies.

- Used as a supporting tool for diplomacy.
- They are used to influence positions between states, either as rewards or punishment with the specific techniques of economic instruments such as;
 - Tariff Embargo
 - Quota Loans, Credits and Currency Manipulations
 - Boycott Foreign Aid

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- The choice of a technique or combinations of techniques to be used will be influenced by:
 - ✓ The goals being pursued
 - ✓ The type of Economic sensitivity
 - ✓ Vulnerability
 - ✓ The estimated effectiveness of alternative techniques.

C. *The military arm;* State use compulsive and coercive power unilaterally or collectively as a last option.

- is usually the last measures to be applied when dealing with others and when other measures seems to be failing.

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D. *Propaganda*; this is a deliberate attempt by governments to influence the attitudes and behavior of foreign populations or of specific ethnic, religious class.

- Imposing influence using the media (electronic and press).
- Propaganda is government-to-population activity.

E. *Game theory* – this is like *chess playing* on a board. There are different games, including: *Win-win* game, *Win-lose* game and *Zero-sum* game.

2.3. Overview of Foreign Policy of Ethiopia

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

- Introduced the idea of modernity and modern army at the time.
- Tried to develop a **dynamic foreign policy** that reached out beyond the Horn Region.
- Attempted to establish his diplomatic relations to fight his immediate enemies.
- However, the emperor's passionate demand for modern technology and skilled man power from Britain was not concluded to his satisfaction.
- Demanded to be recognized as the emperor of Ethiopia.

- Egypt tried to put a serious security threat in its continued attempt to invade the country to control the source of Blue Nile.
- However, Egypt faced subsequent defeat both in 1875 and 1876 at the Battle of **Gundet and Gura** respectively.
- The emperor saw Muslim and European expansionism as greater threat to the **survival of the country**.
- His calculation of threat has turned out to be real as **Italy** got a foot hold at the **port of Massawa in 1885**.
- The **Sudanese resistance groups** against British rule happened to invade Western Ethiopia and the emperor died fighting with the Mahadists.

- Expanded his sphere of influence towards the far South and East.
- Southward expansionism-targeted to have access to Sea Port, **Zeila**.
- He Was searching of the strategic outlet to the sea for the country.
- The country's access to the sea in the **North** had fallen under Italy's influence since the mid **1890s**.
- Before the death of Yohannes **Italy** had good diplomatic relation with **Menelik** with the objective of weakening **Yohannes IV**.
- He comfortably exploited the opportunity to consolidate his power and bolster his **expansionist policy to the south**.
- Italy continued to be the main challenge in the North.
- Followed double track diplomacy to contain or reverse Italy's expansion: treaties and agreements as well as reversing by war.
- After Adwa victory, many powers signed formal boundary treaties with the emperor, yet were not demarcated.

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- Ethiopia's foreign policy of the next rulers has significantly been informed by the notion of territorial integrity of the country.
- The issue of outlet to the sea remained the burning question determining its policy and role in the region.

- Was dedicated to the creation of a stronger, centralized and bureaucratic empire with **unquestioned respect** by the international community.
- Facilitated Ethiopia's entry to the League of Nations.
- Viewing the League of Nations' inaction, the King continued to believe in the ultimate value of effective diplomacy.
- Recognized Ethiopia's need for a powerful external patron until he could restore the independence of his country.
- His diplomatic skills enabled him to elicit the aid of the British in securing the **liberation of Ethiopia**.
- In the immediate **post-war period**, Ethiopia was extremely dependent on British military, economic and technical aid.
- As an **emerging power**, U.S was willing to heed emperors plead to strengthen diplomatic relations.

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- Was able to regain complete administrative control over the territory he claimed by 1954.
- The United States contributed to the expansion of Ethiopian military as a hedge against the Somalia threats.
- Played significant role in Africa in fighting for African independence and to end colonialism and apartheid.
- The establishment of the organization of African Unity in the capital is witness.
- Played a significant role in maintaining international peace and security in Korea in 1951 and the Congo in 1961.

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

- Foreign policy largely oriented to **socialist ideology**.
- **Primary objectives**-survival of the regime and maintaining the territorial integrity of the country.
- The **foundation for the foreign policy motives** at home-restructuring the society along socialist lines
- The major **strategy to achieve the objectives**-building the military capability of the country.
- **Force**-employed as the best strategy to silence dissent at home and deter the external enemies of the country.
- Friendship and alliance with **Socialist countries** of the world was considered as a viable strategy.
- Heavily dependent on military aid on the Soviet Union.
- condemned by the west for its human rights record.

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- Internal and external enemies began to take action to hasten the demise of the regime.
- Ethiopia's strategic locations and other questions had also shaped the foreign policy orientation and behavior of the government.
- Foreign policy towards Sudan was based in part on the mistrust of the Arab Northerners as well.
- The negative perception that most Arab countries have towards Ethiopia remained unchanged.
- Foreign policy towards its neighbors, the region, and the Arab world was **similar to its predecessors**.

2.3.6. The Foreign Policy of Ethiopia in the Post 1991

- EPDRF adopted a new foreign policy orientation and objectives.
- Driven primarily by the quest to ensure **national interest and security**.
- One of the goals of the foreign policy is to ensure the survival of the **multi- national state**.
- Designed to create **favorable external environment** to achieve:
 - Rapid economic development and
 - Build up democratic system.
- **Democracy and development** are the foreign policy visions of the country.
- Addressing **domestic political and economic problems** requires forging **national consensus- inside-out approach**.
- This was planned to reduce the countries **vulnerability to threat**.
- The reason is that the **internal problems** invite the **outside enemies** to come in and exploit that opportunities.

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- **Economic diplomacy** is adopted to strengthen the domestic efforts in fighting poverty and backwardness.
- **Economic diplomacy** involves:
 - attracting foreign investments
 - seeking markets for Ethiopian exportable commodities
 - seeking aid and concessional loans too.
 - exploiting opportunities from globalization
- The **Security and Foreign Policy** adopted a kind of **East-look policy** such as Singapore, Malaysian and Indonesia.
- **Building up the military capability** of the country was the other **FP** strategy.
- **Peaceful dialogues and negotiations** will be employed to **peacefully coexist with others**.
- N.B. The **three regimes** used a combination of both **military force and diplomacy** to address both internal and external challenges.

The End !!!