

Global Affairs: GTr 1012

First Semester

2019/2020 Academic Year

Instructor: Hagos Weldekidan

Course Assessment:

1.30% Mid Exam

2.50% Final Exam

3.20% left for the instructor

Course Description

- ❖ Global Affairs is designed to equip students with the basics of international relations so that you will be exposed to global challenges and perspectives.
- ❖ The course is very comprehensive, broad and multidisciplinary in its nature.
- ❖ Perhaps you may find it as an ice-breaking course since it touches up on wide range of issues, concepts, theories, approaches and debates that are helpful in understanding the contemporary international relations.
- ❖ Concepts, such as national interest, foreign policy, actors, globalization, balance of power, cold war, multi-polar systems, international law and other relevant concepts are being introduced.
- ❖ Different debates and approaches to the study of international relations including realism, liberalism are also given due emphasis.

Course Objectives

- ✓ After completing this course, students will be able to:
- ✓ Understand nations, nationalism and states
- ✓ Explain the nature and historical development of international relations
- ✓ Examine the extent and degree of influence of state and non-state actors in the international system
- ✓ Gain basic knowledge of the major theories of International Relations and develop the ability to critically evaluate and apply such theories
- ✓ Elucidate national interest, foreign policy and diplomacy

Course Objectives... Contd

- ✓ Assess the overriding foreign policy guidelines of Ethiopia in the past and present
- ✓ Explicate the nature and elements of international political economy
- ✓ Examine the roles major international and regional institutions play in world politics
- ✓ Explore Ethiopia's role in regional, continental and global institutions and affairs
- ✓ Critically evaluate the major contemporary global issues

Chapter One

Understanding International Relations

- ✓ International relations, as it is presented in the flow of daily news concern a large number of disparate events; leaders are meeting, negotiations are concluded, wars are started, acts of terror committed, and so on.
- ✓ In order to make sense of all this information we need to know a lot about the contemporary world and its history; we need to understand how all the disparate events hang together.

1.1. Conceptualizing Nationalism, Nations and States

- ❖ The term state, nation and nation-state are usually used interchangeably in discussion of international relations. Technically, however, these terms have different meanings.
- ❖ **Nation** is a large group of people who are bound together because of their language, culture, history, etc.
- ❖ They recognize similarities among themselves, because of a common culture, heritage, language, religion and race. In particular a common language seems important in creating nationhood.
- ✓ Many states and nations do not coincide.
- ✓ Nation is a psychological fixation
- ✓ Nations do not necessarily coincide with the political boundaries.

- ❖ **The State** is a geographically bounded entity governed by central authority that has the ability to make laws, rules and decisions and to enforce those laws, rules and decisions within its boundary.
- ❖ The state is legal entity recognized under international law.
- ❖ In the UN membership is given to a state not to any particular government.
- ❖ **Nation-state** means a state whose inhabitants consider themselves to be a nation.
- ❖ It is geographically bounded legal entity under a single government, population of which psychologically considers itself to be in some way, shape, or form related.
- ❖ Modern states are commonly called nation-state even though they are not.
- ❖ For example, the boundaries of most African states

- ❖ Further, ethnic groups are divided by the state boundaries and found themselves inhabiting several different states.
- ❖ Such countries that include which large percentage of more than one nationality are states not nation-states.
- ❖ And some group oppose colonial boundary, in which the same ethnic found in two or more states.
- ❖ Most African states are multiethnic states.
- ❖ However, there are group which oppose the colonial made boundaries called irredentists.
- ❖ **Irredentist** is a person advocating the restoration to his/her country of any territory formerly belonging to him/her.
- ❖ The dream of greater Somalia is an example.

Nationalism versus Internationalism

- ❖ Both 'nationalism' and 'internationalism' have been central factors in shaping our world order.
- ❖ Both nationalism and internationalism are significant forces in world affairs
- ❖ These conflicting, yet intertwined concepts and tendencies are very important to understand the globe.
- ❖ **Nationalism** is an ideology which claims supreme loyalty from individuals for the concepts of nation and the state that represents.
- ❖ As such nationalism brings together the concepts of state, nation, and nation state
- ❖ Nationalism is both
 - ✓ Cohesive (centripetal)
 - ✓ Divisive (centrifugal) force

- ❖ In its cohesive sense, it often pressures on all citizens to pledge allegiance to the state even if some groups have other loyalties.
- ❖ Nationalism develops the 'They' and 'We' group thinking.
- ❖ Nationalism makes people to see themselves as essentially different from other nationalities.
- ❖ It can also lead people to ascribe superiority over others.
- ❖ Nationalism creates a desire to control and exploit other people, their territories and wealth.
- ❖ It promotes the idea of self-interested sovereignty.
- ❖ Nationalism has served as powerful force in striving for independence by nations that were formerly under colonial control or other external dominations.
- ❖ It blocks the path to a global consciousness and

- ❖ **Internationalism** is closely related to interdependence, globalism and trans-nationalism.
- ❖ It is a focus on betterment of oneself while benefiting the world, and stresses cooperation and teamwork.
- ❖ Mobility and accessibility are replacing the old rooted, isolated existence of mankind from one end of the globe to the other.
- ❖ We are drawn together by the interconnectedness;
- ✓ the advancement and the improvement in transport, communication and information
- ✓ as well as economy and political factors change the globe into small village.
- ❖ Both nationalism and internationalism can be seen as significant forces in world affairs

1.2 Understanding International Relations

We now live in a world where it is impossible to isolate our experiences and transactions from an international dimension.

International Relations (IR)?

❖ International Relations (IR) is the study of foreign affairs and relations among sovereign states within the international system, including the roles of

- ✓ States
- ✓ Inter-Governmental Organizations (IGOs),
- ✓ Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and
- ✓ Multinational Corporations MNCs)

❖ Today, international relations could be used to describe a range of interactions between people, groups, firms, associations, parties, nations or states or between these and (non) governmental international organizations.

- ❖ The nature IR obviously involves both conflict and cooperation.
- ❖ Usually peace and conflict are intermingling in all human affairs, including in the international context.
- ❖ These relations can be on political, economic, cultural, technological and other interaction by governmental and non-governmental actors.
- ❖ Particular areas of study within the field of IR include diplomacy and diplomatic history, international law, international organizations, international finance and economics, and communications, among others.
- ❖ It can be both a theoretical subject and a practical or policy subject, and academic

- ❖ It is often considered a branch of political science, but it is also a subject studied by historians (international or diplomatic history), and economists (international economics).
- ❖ As well, it is a field of legal studies (public international law) and an area of philosophy (international ethics).
- ❖ From that broader perspective IR clearly is an interdisciplinary inquiry.
- ❖ Aspects of international relations, and in particular war and diplomacy, have been scrutinized and remarked upon at least since the time of the ancient Greek historian Thucydides, but IR only became a proper academic discipline in the early twentieth century.

- ❖ Earlier approaches of IR gave prominent attention to political relationships such as war, alliance, diplomacy and trade relationships between and among nations.
- ❖ Contemporary IR deals with multifaceted interactions among governmental and non-governmental actors on diverse range of issues from globalization and its impacts on societies and state sovereignty to ecological sustainability, nuclear proliferation, nationalism, economic development, terrorism, organized crime, human security, and human rights, terrorism, economic and political globalization, and population and development.
- ❖ Even in terms of actors contemporary IR is also characterized by a dramatic multiplicity of actors such as multinational corporations, international organizations, international civil society movements and others.

The Scope of International Relations (IR)

- ❖ The scope of IR is very broad which includes economic, social, and political and other transnational relations between or among state and non-state actors.
- ❖ In terms of methods of analysis, contemporary IR does not limit itself to discussion of raw military power; it instead uses a multidisciplinary approach, which incorporates, politics, economics, decision-making theories, geopolitics and others.
- ❖ At the beginning of the 21st century IR includes such subjects as Gender, Environment, and International Civil Society Movements in addition to its traditional domains of power and diplomacy.

1.3. The Nature and Evolution of International Relations

- ❖ The state is the creation of modern age.
- ❖ The state in its modern form did not emerge until about the 17th century.
- ❖ The rise of the sovereign state in medieval Europe consisted of a complicated pattern of overlapping jurisdictions and loyalties.
- ❖ The history of international relations is often goes back to the Peace of Westphalia (1648), where the modern state system was developed.
- ❖ Prior to this, the European medieval organization of political authority was based on a vaguely hierarchical religious order.
- ❖ Westphalia instituted the notion of sovereignty, which essentially meant that rulers, or sovereigns, would recognize no internal equals within a defined

- ❖ Westphalia encouraged the rise of the nation-state and the institutionalization of diplomacy and armies.
- ❖ The **Peace of Westphalia** marked as:
 - ✓ The end of the devastating Thirty Years War in Europe
 - ✓ Inaugurated the modern European state system
 - ✓ The framework of an international system of nation states and
 - ✓ The end of religious warfare and the Holy Roman Empire as an effective institution
- ❖ The negotiation established a system of sovereign entities rejected subservience to the political authority of the pope and the Roman Catholic Church.

