Vice-Chancellor’s Message

The Distance Learning Centre is building on a solid tradition of over two decades of service in the provision of External Studies Programme and now Distance Learning Education in Nigeria and beyond. The Distance Learning mode to which we are committed is providing access to many deserving Nigerians in having access to higher education especially those who by the nature of their engagement do not have the luxury of full time education. Recently, it is contributing in no small measure to providing places for teeming Nigerian youths who for one reason or the other could not get admission into the conventional universities.

These course materials have been written by writers specially trained in ODL course delivery. The writers have made great efforts to provide up to date information, knowledge and skills in the different disciplines and ensure that the materials are user-friendly.

In addition to provision of course materials in print and e-format, a lot of Information Technology input has also gone into the deployment of course materials. Most of them can be downloaded from the DLC website and are available in audio format which you can also download into your mobile phones, IPod, MP3 among other devices to allow you listen to the audio study sessions. Some of the study session materials have been scripted and are being broadcast on the university’s Diamond Radio FM 101.1, while others have been delivered and captured in audio-visual format in a classroom environment for use by our students. Detailed information on availability and access is available on the website. We will continue in our efforts to provide and review course materials for our courses.

However, for you to take advantage of these formats, you will need to improve on your I.T. skills and develop requisite distance learning Culture. It is well known that, for efficient and effective provision of Distance learning education, availability of appropriate and relevant course materials is a *sine qua non*. So also, is the availability of multiple platform for the convenience of our students. It is in fulfillment of this, that series of course materials are being written to enable our students study at their own pace and convenience.

It is our hope that you will put these course materials to the best use.

Prof. Isaac Adewole
Vice-Chancellor
Foreword

As part of its vision of providing education for “Liberty and Development” for Nigerians and the International Community, the University of Ibadan, Distance Learning Centre has recently embarked on a vigorous repositioning agenda which aimed at embracing a holistic and all encompassing approach to the delivery of its Open Distance Learning (ODL) programmes. Thus we are committed to global best practices in distance learning provision. Apart from providing an efficient administrative and academic support for our students, we are committed to providing educational resource materials for the use of our students. We are convinced that, without an up-to-date, learner-friendly and distance learning compliant course materials, there cannot be any basis to lay claim to being a provider of distance learning education. Indeed, availability of appropriate course materials in multiple formats is the hub of any distance learning provision worldwide.

In view of the above, we are vigorously pursuing as a matter of priority, the provision of credible, learner-friendly and interactive course materials for all our courses. We commissioned the authoring of, and review of course materials to teams of experts and their outputs were subjected to rigorous peer review to ensure standard. The approach not only emphasizes cognitive knowledge, but also skills and humane values which are at the core of education, even in an ICT age.

The development of the materials which is on-going also had input from experienced editors and illustrators who have ensured that they are accurate, current and learner-friendly. They are specially written with distance learners in mind. This is very important because, distance learning involves non-residential students who can often feel isolated from the community of learners.

It is important to note that, for a distance learner to excel there is the need to source and read relevant materials apart from this course material. Therefore, adequate supplementary reading materials as well as other information sources are suggested in the course materials.

Apart from the responsibility for you to read this course material with others, you are also advised to seek assistance from your course facilitators especially academic advisors during your study even before the interactive session which is by design for revision. Your academic advisors will assist you using convenient technology including Google Hang Out, You Tube, Talk Fusion, etc. but you have to take advantage of these. It is also going to be of immense advantage if you complete assignments as at when due so as to have necessary feedbacks as a guide.

The implication of the above is that, a distance learner has a responsibility to develop requisite distance learning culture which includes diligent and disciplined self-study, seeking available administrative and academic support and acquisition of basic information technology skills. This is why you are encouraged to develop your computer skills by availing yourself the opportunity of training that the Centre’s provide and put these into use.
In conclusion, it is envisaged that the course materials would also be useful for the regular students of tertiary institutions in Nigeria who are faced with a dearth of high quality textbooks. We are therefore, delighted to present these titles to both our distance learning students and the university's regular students. We are confident that the materials will be an invaluable resource to all.

We would like to thank all our authors, reviewers and production staff for the high quality of work.

Best wishes.

Professor Bayo Okunade
Director
Course Development Team

Course Writer: Olubukola S. Adesina Ph.D.
Content Editor: Prof. Remi Raji-Oyelade
Production Editor: Dr. Gloria O. Adedoja
Learning Design & Technologist: Folajimi Olambo Fakoya
Managing Editor: Ogunmefun Oladele Abiodun
General Editor: Prof. Bayo Okunade
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Foreign Policies of Super Powers POS423 has been produced by University of Ibadan Distance Learning Centre. All course manuals produced by University of Ibadan Distance Learning Centre are structured in the same way, as outlined below.

How this course manual is structured

The course overview

The course overview gives you a general introduction to the course. Information contained in the course overview will help you determine:

- If the course is suitable for you.
- What you will already need to know.
- What you can expect from the course.
- How much time you will need to invest to complete the course.

The overview also provides guidance on:

- Study skills.
- Where to get help.
- Course assignments and assessments.
- Margin icons.

We strongly recommend that you read the overview carefully before starting your study.

The course content

The course is broken down into Study Sessions. Each Study Session comprises:

- An introduction to the Study Session content.
- Study Session outcomes.
- Core content of the Study Session with a variety of learning activities.
- A Study Session summary.
- Assignments and/or assessments, as applicable.
- Bibliography
For those interested in learning more on this subject, we provide you with a list of additional resources at the end of this course manual; these may be books, articles or web sites.

Your comments

After completing Foreign Policies of Super Powers we would appreciate it if you would take a few moments to give us your feedback on any aspect of this course. Your feedback might include comments on:

- Course content and structure.
- Course reading materials and resources.
- Course assignments.
- Course assessments.
- Course duration.
- Course support (assigned tutors, technical help, etc.)

Your constructive feedback will help us to improve and enhance this course.

To offer comment, visit UIDLC Open and Distance Learning Course Manuals page on Facebook or click here.
Welcome to Foreign Policies of Super Powers POS423

This course offers analysis of the interactions of the great powers in the world. It exposes learners to not only to the foreign policies of the Super Power States, but also to the factors / rationales for these policies.

Course outcomes

Upon completion of Foreign Policies of Super Powers POS423 you will be able to:

- underscore the various concepts in Foreign policy analysis
- analyse the dynamics of domestic and external influences in the making of foreign policy
- explain the various concepts in analyzing the foreign policies of the United States, United Kingdom, France, Russia and China.

Timeframe

This is a 15 week course. It requires a formal study time of 45 hours. The formal study times are scheduled around online discussions / chats with your course facilitator / academic advisor to facilitate your learning. Kindly see course calendar on your course website for scheduled dates. You will still require independent/personal study time particularly in studying your course materials.
How to be successful in this course

As an open and distance learner your approach to learning will be different to that from your school days, where you had onsite education. You will now choose what you want to study, you will have professional and/or personal motivation for doing so and you will most likely be fitting your study activities around other professional or domestic responsibilities.

Essentially you will be taking control of your learning environment. As a consequence, you will need to consider performance issues related to time management, goal setting, stress management, etc. Perhaps you will also need to reacquaint yourself in areas such as essay planning, coping with exams and using the web as a learning resource.

We recommend that you take time now—before starting your self-study—to familiarize yourself with these issues. There are a number of excellent resources on the web. A few suggested links are:

- [http://www.dlc.ui.edu.ng/resources/studyskill.pdf](http://www.dlc.ui.edu.ng/resources/studyskill.pdf)
  This is a resource of the UIDLC pilot course module. You will find sections on building study skills, time scheduling, basic concentration techniques, control of the study environment, note taking, how to read essays for analysis and memory skills (“remembering”).

  This site provides how to master self-studying, with bias to emerging technologies.

- [http://www.howtostudy.org/resources.php](http://www.howtostudy.org/resources.php)
  Another “How to study” web site with useful links to time management, efficient reading, questioning/listening/observing skills, getting the most out of doing (“hands-on” learning), memory building, tips for staying motivated, developing a learning plan.