- ❖ The Peace of Westphalia is generally credited as marking
 - ✓ The beginning of the modern state system
 - ✓ The present system of international politics

Attributes of Modern States

- ❖ Definition of the term “state” can be used to refer a collection of institution, territorial unit, a historical entity, a philosophical idea and so on.
- ❖ The state is a community of persons, permanently occupying a definite portion of territory, independent from external control and possessing an organized government to which the great body of inhabitants renders habitual obedience.
- ❖ This definition has addressed the four essential elements of the state. The state is a sovereign political association operating in a defined territorial entity. Simply the state is also defined as

- ❖ The state is politically organized society.
- ❖ In order for a term to be considered as a state in a strict sense, the state must have the following essential elements:

1. Population

- People (population) are the basic requirement for the existence of the state.
- Individuals are part of the political community; population refers to living in defined territory of the state.
- A state is a human institution created by people to serve some of their particular needs.
- The size of population varies from state to state. Hence the size of population of states ranges from a few thousands to China's over 1.2 billion.

2. Territory

- ❑ The state has a vital territorial component, its authority being confined to a precise geographical area.
- ❑ The state is essentially territorial in character which has a defined territory.
- ❑ The territory refers to the land mass and its resources administered by the state.
- ❑ The territory refers to recognized limits.
- ❑ The territory of the state requires a recognized boundary which is accepted by international agreements.
- ❑ Not all the boundaries, but most of its boundary must be defined and undisputed.

3. Government

- ❑ The people living with in a territory must have some sort of administrative system to perform functions needed or desired by the people.
- ❑ Without a political organization, there can be no state.
- ❑ The state exercises its sovereign authority by the government.
- ❑ The state uses government to dictate and control the other elements. No state without government.

4. Sovereignty

- ❑ Sovereignty means independence from any higher authority and legal equality among states.
- ❑ It implies the final authority of the state overall matters.
- ❑ The defining feature of the state is sovereignty.
- ❑ Independence is the central element of sovereignty.

- It is absolute and unrestricted power over its internal and external affairs.

4.1 Internal Sovereignty

- There must not be any rival or parallel authority which can challenge its supreme power within the territory.
- Accordingly, everyone living within the state is subject to its authority.
- Its laws demand the compliance of all these who live within the territory.

4.2 External Sovereignty

- the independence of the state from foreign control and imposition on international issues.
- The state is an independent and autonomous actor in the international system. It implies equality.
- No state has authority over other states

1.4 Actors in International Politics

- ❖ An actor in international relations means the major player in issues and affairs that shape and influence the system.
- ❖ Despite the rise in the number of players on the world scene, nation-states have remained the central actor .
- ❖ Nation-states and organizations made up of nation-states have tended to get the lion's share of attention in the study of international relations.
- ❖ Nation-states and inter-governmental organization are not alone in the sea of global politics.
- ❖ The international politics is characterized by

State Actors

- ❖ Realists believe states are the primary and unitary actors in international politics.
- ❖ The leading role that states play in the international system derives from several factors such as
 - ✓ sovereignty,
 - ✓ their status as the primary focus of people's political loyalty and
 - ✓ the state's command of the preponderance of economic and military power.
- ❖ The contemporary nation-state is characterized by jurisdiction over territory, a political and administrative apparatus, and the state recognizes no higher constitutional authority than itself.
- ❖ Sovereign states have a horizontal (anarchical) international system

Non-State Actors

- ❖ The prolonged tendency for scholars to focus on the state as the dominant actor hindered their recognition of the growing importance of non-state actors in international levels.
- ❖ Recently the recognition of the importance of non-state actors is gaining more attention.
- ✓ Some of such actors are:

1. International Governmental Organizations (IGOs) - are institutions with members drawn from two or more sovereign countries.

□ Its activities transcend national boundaries as it facilitates cooperation among its members in the performance of one or more tasks.

Non-State Actors...Contd

- ❖ The major advantages of IGOs are that they can structure communication and cooperation among member states on a continuing basis as they deal with common needs.
- ❖ Prominent examples of IGOs are
 - ✓ the United Nations (UN),
 - ✓ the Northern Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO),
 - ✓ the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and
 - ✓ African Union (AU) etc.
 - ✓ GOs continue to grow in prominence and size.

2. International Non-governmental Organizations (INGOs)

- Their membership base on groups and individuals acting in private capacity that may or may not have a political agenda.

Non-State Actors...Contd

- These organizations are transnational and draw membership from individuals and private associations located in several countries.
- The alliance of International Chamber of Commerce,
- International Political Science Association,
- Muslim World League,
- International Committee of the Red Cross,
- The amnesty International
- many international crises INGOs have joined IGOs on the international stage and exerted considerable influence.

Non-State Actors..Contd...

3. Multinational Corporations (MNCs) or Transnational Corporation

- ❖ They are business organizations that extend ownership, management, production, and sales activities into several or more countries.
- ❖ They have extensive operations that they have global reach.
- ✓ General Motors (GM), Coca Cola, Microsoft
- ❖ The MNCs head office is in a home state and a cluster of subsidiary corporations carry on business in multiple host states.
- ❖ MNCs rise with the expansion of international trade investment and other financial interaction.

Non-State Actors..Contd...

4. Individuals

□ modern scholars safely regard individual actors as important because they are the thinking, feeling and acting entities.

□ States, international organizations, terrorists groups, MNCs and other are collectives of individual people organized in special way.

□ 5. Terrorist Organizations

□ Terrorist groups help one another with a transnational network of safe houses, training camps, forged passports, arms and explosives and money.

□ Terrorist incidents rose sharply though now it decreases but still hundreds of terrorist incidents still occurred each year.

1.5 Levels of Analysis in International Relations

- ❖ Levels of analysis refer to levels of factors that affect international politics.
- ❖ It refers to set of perspectives from which International Relations can be analyzed.
- ❖ There are three widely accepted levels of generalization (or abstraction) to help understand highly complex problems in world politics.
- ✓ The individual level analysis
- ✓ The group level analysis
- ✓ The State level analysis and
- ✓ The international system level analysis.

5.1.1 Individual/Sub-unit - Level Analysis

- ❖ International relations can be analyzed from the perspective of individuals or people.
- ❖ Here we would look at the behaviors, motivations, beliefs and orientation of the individual in affecting a particular international phenomenon.
- ❖ People make decisions within nation states and therefore people make foreign policy.

□ **Psychological factors in International Relations**

- ✓ The state is not a blank box
- ✓ Individuals influence foreign policy decisions
- ✓ The role of personalities in the decision making process
- ✓ A prominent application is the concept of *Groupthink*
- ✓ propensity of policymakers to think in terms of analogies

- ❖ Particular mindsets and perceptions of political leaders and key actors might influence their decisions and behavior
- ❖ Individual level analysis is useful for both
 - ✓ It explains factors in International Relations that other theories fail to explain, and
 - ✓ For moving away from a state-centric view of international relations.

5.1.2 The group level analysis

- ❖ A group level analysis would try and break the analysis down into certain kinds of groups,
- ❖ It is how the group relate to the state level and where they position themselves with respect to the global dimension of the issues they are dealing with.

- ❖ A group-level analysis would be more interested in the actions of groups of individuals, such as
 - ✓ all voters of a country and the way they express their views in the general election,
 - ✓ political parties picking up on the issue in their campaigns or
 - ✓ social movements forming to counter the effects of the crisis on society
- ❖ A group-level analysis could be interested in activist/pressure groups
- ❖ It also looks at the role of lobbying groups and the way they influence national decision-making on an issue

5.1.3 State/Unit-Level Analysis

- ❖ In the IR literature, the main focus remains on the state as the dominant unit of analysis.
- ❖ State/Unit level analysis examines the foreign policy behavior of states in terms of state characteristics.
- ❖ It is obvious that foreign policy of every state is a cultural characteristic;
 - ✓ defined by the historical legacy of the state,
 - ✓ the religious or social traditions, or
 - ✓ the economic and geographic nature of the state itself
- ❖ Key indicators of the foreign policy of states would be the policies proposed and decided by governments, statements of top-level politicians but also the role and behavior of diplomats and their adjoining bureaucratic structures.

5.1.4 System- Level Analysis

- ❖ the systemic level concepts are those broad concepts that define and shape an international scene.
- ❖ The system level perspective would like to conceive the global system as the structure or context within which states cooperate, compete and confront each other over issues of national interest.
- ❖ It emphasizes on the importance of international conditions and on the actions of states and other international actors.
- ❖ It examines state behavior by looking at the international system. In this level of analysis, the international system is the cause and state behavior is the effect.
- ❖ Characteristics of the international system cause

1. Power

- ✓ Power is the currency of international politics
- ✓ The concept of Power in IR can be described as the degree of resources, capabilities, and influence in international affairs.
- ✓ It is the ability to change another's behavior; also the resources that may be used to produce change.
- ✓ Hard power relating primarily to coercive power, such as the use of force, and
- ✓ Soft power commonly covering economics, diplomacy and cultural influence.

1.1 Balance of Power

- ✓ It believes by balancing power blocs would create stability and prevent war.
- ✓ Here, the concepts of balancing (rising in power to counter another) and
- ✓ Bandwagon (joining the stronger side) are developed.