The above links are our suggestions to start you on your way. At the time of writing these web links were active. If you want to look for more, go to [www.google.com](http://www.google.com) and type “self-study basics”, “self-study tips”, “self-study skills” or similar phrases.
Need help?

As earlier noted, this course manual complements and supplements POS423 at UI Mobile Class as an online course, which is domiciled at www.dlc.ui.edu.ng/mc.

You may contact any of the following units which spread across the country for information, learning resources and library services.

**Distance Learning Centre (DLC)**  
University of Ibadan, Nigeria  
Tel: (+234) 08077593551 – 55  
(Student Support Officers)  
Email: ssu@dlc.ui.edu.ng

**Head Office**  
Morohundiya Complex, Ibadan-Ilorin Expressway, Idi-Ose, Ibadan.

**Information Centre**  
20 Awolowo Road, Bodija, Ibadan.

**Lagos Office**  
Speedwriting House, No. 16 Ajanaku Street, Off Salvation Bus Stop, Awuse Estate, Opebi, Ikeja, Lagos.

For technical issues (computer problems, web access, and etcetera), please visit: [www.learnersupport.dlc.ui.edu.ng](http://www.learnersupport.dlc.ui.edu.ng) for live support; or send mail to webmaster@dlc.ui.edu.ng.

Activities and Assignments

This manual features “Activities,” which may present material that is NOT extensively covered in the Study Sessions. When completing these activities, you will demonstrate your understanding of basic material (by answering questions) before you learn more advanced concepts. You will be provided with answers to every activity question. Therefore, your emphasis when working the activities should be on understanding your answers. It is more important that you understand why every answer is correct.

There are also Study Session Assignments. The assignments are to be submitted on course website, for evaluation by your course academic advisor. See course calendar on course website for scheduled dates of turning in your assignments. It is highly recommended that you to submit your assignments within due dates.
Assessments

There are three basic forms of assessment in this course: in-text questions (ITQs) and self-assessment questions (SAQs), and tutor marked assessment (TMAs). This manual is essentially filled with ITQs and SAQs. Feedbacks to the ITQs are placed immediately after the questions, while the feedbacks to SAQs are at the back of the manual. You will receive your TMAs as part of online class activities at the UI Mobile Class. Feedbacks to TMAs will be provided by your tutor in not more than 2 weeks expected duration.

Schedule dates for submitting assignments and engaging in course / class activities is available on the course website. Kindly visit your course website often for updates.
Getting around this course manual

Margin icons

While working through this course manual you will notice the frequent use of margin icons. These icons serve to “signpost” a particular piece of text, a new task or change in activity; they have been included to help you to find your way around this course manual.

A complete icon set is shown below. We suggest that you familiarize yourself with the icons and their meaning before starting your study.
Study Session 1

Understanding Foreign Policy

Introduction

As we set out to discuss issues relating to foreign policies of the world’s major powers, you will agree that it is important to have a clear understanding of what foreign policy means. Therefore, the aim of this Study Session is to expose you to the meaning of foreign policy, and also to clarify the concept of ‘major powers’.

1.1 What is Foreign Policy?

Human conducts are usually governed by ‘policy’. We can refer to policy as a definite method or course of action by a person, group, or government selected to guide and determine present and future decisions. When we relate this to government, a policy consists of some general or specific goals which policy makers hope to attain and the specific means by which the goals are to be pursued.

From the above, we can refer to foreign policy as a course of action designed to facilitate the achievement of a country’s objectives in the international arena, or in relations with other countries.

For better understanding of the concept, let us consider the definitions of foreign policy put forward by social scientists. Like most of the concepts in the social sciences, foreign policy does not have a single or a universally accepted definition. Therefore, out of the many definitions of foreign policy that exist, I shall give you some of them here. The first one is by F. S. Northedge, who defines foreign policy as the “interplay between the outside and the inside”. This definition suggests that foreign policy is a reaction to external stimuli while reflecting on domestic realities. To Joseph Frankel, foreign policy “consists of decisions and actions which involve to some appreciable extent, with relations between one state and another”. It is a dynamic process involving interaction between the domestic and the external environment and in accordance with the national interest of the states concerned.
Professor Tunde Adeniran sees foreign policy as the policy pursued by a state in its dealings with other states. According to him, foreign policy consists of three elements. *The first element is the overall orientation and policy intention of a particular country towards another. The second element is the objective that a country seeks to achieve in its relation or dealings with other countries and the third element of foreign policy is the means of achieving that particular goal or objectives.* Also, J.C. Plano and R. Olton define foreign policy as “the strategy or planned course of action developed by the decision makers of a state vis-à-vis other states or international entities, aimed at achieving specific goals defined in terms of the national interest”. To Ayo Akinbobola, foreign policy refers to the actions of a state towards the external environment with the ultimate aim and objective of achieving specific goals towards the enhancement of the national interest.

Foreign policy is the primary instrument for the conduct and management of the relationship between a country and other countries, and its goal is to protect and promote the national interest of that country.

From the above, the main emphasis of these definitions is the interactions between countries or states in the international arena and the factors that guide these interactions. In fact, we can definitely say that no state can survive in the international arena on its own. All countries interact with one or more countries for different reasons. For instance, many countries in the world depend on Nigeria’s oil, while Nigeria also depends on many other countries for one product or the other.

However, one thing we must note is that the interactions between these states are not always cordial. In other words, the states are not always cooperating with each other. While there might be agreements on some issues, there may be disagreements over some other issues. That is why you hear of wars going on among states in the world, for example, the war between the United States of America and Iraq.

Therefore, foreign policy can be seen as *the strategy and tactics a country employs in its relations with other countries. It serves as a framework that guides a state’s relations with another state or others states and these relations may either lead to conflict or cooperation, friendship or hostility, peace or war.* It is the primary instrument for the conduct and management of the relationship between a country and other countries, and its goal is to protect and promote the national interest of that country.

Foreign policy can be seen as the strategy and tactics a country employs in its relations with other countries. It serves as a framework that guides a state’s relations with other states and these relations may either lead to conflict or cooperation, friendship or hostility, peace or war.
1.2 The Major Powers

Major powers countries that possess significant political, economic, technological and military capabilities.

Superpowers Extremely powerful nations with greater political, economic power and military capabilities than other nations.

One major concept you would have noticed in the title of the course is major powers. Let us examine what is meant by that concept. By definition, a major power is a state that:

a) has unusual capabilities with which to pursue its interests and to influence interstate relations;

b) uses those capabilities to pursue unusually broad and expansive foreign policy interests beyond its immediate neighbourhood; and

c) seeks to influence the course of international affairs relatively independently from other major powers.

Thus, major powers are those countries that possess significant political, economic, technological and military capabilities. They may exert an important impact on the stability of international relations and confidence among nations. In the cold war period, the Soviet Union and the United States of America (USA) were the two superpowers in the world with strong comprehensive national strength, and each was aligned with a military bloc. By superpower, we mean a state with a dominant position in the international system which has the ability to influence events and its own interests and project power on a worldwide scale to protect those interests.

Note

A superpower is traditionally considered to be a step higher than a major power.

Hint

After the cold war, that is, with the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the USA is the only superpower left, and both Russia and the USA still possess the largest and most sophisticated nuclear and conventional arsenals, far exceeding other countries in terms of military strength..

As permanent members of the United Nations (UN) Security Council, China, France and the UK, together with Russia and the USA, assume important responsibilities in maintaining world peace and security in accordance with the UN Charter. At the same time, the five countries are also nuclear weapon states.

In the light of the above, we shall use the concept of major powers to refer to the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council. The countries are: the United States of America, the United Kingdom, France, Russia and China. It is only these countries that are legally recognized to be in possession of nuclear weapons in the world.

In this growingly interdependent world, the process of foreign policy formulation is becoming more and more complex in which, besides national actors, regional and international forces play an increasingly important role. As we go on in the course, we shall examine the foreign policies of the superpower countries.
Hint

You should note that ‘state’ and ‘country’ are used interchangeably in the Study Sessions. A state is a tangible political entity; and it is generally identified by such objective criteria as having a defined territory, a government, a population, and is sovereign, that is, it has control over its territory and is not subject to external control of other states in the international arena.

Discussion

Which of the major powers played the most significant role in World War II?

Post your findings on Study Session Three forum page on course website.

Study Session Summary

In this Study Session, you learnt that no country can survive without interaction with other countries in the international arena. Foreign policy serves as a framework that guides these interactions among states in the international community. You also learnt that a major power is a state that has unusual capabilities with which it pursues its interests and influence the course of international affairs relatively independently from other major powers.

Assessment

1. define foreign policy.
2. highlight the characteristics of a major power.

Bibliography


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**Web resource**

Study Session 2

Nature of Foreign Policy

Introduction

In the last Study Session, we explored the concept of foreign policy. We saw that virtually all the countries of the world depend on one another or relate with each other for one reason or the other. Here, we shall examine the objectives of foreign policy, and also examine the differences between foreign policy and domestic policy.

2.1 Objectives of Foreign Policy

In the last Study Session, we established that foreign policy is the framework that guides a state’s relations with other countries in the international arena. There are various reasons why states find it necessary to formulate foreign policy. In general terms, the ultimate aims of foreign policy are to protect the security of the state, enhance the social, economic and political welfare of the citizens, and to maintain peace in the international community.

Specifically, each state’s objectives differ in relation to the time and place at which a particular policy is made. The foreign policies of a given state depend on its power, its objectives, and its leadership. Various factors determine the priorities of these goals. Let us quickly examine some of these goals.

2.1.1 Promotion and Protection of National Interest

The first major goal of a state in the international arena is to protect its national interest. By national interest, we refer to the goals each state thinks that their country should strive to achieve in its interaction with other states in the international arena. You will notice that although each state defines its national interests, the goals each state seeks to achieve in the international arena are generally very similar. We shall discuss the concept of national interests in details in the next Study Session.
2.1.2 Maintaining the Territorial Integrity of the State

Each state has what is called sovereignty. In other words, the state has control over everything within its territory. Territorial integrity exists when a state is able to maintain effective control over its land, water and airspace. The state must be able to protect its territory from external incursion. To this end, its national security is essential. National security may be described as the measures taken by a state to ensure its survival, security and the protection of its interests. Sometimes national security is considered to be synonymous with defence from external threats in particular. The state is expected to acquire the material resources that will facilitate the maintenance of its national security. To achieve this, the government needs to maintain a well trained military, police and other security forces for the protection of the citizens of the state against both internal and external attacks. Threats to national security can also take the form of demand or claim on territory or boundary. An example is the crisis between Nigeria and Cameroon over Bakassi Peninsula.

Early in 1994 a boundary dispute arose between Nigeria and Cameroon after Nigerian troops invaded the oil-rich Bakassi Peninsula of Cameroon. The Nigerian government claimed to be the rightful owner while the Cameroonian government filed a complaint with the International Court of Justice (ICJ).

Task:
Present a two-page report on boundary dispute as a threat on a state’s territorial integrity using the Bakassi Peninsula crisis as a case study. You may explore the following resources for more information.


Post your findings on Study Session Three forum page on course website.

2.1.3 Promotion of Economic Interests

Another objective of foreign policy is the obligation of the government to promote the economic well being of the state. The economic interest of a nation is one of the key factors shaping its policy. For instance, it is common knowledge that America’s presence is always felt where its strategic interests are, especially oil.

Most countries use foreign policy to protect trade and access to resources. However, the influence a state can wield in the international arena is often a function of the importance of the resources within its control as well as those that it requires but does not produce.
2.1.4 Protection of National Prestige

Also guiding the formulation of foreign policy is the desire of a state to create a favourable image as well as to promote its prestige in the international arena. States are concerned about their reputation and image to the outside world. The possession of a positive image is one of the factors that determine the level of influence and relevance a state has in the international arena. A positive and favourable image provides the state with a level of credibility and respect, whereas, a negative or bad image confers the opposite on a state. For example, during the administration of General Sani Abacha in Nigeria, the country did not have a good image. Based on various domestic activities of the Head of State and his posture towards the international community, the country became what is called a pariah state, that is, one that did not command respect or in other words, one which no state wants to associate with openly in the international arena.

2.1.5 Acquisition of Power

Another principle that guides foreign policy is the desire of a state to acquire or maintain power in the international arena. Power is the ability to ensure compliance despite resistance. That is, it is the ability to make others do what they would not ordinarily have done if the situation were to be different. Therefore, states often conduct their activities in the international arena in such a way that they most likely initiate and/or control events. They carry out their interaction with other countries in a manner that will result in their achieving their aims most of the time.

2.2 Differences between Foreign Policy and Domestic Policy

We have seen the objectives underlying the foreign policies of states. As pointed out above, states seek to pursue their interactions with other countries of the world in a manner that will facilitate the achievement and preservation of their national interests. I also mentioned that states want to continue to maintain their independence as well as ensuring the preservation of their territorial integrity. One major point you need to note is that foreign policy is different from domestic policy. Domestic generally means, “at home”. Domestic policies are those made by national, state and local decision makers for their own citizens. Health, welfare, and education policies are examples. Everything that state and local governments do qualifies as a domestic activity. Many decisions of national policymakers also fall into this category. For better understanding, let us examine some of the differences between the two types of policies.

a) Domestic policy is the set of laws and regulations that a
in international affairs in
regulates the conduct of
standards governing
accepted principles, rules, and
Assessment Assessment Assessment Assessment

Summary

Domestic policies are decisions, laws, and programs made by the government which are directly related to issues inside that particular state. Note that sometimes, domestic and foreign policies influence each other. In other words, a country’s foreign policy may reflect broad national objectives or it may represent a narrow and specific response to a particular situation.

Study Session Summary

In this Study Session, we learnt that the objectives underlying foreign policies include:

a) Promotion and Protection of National Interest
b) Maintaining the Territorial Integrity of the State
c) Promotion of Economic Interests
d) Protection of National Prestige
e) Acquisition of Power

We also established that foreign policy is different from domestic policy in several ways such as:

a) While domestic policy deals with issues which are directly related to all activities within the country, foreign policy deals with issues that concern and involves one state with another state (s).
b) Whereas domestic policy deals with national concerns, foreign policy deals with international challenges.
c) While domestic policies are guided by the law and constitution of the state concerned, foreign policy is guided by international law.

Assessment

1. Discuss the objectives of foreign policy.
2. Outline the differences between domestic and foreign policies.
Bibliography

Textbooks


Study Session 3

The Concept of National Interest

Introduction

Having discussed the objectives of foreign policy, that is why countries relate the way they do, there is the need for us to examine a key notion to decision making in foreign policy – the concept of national interest. We will therefore explore the concept of national interest in this Study Session.

Learning Outcomes

When you have studied this session, you should be able to:

1. explain the concept of national interest and its categories.
2. discuss the at least two criticisms against the use of the concept in regards to foreign policy.

3.1 The Meaning of National Interest

One very important concept in relations to the foreign policy of states is National interest. National interest plays a very significant role in the relations among states of the world. Most often, it dictates the course of the foreign policy, since the conduct of foreign policy is aimed at the promotion and pursuit of the particular state’s national interest. From the classical perspective, national interest encompasses the various strategies employed in the international interactions of states in order to ensure the preservation of the stated goal of the society. As observed by Hans Morgenthau, “no nation can have true guide as to what it must do and what it needs to do in foreign policy without accepting national interest as that guide”.

3.1.1 Categories of National Interests

National interest can be defined as the totality or the aggregate of interests of individuals and groups within a state. National interest can be grouped into five broad categories. These are:

1. primary interests;
2. secondary interests;
3. permanent interests;
4. general interests; and
5. specific interests.
Let us examine them one after the other.