1.2 Power Transition Theory

- ✓ great power would challenge a hegemony after a certain period, resulting in a major war.
- ✓ It describes international politics as a hierarchy :
- ❖ **Dominant state**-is the one with the largest proportion of power resources (population, productivity, and political capacity meaning coherence and stability);

- ❖ **Great powers**-a collection of potential rivals to the dominant state and who share in the tasks of maintaining the system and controlling the allocation of power resources;
- ❖ **Middle powers** of regional significance similar to the dominant state, but unable to challenge the dominant state or the system structure, and
- ❖ **Small powers**- the rest.

2. Interdependence

- ✓ the current international system is characterized by growing interdependence; the mutual responsibility and dependency
- ✓ The role of international institutions, and widespread acceptance of a number of operating principles in the international system, reinforces ideas that relations are characterized by interdependence

3. Dependency

- ✓ Dependency theorists assert that so-called 'third-world' countries were not always 'poor',
- ✓ but became impoverished through colonial domination and forced incorporation into the world economy by expansionist 'first-world' powers.
- ✓ Thus, 'third-world' economies became geared more toward the needs of their 'first-world' colonial masters than the domestic needs of their own societies.
- ✓ Proponents of dependency theory contend that relationships of dependency have continued long after formal colonization ended.
- ✓ Thus, the primary obstacles to autonomous development are seen as external rather than internal and so 'third-world' countries face a global economy dominated by rich industrial countries.

4. The Structure of International System

□ This is about the arrangement of power within the international system.

□ It is referred as polarity, which means the number of great powers in the system.

□ International Relations scholars maintain that political power is usually distributed into three main types of systems namely:

- ✓ (i) Uni-polar system,
- ✓ (ii) bipolar system and,
- ✓ (iii) multipolar system

□ These three different systems reflect the number of powerful states competing for power and their hierarchical relationship.

The StructureContd

- ✓ In a uni-polar international system, there is one state with the greatest political, economic, cultural and military power and hence the ability to totally control other states.
- ✓ On the other hand, in both bipolar and multipolar systems there is no one single state with a preponderant power and hence ability to control other states.
- ✓ In the bipolar system, for instance, there are two dominant states (super powers) and the less powerful states join either sides through alliance and counter alliance formations.
- ✓ The problem with bipolar system is that it is vulnerable for zero-sum game politics because when one superpower gains the other would

The StructureContd

- One typical historical example where the world was under bipolar system is the cold war period.
- Multipolar system is the most common throughout history.
- ❖ It contains more than two great powers-is destabilizing because:
 - More conflict happens
 - Greater uncertainty about power and allies
 - power shifts makes states more fearful.
- It usually reflects various equally powerful states competing for power.
- During the period around World War I it was a typical world system.

6. Anarchy

- ✓ Anarchy is a situation where there is absence of authority (government) be it in national or international/global level systems.
- ✓ Within a country 'anarchy' refers to a breakdown of law and order, but in relations between states it refers to a system where power is decentralized and there are no shared institutions with the right to enforce common rules.
- ✓ An anarchical world everyone looks itself and no one looks after the system as a whole.
- ✓ Instead, states had to rely on their own resources or to form alliances through which the power of one alliance of states could be balanced against the power of another alliance

7. Sovereignty

✓ Sovereignty is another basic concept in international relations and it can be defined as an expression of:

- (i) a state's ultimate authority within its territorial entity (internal sovereignty) and,
- (ii) the state's involvement in the international community (external sovereignty).

✓ In short, sovereignty denotes double claim of states from the international system, i.e., autonomy in foreign policy and independence/freedom in its domestic affairs.

1.7 Theories of International Relations

□ Theories of international relations allow us to understand and try to make sense of the world around us through various lenses, each of which represents a different theoretical perspective.

1.7.1 Idealism/Liberalism

- ✓ Its proponents view human beings as innately good and believe peace and harmony between nations is not only achievable, but desirable.
- ✓ Idealists (liberals) are optimists about the human condition and the possibilities for cooperation.
- ✓ Liberals see world politics as a cultivatable "garden" in which peace as well as war can grow.

- ✓ The building block of politics is the individual
- ✓ The more liberty individuals have to pursue their goals within and across societies, the more harmonious and peaceful political life will be
- ✓ Immanuel Kant developed the idea in the late eighteenth century that states that shared liberal values should have no reason for going to war against one another.

The Optimistic Assumptions of Liberalism

- ✓ Liberals assume that actors' goals can be compatible - joint gains are possible.
- ✓ Liberals assume that people will act cooperatively as long as the environment makes it possible to succeed through cooperation.

- ✓ The existence of compatible goals and the possibilities for joint gains through cooperation are frequently blocked by
 - misperception,
 - lack of understanding, and
 - political structures that create false antagonisms.
- ✓ Given these views, the liberal tradition emphasizes the importance of
 1. Making the world more transparent and thereby minimizing the likelihood of misperception,
 2. eliminating institutions and norms that restrict individual liberty and promote false antagonisms;
 3. focusing on absolute, as opposed to relative, gains so we can all become better off together.

Three strands of liberal thinking

I. The Emphasis on Free Trade

- Liberals focus on the benefits of free trade.

II. The Emphasis on Democracy and Peace

- democratic states as more reluctant to go to war than non-democracies.
- Political leaders in democracies cannot get popular support for war or fear the consequences for their hold on office if they choose war.
- Democratic governments respect others of the same kind as expressing the popular will in their societies, and thus deal with those societies in a non-coercive manner.

III. Emphasis on International Institutions

- international organizations are helpful in achieving common purposes among states.
- organizations to exist at all, the member states must already share important values.

❖ Generally, liberalists explore ways by which cooperation and change might be fostered:

- ✓ democratic governance
- ✓ free trade and liberal capitalism
- ✓ international law and organization
- ✓ arms control
- ✓ collective security

1.7.2 Realism

- ❖ **Realism** has been one of the dominant forces guiding international relations theory and, influencing foreign policy, especially since the end of World War II.
- ❖ Realism is founded on a pessimism regarding moral progress and human possibilities.
- ❖ From the realist perspective, incompatible goals and conflict are the defining features of world politics.
- ❖ Without enforceable international rules, decision makers have little choice but to compete with other states for security, status and wealth.
- ❖ Anarchy is what states make of it - in the sense that it is devoid of an all-encompassing authority

key assumptions of Realist theories:

- ✓ Mankind is not inherently benevolent and kind but rather self centered and competitive.
- ✓ International politics- is a struggle for power
- ✓ The international system is anarchic.
- ✓ There is no authority above states capable of regulating their interactions;
- ✓ Sovereign states are the principal actors in the international system.
- ❖ International institutions, non-governmental organizations, multinational corporations and other sub-state or trans-state actors are viewed as having little independent influence.
- ✓ States are rational actors each moving towards their own national interest.

- ✓ The competition is expected to be difficult, since the others are also likely to view their power resources and security positions in relative terms.
- ✓ The overriding 'national interest' of each state is its national security and survival.
- ✓ In pursuit of national security, states strive to accumulate resources.
- ✓ That is, **zero-sum game** - a situation in which a participant's gain or loss is exactly balanced by the losses or gains of the other participant.
- ✓ Relations between states are determined by their comparative level of power derived primarily from their military capabilities as well as economic and moral.
- ✓ The realist world is, therefore, a self-help world.
- ✓ Conflict is hence an inevitable and continual feature of inter-national relations.

1.7.3 Structuralism/Marxism

- ✓ Marxism is an ideology that argues that a capitalist society is divided into two contradictory classes – the business class (the bourgeoisie) and the working class (the proletariat).
- ✓ The proletariats are at the mercy of the bourgeoisie who control their wages and therefore their standard of living. Marx hoped for an eventual end to the class society and overthrow of the bourgeoisie by the proletariat.
- ✓ This third perspective or paradigm which emerged as a critique of both realism and pluralism concentrated on the inequalities that exist within the international system, inequalities of wealth between the rich 'North' or the 'First World' and the poor 'South' or the 'Third World'.

- ✓ Inspired by the writings of Marx and Lenin, scholars within what came to be known as the structuralist paradigm focused on dependency, exploitation and the international division of labor which relegated the vast majority of the global population to the extremes of poverty, often with the complicities of elite groups within these societies.
- ✓ The basis of such manifest inequality was the capitalist structure of the international system which accrued benefits to some while causing, through unequal exchange relations, the impoverishment of the vast majority of others.
- ✓ The class system that pre-dominated internally within capitalist societies had its parallel globally, producing centre-periphery relations that permeated every aspect of international social, economic and political life.
- ✓ Marxist structuralism viewed these processes as

1.7.4. Constructivism

- ✓ Unlike scholars from other perspectives, constructivists highlight the importance of values and shared interests between individuals who interact on the global stage.
- ✓ Alexander Wendt, a prominent constructivist, described the relationship between agents (individuals) and structures (such as the state) as one in which structures not only constrain agents but also construct their identities and interests.
- ✓ Wendt sums this up well by saying 'anarchy is what states make of it'
- ✓ For constructivist, IR is, then, a never-ending journey of change chronicling the accumulation of the accepted norms of the past and the emerging norms of the future.

- ✓ Another way to explain this, and to explain the core of constructivism, is that the essence of international relations exists in the interactions between people.
- ✓ After all, states do not interact; it is agents of those states, such as politicians and diplomats, who interact.
- ✓ As those interacting on the world stage have accepted international anarchy as the defining principle, it has become part of our reality.
- ✓ International anarchy could even be replaced with a different system if a critical mass of other individuals (and by proxy the states they represent) accepted the idea.