**Primary Interests**

These are basically vital or core values. *They are objectives on which other objectives rest and which cannot be compromised*, and are issues which concern the country’s physical, political and cultural identity as well as the survival and security of the country. These objectives include protection of the territorial integrity of the state and the lives of all its citizens against external aggression, and also the protection of the country’s political, economic, religious or social institutions. In preserving the primary interest, a nation may not even hesitate to go to war.

**Secondary Interests**

These are interests which fall outside of the primary interest but which contribute to it. A state may negotiate or compromise within reason on these. A good example is the protection of the citizens of a state abroad. Part of the reasons why each country establishes embassies in other countries is to ensure the wellbeing of its citizens living within these countries.

**Permanent Interests**

These are interests that are relatively constant over long periods of time. They may vary from time to time but very slowly.

**General Interests**

These are interests that a nation can apply in a positive manner to a large geographic area, to a large number of nations or in several specific fields. *They are often times achieved in cooperation with other states in the international arena.* For example, eradication of apartheid and colonialism on the African continent was in the general interest of all African countries, and with the joint cooperation of these countries, colonialism is now history on the African continent.

**Specific Interests**

These are interests that are usually derived from the general interests. In other words, countries may pursue foreign policies that would be geared towards achieving explicit interests to the benefit of the particular country.

---

One thing we must note is that it is possible for a state to change the emphasis it lays on a particular interest at any point in time. A state can decide that it no longer needs to pursue a line of action, and may decide to pay little or no attention to it at that time.

Finally, as we have seen above, *when we say that a state is acting in the national interest, we simply mean that the state is pursuing its interaction with other states in a way that it will not jeopardize its well being and that of its citizens.* As explained by Tunde Adeniran,
“When statesmen and bureaucrats are expected or are required to act in the national interest, --- what is meant is that they are being called upon to take action on issues that would improve the political situation, the economic and social wellbeing, the health and culture of the people as well as their political survival. They are being urged to take action that will improve the lot of the people rather than pursue policies that will subject the people to domination by other countries”.

Thus, each state of the world would want to pursue policies that would be in its best interests, and as we have also noted above, there are some interests that a country is willing to go to war for, especially when it borders on the sovereignty and territorial integrity of that state.

### 3.2 Criticism of National Interest

While it may appear simple and easy to use national interest as a guide to foreign policy, some people, including scholars have rejected its use. Let us examine some of the arguments against using national interest as the basis for foreign policy.

- The first is that there is nothing like an objective national interest; but that the policy makers only do what they feel is in their best interests.
- Secondly, it is not possible to have a common interest in every country. Every country is made up of different individuals and groups with diverse interests. So, it is highly unlikely for everybody to have one singular interest which is called national interest.
- Thirdly, if every country is acting according to its own self-interests, then there is likely to be conflict and inequality in the international community. And also, in this wise, it is the interest of the more powerful that will prevail. In other words, it will be power and not justice that will prevail.
- The fourth criticism is the way that national interest is applied frequently involves double standards. While powerful countries like the United States of America are able to get away with a lot of things in the international community, less powerful countries are not able to. This can lead to frustration and outrage and can generate conflict in the international community.
- The fifth criticism is that because developed countries are much more concerned about their own narrow interests, they are less concerned about the welfare of developing countries. It is argued that most of the developed countries are not giving enough of their wealth as foreign aid to the developing countries, and that this would continue to bring about an imbalance and instability in the international community. The critics argue that there is a need for states to pursue their national interests responsibly with attention to the consequences for other states.
With the terrorist attacks on the United States of America on 11 September 2001, America declared an all out war against those considered to be the perpetrators of the attacks in defense of the vital interests of America.

See reports:

- www.news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/in_depth/middle_east/2002/conflict_with_iran/

Task:
Review the reports and point out the form(s) of interest exhibited by the USA.

Post your findings on Study Session Three forum page on course website.

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**Study Session Summary**

In this Study Session, we explored national interest as the totality or the aggregate of interests of individuals and groups within a state.

We also identified the five broad categories of National interest:

a. Primary interests  
b. secondary interests  
c. permanent interests  
d. general interests  
e. specific interests.

The study closed with criticism levied against the use of national interest in determining foreign policy decisions. The criticisms include:

a. It is not possible to have an objective national interest;  
b. There cannot be a single common interest in any country;  
c. The use of national interest is likely to cause conflict and inequality in the international community;  
d. The use of the concept of national interest gives room for double standards;  
e. Due to selfish national interests, the developed countries are less concerned about the welfare of developing countries.

We also noted that states should consider the consequences of their actions on the international community when pursuing their national interests.
Assessment

1. explain the concept of national interest and its categories.
2. discuss the at least two criticisms against the use of the concept in regards to foreign policy.

Bibliography

Textbooks


E-Resource

Study Session 4

Factors that Influence Foreign Policy Decisions

Introduction

In the last Study Session, we examined the concept of national interest. We see that all countries pursue their national interests, most often, at the expense of others. In this Study Session, we will discuss the various factors that make countries to decide on particular course of actions in relations to other countries.

Learning Outcomes

After you have studied this Study Session, you should be able to:

1. point out the determinants of foreign policy.
2. explain the domestic factors that influence foreign policy making.
3. present the various external influences on foreign policy.

4.1 Determinants of Foreign Policies

Foreign policies of countries are determined by various factors. But first of all, let us examine the settings in which foreign policy is made. In other words, the process of foreign policy decision making are influenced by factors that are internal to the state initiating the particular policy and also by pressures from sources that are external to it. Let us look at each of the environments.

There are two basic environments that determine foreign policy: domestic or internal and international or external environments.

4.1.1 Domestic Environment

This describes all the features, factors and forces that are peculiar to a state from which the policy is being formulated, which may enhance or hinder the foreign policy choices. These include the country’s history, culture, geographical location, natural attributes, and endowment of
natural resources, nature of the political system, quality and quantity of the population and so on.

The peculiar features of a state intrude in varying degrees into the decision making process either by limiting the possibility of actions or by enhancing the potential or the ability of a state to respond to the external environment.

4.1.2 External Environment

This describes the recipients of foreign policy. It is the primary destination of all foreign policy output. In other words, it describes the target of foreign policy. This include the country’s immediate neighbours (e.g. Nigeria’s immediate neighbours are Niger, Chad, Republic of Benin, and Cameroon), regional grouping of states (e.g. the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)), countries on the same continent, international institutions, multinational organizations, and other actors in the international system. The external environment is a dynamic one, that is, it is constantly changing. While it may sometimes be predictable, most of the time, it is unpredictable. That is, things happen most of the time in the international community that many states do not anticipate and they need to react or act as the case may be to the situations has they arise.

Now that we have identified the two environments of foreign policy, the internal environment from where the policy emanates from and the external environment which is the target of the policy, we can now examine in details some of the factors that influence foreign policy decision making. We can safely say that there are two broad influences on foreign policy: domestic and external. While domestic influences are activities and factors within a country that affect its foreign policy, external or international influences on foreign policy refer to all activities occurring beyond a country’s borders that structure the choices made by its officials. For example, international law does have a great influence on foreign policy. I am sure you are aware of the dispute between Nigeria and Cameroon on the Bakassi Peninsula and the verdict of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) that Bakassi belongs to Cameroon. It was Nigeria’s respect for international law that made her abide by the decision of the ICJ. On the other hand, domestic influences are those that exist at the level of the state.

4.2 Domestic Influences

As we have examined above, there are many domestic factors that influence foreign policy decisions. Let us examine some of them.

4.2.1 Geographical Features

A country’s location, topography, climate, possession of natural resources, and so on constitute major influences on its foreign policy behaviour. These provide both opportunity as well as limitations on the kind of foreign policy posture such a country would have. For example, a country that is landlocked would have no choice but to depend on other countries that have access to the sea. Also, a country that has little of no
rainfall in each year and is prone to famine will have no choice but to be friendly towards countries, especially its neighbours who fare better than it does. Countries whose topography is not conducive for growing food crops to feed its people would be heavily dependent on food import. Another important point you need to note is that some countries are richly endowed while some others are resource poor. In other words, in essence, these features that characterize a state will not only affect the socio-economic development within the country, it will also determine its needs in relation to other countries as well as its access to other countries of the world.