1.7.5 Critical Theories

- ✓ Critical approaches refer to a wide spectrum of theories that have been established in response to mainstream approaches in the field, mainly liberalism and realism
- ✓ Critical theories are valuable because they identify positions that have typically been ignored or overlooked within IR.
- ✓ They also provide a voice to individuals who have frequently been marginalized, particularly women and those from the Global South

- ✓ From Marxist angle, Critical theorists argue that the internationalization of the state as the standard operating principle of international relations has led ordinary people around the globe becoming divided and alienated, instead of recognizing what they all have in common as a global proletariat.
- ✓ For this to change, the legitimacy of the state must be questioned and ultimately dissolved.
- ✓ In that sense, emancipation from the state in some form is often part of the wider critical agenda.

Chapter Two:

Understanding Foreign Policy and Diplomacy

- ✓ Foreign policy of a state is the actions, decisions and goals that states pursue towards the outside world.
- ✓ **Foreign policy** is a set of political goals that seeks to outline how a particular country will interact with the other countries of the world.
- ✓ It is shaped by both external/systemic factors and internal factors.
- ✓ The most important concept and central issue of foreign policy is ***national interest***
- ✓ Foreign policy is a term that describes how a nation deals with other countries,
- ❖ Peaceful/cooperative basis

- ✓ Foreign policy is made to achieve national interests, national security, ideological goals and economic prosperity.
- ✓ The objectives of states vary greatly but all states seek to preserve themselves, maintain their independence, and security.
- ✓ This can occur as a result of peaceful cooperation with other nations, or through aggression, war or exploitation.
- ✓ 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).

- ✓ Each instrument is used to affect the behaviors of other states, and has an element of power.
- ✓ Every states aspires security and survival to achieve in the short run as the first priority, among various foreign policy objectives.

Foreign Policy Objectives

- ✓ Foreign policy, just like any policy, sets short term, middle term and long term goals and objectives to be achieved in proportion to a state's capability.
- ✓ Such 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

- ✓ Based on these criteria, the objectives can be classified as:
- ✓ (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
- ✓ (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.

2.1. Defining National Interest

- National interest is the *raison de`tat*, (the reason of state), to justify its actions and policy towards other states at international level.
- National interest refers to set of values, orientation, goals and objectives a given country would like to achieve in its international relations.
- The conduct of foreign policy requires the highest attention to the protection of the national interest.
- National interest is vague and complex

Ingredients of national interest of a country

1. Economy

- ✓ Any policy that enhances a state's economic position is seen to be in the national interests.
- ✓ Increasing a country's balance of trade,
- ✓ strengthening a country's industrial base
- ✓ guaranteeing a country's access to oil or natural gas
- ✓ or other energy or non- fuel mineral resources

2. Ideology

- ✓ Ideology is as an important determinant of national interest.
- ✓ The state uses ideology as a reason to have or not have relations with others and to justify legitimacy and policies.

3. Power

- ✓ Anything that allows one state to establish and maintain control over another state is power.
- improving economic strength
- ideological persuasion
- enhancing military capabilities.

4. Military and Security

- ✓ In the anarchy - where there is no overarching central authority realists assume that all governments, whether democratic or authoritarian, big or small, developed or underdeveloped, pursue it as their national interest.
- ✓ States perhaps only naturally look to military security as a minimum determinant of their

5. Morality and Legality

- ✓ States may give priorities for the development of democracy and the rule of law based on freedom, equality, justice, democracy, tolerance of diversity and solidarity with the weak, threatened and defenceless.
- ✓ However, this seems unusual.

6. Culture

- ✓ A state may be interested to coincide its interests language or tradition

7. Ethnic or Race

- ✓ Both could play a key role in determining national interests.

Colmbis's multiplicity of criteria for national interest

1. 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, following the trial and error approach
- Thus the incrementalist usually seeks to perfect existing legislations, policies, institutions and practices

2. Ideological criteria

- Most of the time, governments employ ideological criteria and establish their relations on the basis of that criteria.
- 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

3. Moral and legal criteria

- Thus moral behavior, in international politics involves keeping your promise
 - ✓ treaties, living and letting others live (the poor and the disadvantaged),

- avoiding exploitation and uneven development between the developing countries and the developed ones;
- and generally standing up for the principles to which you are morally committed and that are widely accepted in your culture.
- Acting legally means, abiding by the rules of international law to the extent that such rules are identified and accepted

4. Pragmatic criteria

- As pragmatist, your orientation is low key, matter of fact, not on emotions and professions.
- You look at issues and events around you and the world with sense of prudence and with sort of rationality

5. Professional advancement

- ✓ In this case, your action may be manipulated and adjusted in consideration of your professional survival and growth, in short your personal success
- ✓ Even leaders might choose conformity to either to popular pressure or to strong elites whose support they consider indispensable for their political survival.

6. 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
- ✓ In similar fashion, you may use bureaucratic criteria to prioritize the policy issues
- ✓ You may tend to equate the interest of your organization (the army, the foreign office, and so

7. Bureaucratic-interest criteria

✓ These criteria usually applies to less developing countries, who had fallen under the yoke of colonialism, and now, even after political independence, kept the colonial ties with their ex-masters intact.

✓ 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 state of dependency, the less developing countries face difficulties to defend and promote their national interest

❖ **Realist** international scholars reject the ideological, legal and moral criteria to define and shape the contents of national interest. Realist scholars, particularly, Hans Morgenthau advised leaders to prioritize pragmatic criteria when defining national

- ✓ Morgenthau defines national interest in terms of pursuits of power.
- ✓ And power is about establishing control or influencing the behaviors of others, either diplomatically or use of coercion.
- ✓ In an anarchical international system, power for him is a means for achieving and promoting the interest of state
- ✓ Morgenthau also warns leaders of states to be cautious enough in calculating the range and scope of their countries national interest.
- ✓ The scope of national interest and their foreign policy should be proportional to their capabilities.
- ✓ A good diplomat according to Morgenthau is a rational diplomat and a rational diplomat is a prudent diplomat.
- ✓ **Prudence** is the ability to assess one's needs and

- ✓ On the other hand, **idealists** have strong belief in the relevance of legal, ideological and moral elements which realists fail to recognize as the constituting elements of national interest.
- ✓ They don't see legal and moral factors apart from the so called "reality".
- ✓ According to idealists, specific actions and objective of foreign policy have often been derived from general moral and legal guidelines and principles.
- ✓ Even such policies as the formation of alliance, declaration of war, covert foreign intervention, humanitarian intervention, foreign aid and others have always been justified on moral and legal grounds
- ✓ For them, national interest reflects the marriage of different criteria that include legal and moral criteria, ideological criteria and prudence or

1. Core Interests and Values (Short Range Objectives)

- ✓ Core values and interests can be described as those kinds of goals for which most people are willing to make ultimate sacrifices.
- ✓ Core interests and values are most frequently related to the self preservation of political and economic systems, the people and its culture, and the territorial integrity of a state.
- ✓ Some governments place great values on controlling or defending neighboring territories, because they believe that the major threat for their territorial integrity might materialize through adjacent countries and then conquering the part or whole of neighboring countries might be considered as the core interests of states

- ✓ the most essential objective of any foreign policy, core interests and values, is to ensure
- the sovereignty and independence of the home territory and
- to perpetuate a particular political, social, and economic systems based on that territory

2. Middle Range Objectives

- ✓ The middle range objectives drastically varies across states.
- ✓ The variation is obviously due to
- the difference in the level of economic and technological progress,
- as well as the military capability, the middle range objectives of states

- ✓ In a medium term objective a state attempts to meet economic-betterment demands and needs through international action.
- ✓ Social welfare and economic development, cannot be achieved through self-help, as most states have only limited resources, administrative services, and technical skills.
- ✓ Trade, foreign aid, access to communication facilities, sources of supply, and foreign market are for most states necessary for increasing social welfare.

3. Long- Range Objectives

- ✓ Long range goals are those plans, dreams, and visions concerning the ultimate political or ideological organization of the international system, and rules governing relations in that

- ✓ In pursuing long range goals, states normally make universal demands
- ✓ Every country has its own visions and ambition proportional to its relative strength and capabilities to be realized in the long run.

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, but are tied in some way with larger purposes, from long range objectives to short term objectives that leaders hope to achieve in their dealings with other countries.

- ✓ 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)
- ✓ One can say, with no doubt, that the international institutions (IMF, World Bank, GATT/WTO) that were established following Second World War have been strongly shaped by United States to serve its global interests
- ✓ These days U.S has become the sole defender of the international system and the liberal economic-political order

- ✓ On the other hand newly emerging powers such as China, India, Brazil, Germany and others are competing to restructure the international institutions and different regimes so as to create enabling environment to promote their national interest
- ✓ The third model, i.e. self-abnegation reflects the foreign policy trends that are being displayed in Less Developing Countries (LDC)
- ✓ This can be seen in the weak states of the world which fail to defend and promote their national interests in their external relations
- ✓ Such countries may surrender to such challenges and compromise its long lasting national interest for temporary and immediate benefits.

Foreign Policy Dimensions

✓ The analysis of foreign policy behavior can also be done along a number of specific dimensions, keeping in mind that behavior can change over time and with different style of leaderships and circumstances.

1. Alignment

✓ A country's alignment behavior can vary from time to time during its history in response to changing circumstances and policy decisions.

✓ Yet one can identify the alignment tendencies such as

■ **Alliance** is a formal agreement to provide mutual military assistance

■ **Neutrality** is a stance of formal non partisanship in world affairs

■ **Non-alignment** has been the foreign policy pattern of most developing state during cold war

2. *Scope*

- ✓ Some countries have extensive, far-reaching international contacts, while other countries have more limited activities abroad.
- ✓ A country's scope of contact can affect the outcome of disputes and crises.
- ✓ With regards to the scope of activities a state has in international relations, one can identify at least three patterns of foreign policy behaviors.
- ✓ Some actors act in **Global** terms, others as **Regional** terms, and those that follow policy of **Isolationism**.
- ✓ Major Powers in international relations have historically been those that have defined their interest in **global terms**, interacting regularly with countries in nearly every region of the world.

- ✓ For example as a global actor the USA has military presence and diplomatic communication in every part of the world.
- ✓ Most countries in the world are essentially **regional actors**, interacting primarily with neighboring states in the same geographical area except for contacts, frequently concerning economic issues such as trade; with major actors like United States and China outside their region.
- ✓ For example, South Africa is a regional actor in Africa in general and in Southern Africa in Particular.
- ✓ India can also be considered as the most important actor in South Asian region, so is China in entire Asia.
- ✓ Key weakness or geographic remoteness, may cause the scope of a country's foreign policy to

3. Mode of Operation/ “Modus Opernadi’

- ✓ In addition to the alignment and scope dimensions of a country's foreign policy, we can also identify certain patterns of foreign policy behaviors on the basis of the *modus operandi*-the method of operation.
- ✓ Some countries often rely on multilateral institutions to address different issues.
- ✓ Still others very much rely on **unilateral** means.
- ✓ Most developing countries used the **multilateral** approaches to address many issues of concern.
- ✓ The multilateral forum would enhance collective barraging power of these countries vis-a-vis other developed countries
- ✓ Whereas countries may opt to rely on **unilateral** means of settling different issues with other countries that have strong economic and military muscles they would prefer this approach to settle problems

2.2.5. Instruments of Foreign Policy

- ✓ A successful foreign policy is measured in terms of a state's ability to assert itself and promote its interests with consistency within the international system.
- ✓ Foreign policy, once formulated, can be implemented by various means.
- ✓ States must choose from a variety of instruments of foreign policy to achieve their goals.

1. Diplomacy

- ✓ Diplomacy is the management of international relations by negotiation.
- ✓ 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 (diplomacy) to

- ✓ Diplomacy is considered to be the traditional, peaceful and most direct instrument of foreign policy, practiced by representatives authorized to act on behalf of the governments of states or other legitimate and recognized political entities.
- ✓ The benefits are clear when you consider that diplomacy can promote exchanges that enhance trade, culture, wealth and knowledge.
- ✓ Diplomacy is a complex game of maneuver in which the goal is to influence the behaviors of others in ones interest
- ✓ In that sense, diplomacy is an essential tool required to operate successfully in today's international system
- ✓ The bargaining process and other diplomatic process, such as exchange of ideas were the business of ambassadors undertaken under closed

- ✓ Nowadays the nature of diplomacy, its strategy of doing diplomacy has been radically different from the old practices.
- ✓ After WWI and formation of the League of Nations, the old style of diplomacy has been drastically reformed.
- ✓ There arose multilateral diplomacy, public diplomacy, leader-to-leader (summitry diplomacy) in sharp contrast to secret diplomacy and bilateral diplomacy.
- ✓ Regardless of whether diplomacy is conducted openly or secretly, multilaterally or bilaterally, tacitly or formally, by ambassadors or leader-to-leader, the essence of diplomacy remains bargaining.
- ✓ Bargaining can be defined as a means of settling

Rules of Effective Diplomacy

✓ The following are some of the basic rules that diplomats have employed with greater effectiveness over the years:

✓ **Be realistic:** It is important to have goals that match your ability to achieve them

✓ **Be careful about what you say:** The experienced diplomats plan out and weigh words carefully.

✓ **Seek common ground:** Dispute begins negotiations; finds common ground ends them successfully. Almost any negotiation will involve some concession, so it is important to maintain a degree of flexibility.

✓ **Understand the other side:** There are several aspects to understanding the other side. One is to

- ✓ **Be patient:** it is also important to bide your time. Being overly anxious can lead to concessions that are unwise and may convey weakness to an opponent.
- ✓ **Leave avenues of retreat open:** it is axiomatic that even a rat will fight if trapped in a corner. The same is often true for countries. Call it honor, saving face, or prestige; it is important to leave yourself and your opponent an “out”.

2. Economic Instruments of Foreign Policy

- ✓ Just as modern states are politically and technologically interdependent, so do they rely up on each other for resources and commodities that enable them to develop and sustain viable economies.
- ✓ There hardly exists a state that is self sufficient.
- ✓ There is a considerable degree of dependence up on trade among states.
- ✓ But the degree of dependence and interdependence varies across states
- ✓ Cognizance of such dependency situation, states often uses their economic muscle to influence the behavior (action, perception and role) of others
- ✓ States may reward or punish states through the manipulation of economic policies

- ✓ economic, particularly trade instruments of foreign policy are normally used for three purposes, namely:
- ✓ (1) to achieve any foreign policy objective by exploiting need and dependence and offering economic rewards, or threat, ending or imposing economic punishments;
- ✓ (2) to increase a state's capability or deprive a potential enemy's capabilities ; and
- ✓ (3) to create economic satellites (guaranteed markets and resources of supply) or help maintain political obedience in satellites by creating a relationship of economic dependence

Economic tools

- ✓ **Tariff** - it might be raising or lowering of taxes on import or export goods and services.
- ✓ Almost all foreign made products coming into a country are taxed for the purpose of raising revenue, protecting domestic producers from foreign competition, or other domestic economic reasons.
- ✓ The tariff structure can be used effectively as an inducement or punishment
- ✓ **Quota** a state may restrict the amount or type of goods that are permitted to be imported into state.
- ✓ **Boycott** – elimination of import from adversary states.
- ✓ a government eliminates the import of either a specific commodity or the total range of export products sold by the country against which the

- ✓ **Foreign Aid:** The transfer of money, goods, or technical advice from donor to recipient-is an instrument of policy that has been in international relations
- ✓ There are main type of aid program including, military aid, technical assistance, grants and commodity import program, and development loans.
- ✓ **Military Aid:** probably the oldest type of aid which had been used for buttressing alliances.
- ✓ In the last century, both France and United States had spent millions of Francs and pounds to strengthen their continental friend ship/ alliance.
- ✓ In this aid scheme, the donors supply money and material, while the recipient provided most of the man power

- ✓ If the importer doesn't comply with these requirements, any goods purchased abroad can be confiscated.
- ✓ **Embargo** state may order to exclude its nationals from trading with nationals of adversary states.
- ✓ A government that seeks to deprive another country of goods prohibits its own business men from concluding its transactions with commercial organization in the country against which the embargo is organized.
- ✓ **Loans, Credits and Currency Manipulations** (the transfer of capital from one country to another.
- ✓ Rewards may include favorable tariff rates and quotas, granting loans (favorable reward

✓ Economic tools to influence other states.

- ❖ **Embargo** state may order to exclude its nationals from trading with nationals of adversary states.
- ❖ **Tariff** - it might be raising or lowering of taxes on import or export goods and services.
- ❖ **Quota System** may restrict the amount or type of goods that are permitted to be imported into state.
- ❖ **Boycott** – elimination of import from adversary states.
- ❖ **Blockade**- it is cutting of supplies both import and export with the adversary state by using physical force.

1. Diplomacy

✓ Diplomacy is considered to be the traditional, peaceful and most direct instrument of foreign policy, practiced by representatives authorized to act on behalf of the governments of states or other legitimate and recognized political entities.

8. International Law

✓ It is the body of rules that states feel bound to obey.

✓ All states attempt to utilize international law to cloak their foreign policy with the mantle of legality.

9. International Organizations

✓ For instance realists believe international organizations are used as instruments to achieve foreign policies of powerful states.

Instruments of Foreign Policy

1. Alliance

- ✓ Power is distributed unevenly.
- ✓ States have often not been strong enough to provide for their own security.
- ✓ States enter in to alliances to better protect themselves.
- ✓ The alliance might be entered for mutual expansion.

2. Balance of power

- ✓ It implies a condition in which alliances balance each other off to maintain the peace and if one state or a group of states becomes too powerful, other states will unite to challenge the strong.
- ✓ States act to offset an accumulation of power by one or more states by joining up with like-minded states.

3. Economic Measures

- ✓ Economic techniques are gaining in importance in a globalizing world.
- ✓ The rationale of economic techniques relies thereon that they are indirect in their application; that they may be either coercive or persuasive in intent; and that they develop directly out of a particular foreign policy situation.

4. Military Force

- ✓ Military instrument is only to be used when other instruments have failed.
- ✓ War is the instrument of power, states use war as a tool to implement their foreign policy objective.