4.2.2 Population

The quantity and quality of a state’s population are also major influences on foreign policy behaviour. The more enlightened the citizens, the higher their level of understanding of foreign issues and the greater their willingness or ability to influence government decisions on those issues. For example, in 1986 under the regime of General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida, the Nigerian masses rejected the move by the government to obtain the International Monetary Fund (IMF) loan and its conditional ties following intensive debate by intellectuals and other pressure groups who knew its implications for the country if the loan was obtained. In another sense, a malnourished and diseased population will serve as a setback for a country’s foreign policy. In addition, a country with a large population, which is blessed with other capabilities like military and economic power is more likely to pursue foreign policy that is aggressive and confrontational than others; and would most likely be more involved in international affairs than some others with less capabilities. So, if you look at it from that angle, a small state would most likely formulate foreign policy that would not provoke big and powerful states in the international community.

Discussion Activity


View the document at:
http://www.fas.org/nuke/guide/china/doctrine/chinamil.htm

Task:
Point-out the contribution of China’s population in building a credible military force in the 21st century.

Post your response on Study Session Four forum page on course website.

4.2.3 Type of Political System

The dynamism of foreign policy decisions is often dependent on the type of the country’s political system. The type of leadership, government (authoritarian, military, democratic etc.), elite, and the structure and process of decision making in a particular country all affect foreign policy. The constitution of many countries defines and sets limit on the process of foreign policy making, especially on the roles of individual arm of government in foreign policy making, like the case of the United
States of America. But under military rule, the constitution is most often suspended and the rulers make foreign policy decisions usually without having to wait for any other arm of government. Also, a stable political system is necessary for pursing a dynamic and coherent foreign policy.

4.2.4 Economic Development

The level of economic and industrial development of a country affects the foreign policy goals it can pursue. Most often, economically advanced countries are more active globally. The availability of natural resources, technological sophistication, size of domestic market, agricultural capacity and the quality of its human resources all serve as influence on the quality of a country’s foreign policy.

| The economic power of a country can be used to influence other nations and powerful nations can create a foreign policy that maintains or extends their interests |

4.2.5 Military Capabilities

A country’s possession of military resources goes a long way in determining the type of foreign policy it pursues. The ability of a country to deploy its own armed forces outside its own boundaries when there is need for such is a very important factor in its relations with other states in the international arena.

4.2.6 Mass Media

The mass media play a very crucial role in foreign policy. The mass media include newspapers, magazines, television and radio. They communicate information on the activities of the government and happenings both within and outside the country to the people. The media try to uncover and publicize what the government wants to hide. Foreign policy decision makers also rely on the media for information about foreign affairs. In other words, the media contributes to the process of foreign policy making by disseminating factual information. This is done by publishing specialized articles on current international developments, which enable the masses to understand the importance of development in their country.

4.2.7 Public Opinion

Public opinion is the range of views on foreign policy issues held by the citizens of a state. Public opinion has greater influence on foreign policy in democracies than in authoritarian governments. This is because people enjoy more freedom of speech under democratic regimes than during authoritarian regimes like military rule. In fact, public attitude towards foreign policy issues, for example on issues such as refugees, amounts of foreign aid or declaring war are partly shaped by media coverage and point of view of the media.
4.2.8 Interest Groups

Interest groups are coalitions of people who share a common interest in the outcome of some political issue and who organize themselves to try to influence the outcome. For instance, farmers in France have a big stake in international negotiations in the European Community (which subsidizes agriculture) and in world trade talks (which set agricultural tariffs). The farmers apply political pressure on the French government through long-established and politically sophisticated associations and organizations. They lobby for desired legislation and contribute to politicians’ campaigns. When their interests have been threatened, for example, during a US-European trade dispute in 1992, French farmers turned out in large numbers across the country to block roads, stage violent street demonstrations, and threaten to grind the national economy to a halt unless the government adopts their position.

4.3 External Influences

By external influences, we mean those factors outside of the state or within the international system which influence actions of states. Let us also examine some of the external factors that determine foreign policy decisions.

4.3.1 International law

International law can be simply defined as the set of rules that govern the conduct of states in their relations with one another. These rules are considered to be authoritative or binding on the states of the international system. However, international law is based on the consent of states and its enforcement is based on ‘good faith’. As you are aware, there is no universal law enforcement agency like we have the Police within the individual states. In other words, despite the fact that there is absence of international enforcement agencies, international law still plays a vital role in the maintenance of peace and order in the international community.

4.3.2 Treaties

According to Evans & Newnham, a treaty is defined as “a written contract or agreement between two or more parties which is considered binding in international law”. Treaties are therefore, agreements between states, between states and international organizations, or between international organizations. They spell out privileges and obligations in their relations among each other. Treaties may be between as few as two states or as many as the entire number of states in the world. Treaties can be bilateral, multilateral, regional and global. A bilateral treaty is an agreement between two parties, while multilateral treaties are agreements signed by more than two states. A treaty is based on consent. Such consent may be expressed by one of the accepted methods (signature, ratification, accession, etc.). Once a treaty has entered into
force, it is binding on the parties to it. In other word, treaties are entered into freely by the consenting parties. It is within the discretion of each state to participate in the negotiation of, or to sign or ratify any international treaty.

Treaties are referred to by different names including convention, agreement, pact, protocol, charter, statute, covenant, engagement, and accord, exchange of notes, modus Vivendi, and memorandum of understanding. There are thousands of treaties. Some of the most important are the Charter of the United Nations, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and the Charter of the European Union. These treaties serve as constraints on the actions of the parties involved thereby shaping their foreign policies.

4.3.2 Membership of International Organizations

An international organization is a body formed by states in the international community to pursue certain common needs and objectives. In general, international organizations are based on multilateral treaties between at least two sovereign states. International organizations could be either universal or regional. A very good example of universal international organization is the United Nations created in 1945, whose membership cuts across geographical boundaries. In other words, countries from various continents are members of the UN. Regional organizations have limited membership, which are usually restricted to a particular region. For example, members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) agreed to combine military forces and to treat a war against one as a war against all. By contrast, the European Union (EU), often called the Common Market, is an economic alliance of the major Western European nations; the EU coordinates monetary, trade, immigration, and labor policies. Other examples include the African Union (AU), European Union (EU), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Southern African Development Community (SADC).

A country’s foreign policy option is often affected by its membership of international organizations. Scholars have argued that international organizations promote cooperation among member states. They also stress the active role that international organizations play in the conflict management process, serving as mediators or adjudicators to help member countries resolve international conflicts. For instance, members can take their case to the ICJ for resolution and they often abide by the decision of the court.

4.3.4 Actions of Other Countries

The foreign policy of states is, in part, a product of the attitudes and realities of surrounding states. Do not forget that in the last Study Session we discovered that countries have to react to activities that happen outside of their territories. For example, if Americans are maltreated in Nigeria, the American government can decided to close its embassy in Nigeria as a protest. Also, a country can decide to boycott goods
produced in China if it is considered to be a country that exploits its workers.

4.3.5 Individuals and Non-State Actors

Many individuals both within a country and from other countries are able to influence foreign policy. For example, notable leaders like former President of South Africa, Nelson Mandela, Former President of Nigeria, Olusegun Obasanjo and America’s President, Barrack Obama have great influence on many actions and activities in the international arena. They have the ability to influence the direction a foreign policy of a state can go. Also, non-state actors including significant non-governmental organizations like Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch can influence the direction of a state’s foreign policy. Other non-state actors that can influence foreign policy include international criminals, smugglers, drug and human traffickers, terrorists and so on. The state government is compelled to put adequate measures in place by formulating policies that will see to the eradication of such cross border activities.

Study Session Summary

We examined in this Study Session, the two basic environments that determine foreign policy: domestic (features, factors and forces that are peculiar to a state from which the policy is being formulated) and external (the recipients of foreign policy) environments.

While the domestic influences are: geographical features, population, type of political system, economic development, military capabilities, mass media, public opinion, and interest groups; external influences contribute to the character orientation and direction of a state’s foreign policy. These factors which are outside of the state or within the international system include: International law, International Organizations, Treaties, and Actions of other countries, individuals and non-state actors.

Assessment

1. point out the determinants of foreign policy.
2. explain the domestic factors that influence foreign policy making.
3. present the various external influences on foreign policy.

Study Session 5

Instruments of Foreign Policy: Political Instruments

Introduction

In this Study Session and some of the subsequent ones (Study Sessions Six to Eight), we shall discuss the various instruments or tools that countries employ in achieving their foreign policy goals. Countries of the world have to decide on ways by which they relate with one another in the international arena; these are the instruments that states use in conducting their foreign policies. There are quite a number of foreign policy tools, but they can be broadly classified into: political, economic, psychological and military instruments. These instruments are used simultaneously in combination with one another and depending on the situation, with varying degrees of non-coercive (influence, reward) and coercive (force, punitive) effect. For our purpose in this session, we shall focus on political instruments.

Learning Outcomes

When you have studied this session, you should be able to:

- 5.1 highlight the instruments of foreign policy.
- 5.2 present diplomatic resolutions to problems.

5.1 Political Instruments of Foreign Policy

5.1.1 Diplomacy

As the most prominent political instrument, diplomacy is considered to be the traditional, peaceful and most direct foreign policy instrument, practiced by representatives authorized to act on behalf of the governments of states or other legitimate and recognized political entities. Diplomacy is a core instrument of foreign policy. First, what is diplomacy? Hans Morgenthau in his book, Politics among Nations described diplomacy as “the making and execution of foreign policy”. In another vein, George Kenan describes it as “the business of communicating between governments”. This is because it involves the direct communication between officials and representatives of two or more governments. It involves a wide range of attributes including the ability to negotiate, to maintain good relations between a country’s allies and potential partners and for getting one’s way in the international arena.
by forceful argument rather than by military means. Put in a different way, diplomacy can be broadly described as the art of conducting negotiations, agreements and relations between two or more parties in a sensitive way.

Depending on its use, diplomacy can serve as an instrument of coercion in the form of diplomatic sanctions or by communicating diplomatically other coercive moves; of persuasion by advancing arguments and suggesting concessions; of adjustment by modifying positions on issues; and of agreement in the sense that diplomacy is the art of negotiating agreements. Thus, as a means rather than an end, diplomacy is instrumental in maximizing core values expressed as the national interest, as explicitly articulated in foreign policy goals and objectives.

In essence, diplomacy serves four major functions. The first is for the protection of the national interest of a country. Secondly, it serves the function of ‘representation’. This takes three forms: Legal representation, symbolic representation and social representation. Thirdly, diplomacy serves the function of ‘observation’. In other words, the diplomat reports back to his own country what he has observed in the host country. The fourth function is that of ‘negotiation’, (a) in which the negotiating parties try to get the other country(s) to adopt positions that would promote one’s national interest; (b) where an outright submission of the opposing side does not take place and mutual compromise is struck; (c) where both position (a) and (b) are unattainable and third parties are invited to participate in the process of negotiation.

An interesting point worthy of note is close link between diplomacy and espionage or gathering of intelligence. Embassies are bases for both diplomats and spies, and some diplomats are essentially openly acknowledged spies. For instance, the job of military attachés includes learning as much as possible about the military of the nation to which they are assigned. They do not try to hide this role and, as such, are only invited to events allowed by their hosts, such as military parades or air shows. There are also deep-cover spies operating in many embassies. These individuals are given fake positions at the embassy, but their main task is to illegally gather intelligence, usually by coordinating spy rings of locals or other spies. For the most part, spies operating out of embassies gather little intelligence themselves and their identities tend to be known by the opposition. If discovered, these diplomats can be expelled from an embassy, but for the most part counter-intelligence agencies prefer to keep these agents under close monitoring. The information gathered by spies plays an increasingly important role in diplomacy. Arms Control treaties would be impossible without the power of reconnaissance satellites and agents to monitor compliance. Information gleaned from espionage is useful in almost all forms of diplomacy, everything from trade agreements to border disputes.

There are a number of different types of diplomacy. These include citizen diplomacy, cultural diplomacy, economic diplomacy, gunboat diplomacy, multi-track diplomacy, public diplomacy, shuttle diplomacy and track I and track II diplomacy.

Diplomatic Resolution of Problems

Various processes and procedures have evolved over time for handling diplomatic issues and disputes. These include:

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Espionage  The secret collection of information, or intelligence, that the source of such information wishes to protect from disclosure.

Intelligence  A body of evaluated and processed information needed to make decisions.

Diplomat  An employee of a government who represents his or her country in dealings with other nations, especially by working in an embassy.

Arms control  Attempts through treaties, convention, and tacit agreement to limit the destructiveness of war by controlling the acquisition of weapons and use of military technology.
A. Arbitration and Mediation

Nations sometimes resort to international arbitration when faced with a specific question or point of contention in need of resolution. For most of history, there were no official or formal procedures for such proceedings. They were generally accepted to abide by general principles and protocols related to international law and justice. Sometimes these took the form of formal arbitrations and mediations. In such cases, a commission of diplomats might be convened to hear all sides of an issue, and to come to some sort of ruling based on international law. In the modern era, much of this work is often carried out by the International Court of Justice at The Hague, or other formal commissions, agencies and tribunals, working under the United Nations. An example is the Hay-Herbert Treaty enacted after the United States and Britain submitted a dispute to international mediation about the US-Canadian border.

B. Conferences

Other times, resolutions were sought through the convening of international conferences. In such cases, there are fewer ground rules, and fewer formal applications of international law. However, participants are expected to guide themselves through principles of international fairness, logic, and protocol.

Some examples of these formal conferences are:

- Congress of Vienna (1815) – After Napoleon was defeated, there were many diplomatic questions waiting to be resolved. This included the shape of the map of Europe, the disposition of political and nationalist claims of various ethnic groups and nationalities wishing to have some political autonomy, and the resolution of various claims by various European powers.

- The Congress of Berlin (June 13 – July 13, 1878) was a meeting of the European Great Powers’ and the Ottoman Empire’s leading statesmen in Berlin in 1878. In the wake of the Russo-Turkish War, 1877–78, the meeting’s aim was to reorganize conditions in the Balkans.

C. Negotiations

Sometimes states convene official negotiation processes to settle an issue or dispute between several states which are parties to a dispute. These are similar to the conferences mentioned before, as there are technically no established rules or procedures. However, there are general principles and precedents which help define a course for such proceedings. Some examples are:

- Camp David Accord – Convened in 1978 by President Jimmy Carter of the United States, at Camp David to reach an agreement between Prime Minister Mechaem Begin of Israel and President Anwar Sadat of Egypt. After weeks of negotiation, agreement was reached and the accords were signed, later leading directly to the Israel-Egypt Peace Treaty of 1979.

- Treaty of Portsmouth - Enacted after President Theodore Roosevelt brought together the delegates from Russia and Japan, to settle the Russo-Japanese War. Roosevelt's personal intervention settled the conflict, and caused him to win the Nobel peace prize.
5.2 Diplomatic Recognition

There is no specific formula for the use of these instruments with the result that their appropriateness is determined by circumstances, resource availability, moral and legal constraints, and political intent, will and commitment.