5. Collective Security

- ✓ It is a system of organizing power in world politics
- ✓ All states of the world join forces to repel acts of aggression by any state.

6. Disarmament and Arms Control

- ❖ **Disarmament** is the abolition of armed forces and weapons.
- ❖ **Arms control** is the regulation of armed power

Intelligence

- ✓ The intelligence is with a purpose to enhance national security by informing policymakers and supporting military operations.
- ✓ One of the most important functions of the intelligence community is to provide analysis gleaned from all sources (open and secret) and to package it in a timely and useful manner.
- ✓ Accurate intelligence significantly improves the effectiveness of diplomatic and military undertakings; while good intelligence cannot guarantee good policy, poor intelligence frequently contributes to policy failure

Propaganda

- ✓ The psychological techniques or propaganda are also indirect means of state action aimed at the psychological leanings and orientations of large bodies of people
- ✓ Through propaganda states may influence attitudes and actions of citizens by TV, radio, internet and parade (military marching)

Determinants of Foreign Policy

- ✓ The foreign policy of a country is generally shaped by a number of objective and subjective factors
- ✓ These factors also contribute to the formation and execution, without ignoring the fact that large number of foreign policy decisions is taken in response to an external or domestic event or input.
- ✓ Countries differ in size, development and political regime.
- ✓ They also vary in their political institutionalization and political and societal structures, in military and economic capabilities, in the ways political discourses shape public and foreign policy, in their political and strategic

Determinants of Foreign Policy

- ✓ These determinant factors for foreign policy fall under two major headings: internal and external.

I. Domestic/internal Factors

- ✓ Internally foreign policy of a country is affected by the following factors.

1. Economy

- ✓ In order to be able to conduct an assertive, or even an independent, foreign policy, a state must have adequate economic capabilities
- ✓ State power today is marked more by economic than military might.
- ✓ Even powerful states are constrained by economic interdependence

- ✓ Without any strong economic base at home, none of the states could really afford to pursue vigorous or adventurous policies.
- ❖ Level of development
- ❖ Import/export: trade balance
- ❖ Type of products: manufactured or agricultural
- ❖ Resources: material and human.

2. Internal Political Pressure

- ✓ Domestic opposition and regime can diminish or amplify the behavior a government might be predisposed to engage in where it can assume a unitary rational actor approach to foreign policymaking.
- ✓ Foreign policy cannot be made in a vacuum, it is shaped by ideas and of the people and by

- ✓ This includes political structures of the country like set of political institutions, type of regime, constitutional division of powers, and regime stability.

3. Political Experience

- ✓ Historical legacies, long-standing enmities, political culture and national attributes of a given country, have impact on foreign policy making by influencing how decision-makers define foreign policy goals and perceive their external environments.
- ✓ Independence or colonial experiences are also important.
- ✓ States take some communicates like culture, language, currency, and zone, administrative, educational and legal systems

4. Nature and Ideology of the Governing Elites

- ✓ Degree of ideological difference is the crucial factor as leaders decide which nations threaten and which bolster their state's security and their own domestic power.
- ✓ These threat perceptions will in turn impel leaders to make particular foreign-policy choices.

5. National Capabilities

- ✓ It is the country's military and diplomatic capabilities.
- ✓ National capabilities enable the state to examine decisions to use or not use force in response to immediate military concerns, to negotiate conflicts peacefully, economic interactions and initiation of diplomatic activities.

II. External/International Factors

- ✓ Existing theories of international relations state that external influences are the primary determinants of a state's foreign policy.
- ✓ States are constrained by the structure of the international system
 - ❖ be it anarchical or possessed of cooperative institutions,
 - ❖ by the intentions and capabilities of other international actors,
 - ❖ by economic interdependence,
 - ❖ by international law, and countless other variables.

1. Geopolitics/Geography

- ✓ The foreign policy is to a great extent, determined by the country's geographical location and its spatial relationship in the context of the other member of the regional or international system.
- ✓ The geopolitical location of a state is one of the external determinants on its foreign policy.
- ✓ It matters whether the country has natural frontiers: that is whether it is protected by oceans, high mountains, or deserts.
- ✓ It matters who one's neighbors are and whether a given country is territorially large, populous, affluent, and well-governed.

- ✓ In the context of new technological developments, the comings of supersonic jets, intercontinental ballistic missiles and rockets have made the mountains and seas vulnerable and no state can remain in isolation due to its geographical location
- ✓ There are permanent and temporary dimensions of the geopolitics of a given country.
- ✓ The issue of sea access is typical more permanent for the landlocked states.
- ✓ Landlocked countries want to establish cordial relationship with those countries who are allowed access to the port.
- ✓ Since these states needs an easy and reliable access to the coast/port for import and export

2. International Politics

- ✓ Global political system including
 - ❖ Ideology
 - ❖ Power blocs /polarity
 - ❖ System of governance demanding by the big/super powers.
 - ❖ The mature and state of local and regional relations

3. International Institutions

- ✓ The international institutions are part of the external environment - affects a state's foreign policy.
- ✓ These organizations influence the states' foreign policy, as well as their domestic structures.

Instruments of Foreign Policy

- ✓ A successful foreign policy is measured in terms of a state's ability to assert itself and promote its interests with consistency within the international system.
- ✓ Foreign policy, once formulated, can be implemented by various means.
- ✓ States must choose from a variety of instruments of foreign policy to achieve their goals.

1. Alliance

- ✓ Power is distributed unevenly.
- ✓ States have often not been strong enough to provide for their own security.
- ✓ States enter in to alliances to better protect

International Governmental organizations (IGOs)

❖ **International Governmental Organizations (IGOs)** are Organizations which are created by two or more sovereign states.

❖ IGOs meet regularly and have full-time staffs.

❖ In these organizations the interests and policies of member states are put forward by the representatives of the respective states.

❖ Membership in IGOs is voluntary.

❖ Mostly it is unusual to see IGOs challenging the sovereignty of states.

Typologies of IGOs

□ I. Breadth of Membership

1. Global IGOs

- ✓ Member countries are from the globe (from all continents).
- ✓ No criterion is set for geographic location.
- ✓ Examples are the United Nations (UN), League of Nations, etc.

2. Regional IGOs - membership is geographically defined.

- ✓ Member countries are only from that specific region.
- The European Union (EU)
- African Union (AU)
- The Association of Southeast Asian Nations

3. Defined IGOs

✓ In these IGOs membership is based on some requirements.

■ **British Commonwealth**- here membership is restricted to former colonies of the British Empire.

■ **Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)**-member countries are petroleum producers.

□ II. Scope of Purpose

✓ This categorization takes into account whether IGOs are established to play specific or general purposes.

1. Broad-purpose IGOs

✓ These IGOs operate in variety of activities on political, military, cultural, social, technical, legal, development, etc.

- ✓ member countries can be global, regional or defined.

- The UN is a global IGO with broad purpose

- AU is regional with broad purpose

2. Narrow/limited Purpose IGOs

- ✓ They are also known as functional IGOs.

- ✓ Their activity is very limited.

- World Health Organization (WHO).

3. Functions/purposes of IGOs

- ✓ IGOs Establish to play different and variety of activities.

- ✓ IGOS perform several separately identifiable cooperative services for states.

✓ **1. IGOs Provide a Forum for Communication among States**

- IGOs serve as convenient locations for representatives of states to meet informally and discuss on issues.
- In addition to many IGOs even provide mechanisms for mediating dispute.

✓ **2. IGOs Distribute Scarce Goods and Services**

- In this regard the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) distribute scarce financial fund to a number of states that meet different prerequisite of need.
- Moreover, United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) distributes goods and services to some of the world's needy children.

✓ 3. IGOs Play Regulatory Functions

- ❑ IGOs serve as regulatory in a number of capabilities ranging from health and postal services to meteorology and atomic energy
- ❑ WHO establishes international health regulations to ensure security against the international spread of diseases and interference of world traffic.
- ❑ International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) establishes regulations for the transfer and use of nuclear technologies.
- ❑ IAEA assists countries in the development of nuclear technology for peaceful purposes and monitors worldwide atomic energy information and production to discourage military use.

✓ **4. IGOS Offer Potential for Collective Defense and Peacekeeping**

- ❑ IGOs enhance the military capabilities of states.
- ❑ The UN and League of Nations are established to provide collective security for member states.
- ❑ The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is established predominantly for military purpose is
- ❑ IGOs provide peacekeeping services.
- ❑ The UN and AU have been deployed peacekeeper for peacekeeping activities by creating multinational military forces to enter into areas of high tension to separate hostile or potentially hostile forces.

✓ **5. IGOs play the role of Supranational Political Function**

- ❑ IGOs have acquired power to make decisions that are binding on member states

Reasons for Growth of IGOs

- IGOs are increasing in both number and scope of activities.

- There are different factors which instigate the increase of IGOs in contemporary world.

✓ 1. Increased international Contact

- The revolutions in communications and transportation technologies have brought states of the world into much closer contact.

- These interchanges need organizational structure in order to become routine and regulated.

- Typical examples are the Universal Postal Union and International Telegraphic Union.