Diplomatic Recognition

Diplomatic recognition is an important factor in determining whether a nation is an independent state. Receiving recognition is often difficult, even for countries which are fully sovereign. For many decades after its becoming independent, even many of the closest allies of the Dutch Republic refused to grant it full recognition. Today, there are a number of independent entities without widespread diplomatic recognition. For example, the Palestinian National Authority has its own diplomatic service, however Palestinian representatives in most Western countries are not accorded diplomatic immunity, and their missions are referred to as Delegations General. Also, although about eighty percent of the countries recognize Israel and maintain good diplomatic relations with it, no country maintains its embassy in Jerusalem, Israel’s capital. Political circumstances make it more convenient for every country to maintain its embassy in Tel Aviv, the country’s original capital city.

Diplomatic relations among countries have long followed a common set of practices. The necessity to maintain contact as a means to facilitate
dialogue between states leads to diplomatic recognition that can be of the state but not the government or of the government as well. Normally, such recognition is not a moral stamp of approval but recognition that a regime controls the preponderance of national territory, and that it is in the interest of the other country to have formal channels of communication. Breaking relations can be a prelude to war; more often it is a mark of extreme disapproval. But if the regime survives, non-recognition can be a cause of great inconvenience since maintaining a dialogue usually involves talking either through third parties or in multilateral institutions. Sometimes a decision is made to withdraw the ambassador, temporarily or for longer periods, to deliver a significant rebuke for some policy or action of the host government. The downside to such an action is that dialogue between the states may become more rigid and are certainly conducted at a lower level of authority. In normal practice, the ambassador heads an embassy that is usually divided into numerous sections each specializing in a particular subject area. The number of persons granted diplomatic status, which under the Vienna Convention imparts immunity to certain host government laws, is negotiated between the two states.

Tip

Diplomacy is the representation of a government to other foreign governments by peaceful means. At the core of the concept of diplomacy is the idea of communicating, interacting, maintaining contact, and negotiating with states and other international actors.

In America, the State Department uses diplomacy, which usually takes the form of discussions or “peace talks,” to promote and protect American interests and manage constructive relations with other world powers and with international institutions. This form of diplomacy is also used to help prevent local conflicts from becoming wider wars that could threaten its allies, create instability in key regions, and to address global challenges, such as terrorism and international crime and drugs. In addition, America’s diplomatic goals include preventing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the spread of communicable diseases, nuclear smuggling, humanitarian crises, trafficking in human trade (such as for the purpose of slavery or prostitution), and environmental degradation.

Thus, diplomacy is a mechanism—one among many—used in furtherance of the national interest and in protection of the national security. While styles of diplomacy may differ by national cultures, personal idiosyncrasies, and historical memories, they all have a common purpose. As long as there are states and they hold differing assessments of their national interests, there will be diplomacy. I hope this study session has kindled in you an interest in the art of diplomacy. You may wish to become a career diplomat some day or who knows you may be sent abroad as an ambassador some day!
**Study Session Summary**

This Study Session has given an overview of diplomacy. We learnt that it is a traditional, peaceful and most direct instrument of foreign policy. We also identified its four major purposes: protection of national interest, representation, observation and negotiation. It must be reiterated that negotiation is the tactical key in the use of diplomacy by countries of the world.

**Assessment**

1. highlight the instruments of foreign policy.
2. present diplomatic resolutions to problems.

**Bibliography**


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There are a number of different types of diplomacy. These include citizen diplomacy, cultural diplomacy, economic diplomacy, gunboat diplomacy, multi-track diplomacy, public diplomacy, shuttle diplomacy and track I and track II diplomacy.
Study Session 6

Instrument of Foreign Policy: Economic Instruments

Introduction

In the last Study Session, we started examining instruments of foreign policy. We discussed the techniques of diplomacy. We saw that diplomacy is a core instrument of foreign policy. In this Study Session, we will examine economic instruments of foreign policy.

6.1 Economic Instruments

Foreign aid

The military or economic assistance that one country gives to help another. The term is also sometimes used to describe assistance given to a country by a private organization in another country.

Economic instruments are very important in the international arena. The underlying principle of economic instrument of foreign policy relies on the fact that they are indirect in their application; that their objective may be either coercive or persuasive; and that they develop directly out of a particular foreign policy situation. Economic instruments often tend to produce resentment, resistance and retaliation by the target state, and they have a limited range of effectiveness. The economic instruments can be used either in a persuasive mode through foreign aid, development assistance and trade and investment agreements, or in a coercive mode through various restrictions on economic relations and more overt economic and financial sanctions.

Hint

Foreign aid can take many forms, including donations of money, goods, services, and technical expertise. Foreign aid is often given by economically developed countries China, Japan, Great Britain, and the United States.

6.2 Foreign Aids

6.2.1 Use of Foreign Aids as Economic Instrument

Foreign aid is the transfer of capital, goods, or services from a donor country to a recipient. Foreign aid may be given in the form of capital transfers or technical assistance and training for either civilian or military purposes. The major objectives of foreign aid include promoting
economic growth and reducing poverty, improving governance, addressing population growth, expanding access to basic education and health care, protecting the environment, promoting stability in conflictive regions, protecting human rights, curbing weapons proliferation, strengthening allies, and addressing drug production and trafficking. Countries expect that by meeting these objectives, they will achieve their foreign policy objectives and securing their national goals.

6.2.2 Types of Foreign Aid

As we saw above, there are three broad types of foreign aid, these are:

Military Aid

It is the oldest form of foreign aid. It helps in gaining allies. States donate, sell, or trade military equipment and technology to affect the military balance of power in certain key regions of the world. It is a way to reduce burden of stationing one’s own military in another country.

| Military aid makes the recipient completely dependent on the donors for the supply of modern equipments, ammunitions, replacement and maintenance of the equipment supplied. This enables the donors to exercise almost complete control over the military movements of recipient countries. |

Economic Aid

States donate or loan money to other counties to boost economic development. This also includes grants, technical aids and so on. The United States of America, for example, fund programmes in several countries in the world. These include health programs for combating polio, tuberculosis, and malaria. A significant portion of health funds are provided for maternal and child health, and family planning and reproductive health programs. The objective also includes education programs with the majority of funds focusing on basic education needs, especially in Africa, but increasingly in south and central Asia and the Middle East. Grant means aid given by way of gifts or donations. This kind of aid is not paid back. Loans are given to be repaid over a long period of time for the development schemes to be run in the developing countries. But these loans often involve exploitation. Loan is given for a particular project approved by the donor countries.

Humanitarian Aid

During times of crisis, for example, natural and man-made disasters like flooding, hurricane, tsunami and so on, many states rise up to help the state concerned by donating relief materials and other items that will help in alleviating the suffering of the people of that country.

However, the instrument of foreign aid has been criticised by some scholars to be a modern form of imperialism and an expression of neocolonialism. One thing you need to note is that foreign aid is useful both for the donors and the recipients. While it helps the recipients because money, equipment, skill and knowledge received as aid help in establishing modern economy, political stability and military security, it
Neo-colonialism A policy whereby a major power uses economic and political means to perpetuate or extend its influence over underdeveloped nations.

helps the donors in gaining some political or commercial advantage, although this advantage may come in the distant future. Also, note that sometimes the donors attach certain strings or conditions to aid. That is, the purpose for the aid is to get a particular thing in return. However, even if no strings are attached, foreign aid helps in establishing friendly relations.

Although imperialism is similar in meaning to colonialism, and the two terms are sometimes used interchangeably, they should be distinguished. Colonialism usually implies formal political control, involving territorial annexation and loss of sovereignty. Imperialism refers, more broadly, to control or influence that is exercised either formally or informally, directly or indirectly, politically or economically.

Foreign aid can also be used to influence the domestic and external policy of the recipient country. For instance, American aid to Pakistan has been enhanced on all occasions because Pakistan has followed American dictates in every sphere. On the other hand, American aid to India was slashed after the Third Plan period as India did not agree to cut down expenditure on public sector. Aid to India was suddenly stopped when India did not follow U.S. instructions in the Indo-Pakistani War of 1971. Virtually all countries that are classified as developed (including the five major powers) give foreign aid to the underdeveloped and developing countries.