✓ **2. The World's Increased Interdependence**

- Interdependence particularly in the economic sphere has fostered a variety of IGOs designed to deal with this phenomenon.
- International Monetary Fund,
- World Bank
- World Trade Organization.

✓ **3. Transnational Problems**

- Some problems affect many states and require solutions that are beyond the resources of any single state.
- For instance in fear of the possession of atomic and biological weapons by rogue states and terrorists, states have established the International Atomic Energy Agency.

✓ **4. Failure of the Current State Centered System to provide Security**

- The continuing problem in health (the spread of endemic and epidemic diseases), food crisis, human rights violations and others have pressured states to look for joint hands option

✓ **5. Increased Number of Transnational Political Movement**

- The loose coalition of political parties - the green Movement

✓ **6. The Existence and Success of International Organizations**

- Some IGOs are successful in achieving their objectives and able to serve as role model.

The League of Nations and United Nations

❖ The League of Nations

- ✓ The League of Nations is the first international organization created after the conclusion of First World War. The Covenant establishing the League was part of the Treaty of Versailles.
- ✓ Its aims were to promote international cooperation and to achieve international peace and security.
- ✓ The League of Nations formally came into existence on January 10, 1920.
- ✓ The two official languages of the League were English and French.
- ✓ The headquarters of the League was Geneva, Switzerland.

❖ The United Nations

- ✓ The name "United Nations", coined by the United States President Franklin D. Roosevelt
- ✓ In 1945, representatives of 50 countries met in **San Francisco** at the United Nations Conference on International Organization to draw up the United Nations Charter.
- ✓ The Charter was signed on 26 June 1945 by the representatives of the 50 countries.

The UN has six major organs

1. General Assembly

- ✓ It is a forum for multilateral negotiation
- ✓ The General Assembly occupies a central position as the chief deliberative, policy-making and representative organ of the United Nations.
- ✓ Comprising all members of the United Nations
- ✓ Each Member State in the Assembly has one vote

2. Security Council

- ✓ It is most powerful body of the United Nations.
- ✓ It has primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security
- ✓ It comprises five powerful countries with permanent sit along with ten other member states

- ✓ The five permanent members of the Security Council (China, France, Russia, United Kingdom, and United States) enjoy the privilege of veto power
- ✓ This power has been intensely controversial since the drafting of the UN Charter in 1945
- ✓ The United States and Russia would probably not have accepted the creation of the United Nations without the veto privilege
- ✓ The 10 non-permanent members elected by the General Assembly for two-year terms and are not eligible for immediate re-election
- ✓ Each Council member has one vote.
- ✓ Decisions on procedural matters are made by an affirmative vote of at least nine of the 15 members

- ✓ Decisions on substantive matters require nine votes, including the concurring votes of all five permanent members.
- ✓ This is the rule of "**great power unanimity**", often referred to as the "**veto power**".

3. The Secretariat

- ✓ The Secretariat carries out the substantive and administrative work of the United Nations as directed by the General Assembly, the Security Council and the other organs.
- ✓ At its head is the Secretary-General, who is appointed by the General Assembly for five-year term to provide overall administrative guidance.

4. Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC)

✓ Economic and Social Council is an umbrella organization that loosely oversees and coordinates economic, social and related work of the 14 UN specialized agencies, functional commissions and five regional commissions.

5. The International Court of Justice (ICJ)

- ✓ It is the principal judicial organ of the United Nations (UN).
- ✓ It was established in June 1945 by the Charter of the United Nations and began work in April 1946.
- ✓ The seat of the Court is at the Peace Palace in The Hague (Netherlands).
- ✓ Of the six principal organs, it is the only one not located in New York

- ✓ The Court is composed of 15 judges, who are elected for terms of office of nine years by the United Nations General Assembly and the Security Council.
- ✓ No two judges may be from the same country.
- ✓ Its official languages are English and French.

6. Trusteeship Council

- ✓ The aims of the Trusteeship System have been fulfilled to such an extent that all Trust Territories have attained self-government or independence, either as separate States or by joining neighboring independent countries.
- ✓ It is almost now non functional organ.

Organization of African Unity (OAU)

- It was established on 25 May 1963

- Objectives of the OAU were to:

- ✓ 1. Promote the unity and solidarity of the African states and act as a collective voice for the African continent.

- ✓ 2. The OAU was also dedicated to the eradication of all forms of colonialism as, when it was established, there was still a number of states that had not yet won their independence or were minority-ruled. South Africa and Angola were two such countries.

- Two groups emerged regarding what shall be the OAU's objective

□ **The Casablanca bloc**, led by Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, wanted a federation of all African countries.

- ✓ Aside from Ghana, it comprised also Algeria, Guinea, Morocco, Egypt, Mali and Libya.
- ✓ Founded in 1961, its members were described as "progressive states".

□ **The Monrovia bloc**, led by Senghor of Senegal, felt that unity should be achieved gradually, through economic cooperation.

- ✓ It did not support the notion of a political federation.
- ✓ Its other members were Nigeria, Liberia, Ethiopia and most of the former French colonies.

- The dispute was eventually resolved when Ethiopian emperor Haile Selassie I invited the two groups to Addis Ababa, where the OAU and its headquarters were subsequently established.
- The Charter of the Organization was signed by 32 independent African states
- It was disbanded on 9 July 2002 by its last chairperson, South African President Thabo Mbeki and replaced by the African Union

The African Union (AU)

- The OAU initiatives paved the way for the birth of AU. In July 1999, the Assembly decided to convene an extraordinary session to expedite the process of economic and political integration in the continent

□ Since then, four Summits have been held leading to the official launching of the African Union:

✓ The Sirte Extraordinary Session (1999) decided to establish an African Union

✓ The Lome Summit (2000) adopted the Constitutive Act of the Union.

✓ The Lusaka Summit (2001) drew the road map for the implementation of the AU

✓ The Durban Summit (2002) launched the AU and convened the 1st Assembly of the Heads of States of the African Union.

□ The African Union has 11 major branches.

Power

- ✓ Power in international politics is like the weather.
- ✓ Everyone talks about it, but few understand it.
- ✓ Power is like life easier to experience than to define or measure.
- ✓ In the most general sense, power is the capacity to make, produce or destroy.
- ✓ Power on the international scene is the capacity of a political body to impose its will on other bodies.
- ✓ Political power is not an absolute but a human relationship. Power is characterized as the capacity to do, make do or stop from doing.
- ✓ It induces another actor to retrain from an action that it would prefer to undertake.

- ✓ Power is a multifaceted, ever changing political resource and is the sum of various elements that allow one country to have its interest prevail over the interests of other countries.

Characteristics of Power

- ✓ Power is not a simple and stable phenomenon.
- ✓ It is very much a political chameleon, constantly changing even while it remains the same.

1. Power is Dynamic

- ✓ Power is a dynamic phenomenon, not permanent.
- ✓ No particular power factor or relationship is immune to change.
- ✓ Even simple measurements show that power is

- ✓ For instance rapid changes in military technologies have accelerated this dynamism.
- ✓ Economic growth can also quickly change a nation's power position.
- ✓ The discovery of new resources, or their depletion, can alter the balance of power.
- ✓ Populations rally behind or lose faith in their governments also affects national power.

2. Power is Relative

- ✓ National power is relative, not absolute
- ✓ Power only in relation to another actor or actors in the international arena.
- ✓ To say Y is the most powerful nation on earth is to compare Y power with that of all nations as they currently exist.

3. Power is Situational

- ✓ Power varies according to the situation or context it is used.
- ✓ National power is contextual in that it can be evaluated only in terms of all the power elements and only in relation to another player or players and the situation in which power is being exercised
- ✓ A nation may appear powerful because it possesses many military assets, but the assets may be inadequate against those of a potential enemy or inappropriate to the nature of the conflict.

4. Power is Relational

- ✓ To exercise power at minimum two actors must exist

5. Power is Multidimensional

- ✓ National power is historically linked with military capacity.
- ✓ Nevertheless, one element of power alone cannot determine national power.
- ✓ For instance, the huge size of Brazil, the large population of Pakistan, the industrial makeup of Belgium, and the first-class army of Switzerland make none of these states is a first-rank power.
- ✓ Morgenthau calls the mistaken attempt to define national power in terms of one element of that power the "Fallacy of the Single Factor".

6. Technology

- ✓ The type of technology affects the national power.
- ✓ This relates to what extent the technologies are up-to-date or out-of-date.
- ✓ The quality of arms technology

7. Potential and Actual Power

- ✓ Power is to mean both actual and potential aspects.
- ✓ **Actual power** is readily available that is currently used.
- ✓ **Potential power** is to mean future use not readily available power.
- ✓ Potential power means resources that can be exploited in the future, the opportunities for

8. Measurement of Power

- ✓ Measuring of national power is difficult.
- ✓ The basic problem is that all elements of power are interrelated.
- ✓ As a consequence, not only must each separate element be analyzed, but the effects of those elements on one another must be considered.

Determinants of Power

- ✓ Power is a product of many elements (inputs)
- ✓ The power potential of an actor is best estimated by examining each input individually.
- ✓ Power varies from country to country and depends upon many factors.
- ✓ The following are determinants of power.

1. Geography

- ✓ Geographical factors whether they are location and climate or size and topography, influence a nation's outlook and capacity.
- ✓ Current doctrine emphasizes the requirements for and understanding of geography and its relationship to the political, economic, and military elements of power.

- ✓ **Location** is an extremely important factor in the development of power because it determines climates, economics, natural resources, strategic position, and even national policies. Favorable geographic location results in tremendous economic and strategic advantages.
- ✓ The **size and shape** of a nation are also important considerations which impact on the political, economic, and military policies it adopts.
- ✓ Compactness may foster political unity and help in the rapid mobilization of military, labor and industrial forces.
- ✓ This can also be a liability.
- ✓ Small countries may be extremely susceptible

- ✓ Countries which are elongated and have separated areas may be more vulnerable to invasion.
- ✓ Very large countries may have to contend with the problems of regionalism, which can adversely affect national unity and stability.
- ✓ ***Climatic conditions*** determine the nature and distribution of food supplies and influence the peoples' living habits.
- ✓ Nations that are large in area benefit from the fact that climates of different types contribute to variety and balance of productive capabilities.
- ✓ In evaluating nations or regions, consideration must be given to their **physiographic** - highlands, lowlands, coastlines, plains, forests, and cultivated areas.
- ✓ **Topography** is extremely important in determining the military strategies applied to problems.

2. Natural Resources

- ✓ Large amounts of natural resources are essential for a modern nation to wage war, to operate an industrial base, and to reward other international actors through trade and aid, either in modern industrial products or in the raw materials themselves.
- ✓ But these resources, whether they be arable land and water or coal and oil, are unevenly distributed around the world and are becoming increasingly scarce.
- ✓ Natural resources, or the access to them, are another essential element of national power.
- ✓ Nations without them lack the ability to fully protect and realize their national interests. Possession of resources gives a country

- ✓ The mere possession of resources is not a prerequisite for power.
- ✓ At least four levels of importance:
 - ❖ possession
 - ❖ exploitation
 - ❖ control and
 - ❖ use

3. Population

- ✓ Population is unquestionably the most important factor governing a country's national and economic power.
- ✓ Demographic trends as population increases (or decreases) and the weight of different age groups in the population are also important.

- ✓ The working-age population (generally defined as those aged between 15 and 64) are very important, which is to mean the fall of the rate of growth in labor input will automatically drag down the economic growth rate.
- ✓ The aging of the population is especially liable to reduce economic growth because it leads to downward pressure on savings, which are the source of investment.
- ✓ Population is not necessary depend upon its size.
- ✓ Large population may drain the country's economy
- ✓ Far from the numerical size the prime importance is character of the population: how many people are skilled?

4. Industrial Capabilities

- ✓ Industrial capabilities are crucial inputs to a country's power potential particularly during major wars that countries with superior industrial bases and the wealth to support those bases generally.
- ✓ Modern armed forces are mighty industrial machines requiring the services of people skilled in the industrial arts: engineers and scientists.
- ✓ Industrial capabilities are major contributing elements to a country's economic power during peace

5. Military Strength

- ✓ Military strength generally determines the symmetric ability of one nation to impose its will upon another nation

- ✓ Variables such as manpower and equipment provide a quantitative summary against which to judge military strength,
- ✓ while leadership, training, and morale are some qualitative variables of the military strength equation.
- ✓ It is dependent upon the quality of military leadership, the supply and excellence of armament and the character of troops
- ✓ No matter how brave the troops, an army must have up-to-date weapons as well as food, clothing and medicine
- ✓ No matter how brave the troops, an army must have up-to-date weapons as well as food, clothing and medicine

6. Transportation

- ✓ The ability to move people, raw materials, finished products, and sometimes the military throughout its territory is another part of a country's power equation.
- ✓ Transport plays a critical and indispensable role in national and international affairs.
- ✓ A well-developed system of interior communications and transportation is an important economic as well as military consideration.
- ✓ A state shall move and supplies goods and services rapidly without wasting time on long in times of emergency case

7. Diplomatic Skills

- ✓ The national power of a country is greatly determined by the quality of diplomacy perused by the state.
- ✓ It is influencing the international situation through bi-lateral and multilateral agreements, negotiations and engagement
- ✓ The success of a foreign policy depends on the quality of diplomats

8. Information and Communication

- ✓ The communications revolution, has taken on new momentum in recent times with the development of fax machines, television, satellites and computer linkages
- ✓ Interior communications and transportation is an important economic as well as military

9. Intelligence

✓ It is information gathering about the capabilities and intentions of other states it ranges from collecting official published government reports and newspaper articles to the use of spies and espionage to gather information from friends and foes alike.

✓ Knowing the plans of an adversary is important but in present-day conditions knowledge about climate, agricultural production and demographic factors

10. Internal Cohesion

✓ Internal cohesion is the degree of integration, which refers simply to the sense of belonging and identification of a nation's people.

✓ This contributes to national will and morale as

11. Government Administration

- ✓ The level of political development within a state is important - involves both the capability and more particularly the efficiency and effectiveness, of a national government in using its human and material resources in pursuit of national interests.
- ✓ Thus, administrative and management skills are crucial if a nation is to realize its full power potential.
- ✓ The quality of bureaucratic administration plays a significant role in the national power.
- ✓ The bureaucratic apparatus must be able to collect taxes effectively and recruit troops as soon as possible in times of national emergency.
- ✓ Since corrupt bureaucracy instills great popular distrust in government

11. National Character

- ✓ This is the psychological element of power which consists of national will, morale and national character.
- ✓ It is this most ephemeral of the social power determinants that has repeatedly caused nations with superior economic and military power to be defeated or have their policies frustrated by less capable actors.
- ✓ There are some national traits that characterize individual nations and permeate every class religion and region in a nation.

Diplomacy

- ❖ **Diplomacy** is the management of international relations by negotiation.
- ❖ It refers to the efforts that a state undertakes to implement its foreign policies.
- ❖ It is usually conducted by a state to further its interests.
- ❖ Diplomacy is concerned with shaping, advising and implementing foreign policy.

Purposes of modern Diplomacy

✓ Representation

- ✓ When diplomats are overseas, their official duty is to represent their country and its policies.
- ✓ It is formal representation including presentation of credentials, protocols and participation in the

✓ **Information Gathering and Interpreting**

- ❖ An ambassador is an honest man set to lie for his country.
- ❖ One role of diplomacy is to gather information and interpreting and to analyses and report them back to the home office.
- ❖ Diplomats acquire and interpreter information about the country to which they are posted.
- ❖ The primary duty is in fact that gathering of covert and clandestine information.

✓ **Signaling and Receiving**

- ❖ Diplomats are vehicles through which their government communicates new and sometimes subtle position shifts to other countries
- ❖ Diplomats serve as receivers, as when a foreign government wishes to communicate information back to a diplomat's home country.

✓ **Negotiating.**

- ❖ All diplomats must engage in negotiation to some extent.

✓ **Crisis Management**

- ❖ When international crisis breakout that affect their own country and the country to which they are posted, diplomats sometimes find themselves on the front line of crisis management (reducing friction)

✓ **Public Diplomacy**

- ❖ Diplomats often seek and accept speaking engagements, media interviews, and other ways in which they can obtain the opportunity to influence others to view their country and its policies favorably.

Diplomatic Mission

- ✓ A **diplomatic mission** is a group of people from one state or an international inter-governmental organization (such as the United Nations) present in another state to represent the sending state/organization in the receiving state.
- ❖ Diplomatic mission usually denotes the **permanent mission**, namely the office of a country's diplomatic representatives in the

Heads of Mission

- ✓ Heads of mission are divided into three classes, namely:
 - ❖ **Ambassadors** accredited to Heads of State, and other heads of mission of equivalent rank;
 - ❖ **Envoys/ministers** accredited to Heads of State;
 - ❖ ***Charges d'affaires*** accredited to Ministers for Foreign Affairs.

Elements of Diplomatic Mission

- ✓ ***Head of the mission*** is the person charged by the sending state with the duty of acting in that capacity;
- ✓ ***Members of the mission*** are the head of the mission and the members of the staff of the mission who, pursuant to law, are granted

- ✓ **Premises of the mission** are the buildings or parts of buildings and the land ancillary used for the purposes of the mission including the residence of the head of the mission

Immunities and Privileges

- ✓ Diplomatic rights were formalized by the 1961 Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, which protects diplomats from being persecuted or prosecuted while on a diplomatic mission.
- ✓ From the earliest times privileges, immunities and courtesies were extended to visiting heralds and envoys.
- ✓ Currently the privileges and immunities of diplomats are highly developed and universally accepted.

Diplomatic law

- ✓ It is that area of International law that governs permanent and temporary diplomatic missions.
- ✓ A fundamental concept of diplomatic law is that of diplomatic immunity which derives from state immunity
- ✓ Under international law, diplomatic missions enjoy an extraterritorial status and thus, although remaining part of the host country's territory, they are exempt from local law and in almost all respects treated as being part of the territory of the home country.
- ✓ As the host country may not enter the representing country's embassy without permission, embassies are sometimes used by refugees escaping from either the host country or

Thank You!

2. The World Bank

13. International Monetary Fund (IMF)

9. United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)

5. International Atomic Energy Agency
(IAEA)

14. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization
(NATO)

7. World Trade Organization

8. World Health Organization (WHO).

10. British Commonwealth

15. IGAD