6.3 Economic Sanctions

6.3.1 Use of Economic Sanctions as Instruments of Foreign Policy

One of the economic instruments that states use is economic sanctions. Economic sanctions used for foreign policy purposes are economic penalties, such as prohibiting trade, stopping financial transactions, or barring economic and military assistance, used to achieve the goal of influencing the target country. Other types of economic sanctions include tariffs, trade barriers, import duties, and import or export quotas.

Sanctions can be imposed selectively, stopping only certain trade and financial transactions or aid programs, or comprehensively, halting all economic relations with the target nation. Sanctions are often imposed when domestic pressure for action exists, but diplomacy or propaganda would be too mild a response, yet the most severe responses, covert action or military action, would be too severe.

Economic Sanctions involves economy related actions such as; the interruption of normal trading practices—a boycott on imports from, or an embargo on exports to the offending state; suspension of financial aid; and freezing a country's overseas assets. Sanctions might be imposed after a breach of international law such as military aggression, the abuse of human rights, or in retaliation for unfair trading practices.

Also, sanctions can be imposed to serve multiple goals. The measures are more successful in achieving the less ambitious and often unarticulated goals of:
A. upholding international norms by punishing the target state for unacceptable behaviour and
B. deterring future objectionable actions.

However, they are usually less successful in achieving the most prominently stated goal of making the target country comply with the sanctioning state’s stated wishes. Thus, excessive expectations are often formed about what sanctions can achieve.

Sanctions can be also be described by the types of trade they limit. Export sanctions block goods flowing into a country, while import sanctions block goods leaving the country.

The two options are not equal and will result in different economic ramifications. Blocking goods and services from entering a country (an export sanction) generally has a lighter impact than blocking goods or services from that country (an import sanction). Blocking imports can create an incentive to substitute the blocked goods for something else. A case in which an export sanction could work is the blocking of sensitive technological know-how from entering the target country.

Blocking a country’s exports through an import sanction increases the possibility that the target country will experience a substantial economic burden. If countries don’t import the target country’s products, the target economy could face industry collapse and unemployment, which can put significant political pressure on the government.

Economic sanctions are most effective when they are applied multilaterally or against otherwise friendly nations with economic and political ties to the sanctioning country. Sanctions work best when there is strong internal political opposition to the target government, particularly internationally oriented commercial interests that want to retain business ties with the country imposing the sanctions.

Where significant political opposition exists, imposing selected sanctions with the threat of more severe measures to follow often causes the opposition to pressure the target country’s government to accede to the sanctioning state’s wishes.

Types of Foreign Policy Goals for Economic Sanctions

Three major types of political or foreign policy goals for economic sanctions have been identified. These are: Primary goals, Secondary goals and Tertiary goals.

Primary goals

These are the publicly revealed objectives of the nation imposing sanctions, usually presented in terms of making the target comply with its wishes. For example, the United Nations imposed sanctions against the white minority-ruled government in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) in 1966 to compel it to institute a system of majority rule. The primary goal of sanctions is usually the most difficult to achieve.
Secondary goals

These objectives entail symbolically enhancing the prestige or status of the government carrying out the sanctions. Sanctions can increase prestige internationally by making a moral statement against the target’s behaviour.

Sanctions can also increase the standing of the sanctioning government in the eyes of its domestic interest groups. For example, selective sanctions placed against South Africa by the governments of many western industrial nations were a moral statement against its policy of racial segregation. These sanctions won the western governments’ greater support from their own domestic anti-apartheid groups.

Tertiary Goals

These are goals that affect the international system. Sanctions, or the threat of them, can punish a country for the violation of international norms. They also can act as a symbol of resolve by the sanctioning country to deter the target or other nations from displaying future unacceptable behaviour. In the mid-1980s, the United States placed fairly comprehensive unilateral trade and financial sanctions on Libya to punish it for state-sponsored terrorism and intervention against neighbouring states. Also, western countries threatened to impose sanctions against the Soviet Union if it invaded Poland to suppress the Solidarity trade union in 1981. It was observed that this threat could have resulted in the decision in Moscow to repress Solidarity by the Polish government’s imposition of martial law rather than by a Soviet invasion. A Soviet invasion would have been perceived as a greater threat to the West.

However, it is worthy of note that economic sanctions can raise the costs of trade and finance to the target state and can slow economic growth but usually they do not wreck the state’s economy. It can raise the cost for the target nation to conduct trade and finance activities but usually do not cause extensive damage. Sanctions can also hurt the sanctioning country by ending mutually beneficial commercial transactions.

The extent of actual economic damage to the target nation, however, does not often determine the success of sanctions; the threat of damage from further sanctions is often more powerful. The impact of sanctions is often felt by poor, innocent civilians and not the intended government officials.

A trade embargo is most likely to affect a subsistence farmer who cannot sell his crops for export or a worker in a factory that is unable to receive raw materials. In most cases, sanctions will exclude humanitarian items such as medicines. During the Saddam Hussein regime, U.S. economic sanctions against Iraq were often criticized as hurting the people that the American Government wanted to rise up against Saddam. The boycott and near isolation of South Africa because of its former apartheid policy separating the races is a famous example of economic sanctions. U.S. companies divested themselves of South African assets in the 1980s. The UN Security Council has supported economic sanctions against North Korea because of its possession of nuclear weapons.
Basiclly, therefore, sanctions are ultimately blunt tools of foreign policy because their deployment is rarely precise enough to affect only the target economy, and because they presuppose that economic harm will lead to the sort of political pressure that will benefit the instigating country. By using a sanction a country is assuming that it is truly able to influence the leadership of the target country. Sanctions ultimately are a battle of political wills, with the loser being the country whose economy cannot withstand the pressure.

Study Session Summary

In this Study Session, we examined the various ways in which economic instruments are used in the conduct of international relations. We also noted that economic instruments can be used either in a persuasive mode through foreign aid, development assistance and trade and investment agreements, or in a coercive mode through various restrictions on economic relations and more overt economic and financial sanctions.

Assessment

1. Explain the goals of economic sanctions.
2. Describe foreign aid as an economic instrument.

Bibliography


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Study Session 7

Instruments of Foreign Policy: Psychological Instruments

Introduction

In the last Study Session, we examined the economic instruments of foreign policy. In this Study Session, we will discuss the psychological instruments that countries use in their relations with other countries in the world.

Learning Outcomes

After you have studied this Study Session, you should be able to:

7.1 discuss propaganda as psychological instrument.

7.1 Psychological Instruments

Propaganda

The dissemination of ideas and information for the purpose of inducing or intensifying specific attitudes and actions.

Hint

Since propaganda is frequently accompanied by distortions of fact and by appeals to passion and prejudice, it is often thought to be invariably false or misleading. While some propagandists may intentionally distort fact, others may present it as faithfully as objective observers.

The psychological instruments are indirect means of state action aimed at the psychological leanings and orientations of large bodies of people. One major type of psychological instrument is propaganda. According to Encyclopaedia Britannica, propaganda is the more or less systematic effort to manipulate other people’s beliefs, attitudes, or actions.

The propagandist has a specified goal or set of goals. To achieve these he deliberately selects facts, arguments, and displays of symbols and presents them in ways he thinks will have the most effect. To maximize effect, he may omit pertinent facts or distort them, and he may try to divert the attention of the reactors (the people whom he is trying to sway) from everything but his own propaganda.

Garth Jowett and Victoria O’Donnell define propaganda as “the deliberate, systematic attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions, and direct behaviour to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist”. More comprehensively, Richard Alan Nelson defines it as “a systematic form of purposeful persuasion that attempts to influence the emotions, attitudes, opinions, and actions of
specified target audiences for ideological, political or commercial purposes through the controlled transmission of one-sided messages (which may or may not be factual) via mass and direct media channels. In other words, propaganda can be defined as any message intended to modify the attitudes and behaviour of people at whom it is directed, primarily by appealing to their emotions. It is a policy tool deployed by all governments usually through the deliberate use of information, images, and ideas to affect public opinion. Propaganda is, therefore, the deliberate direction, or even manipulation, of information to secure a definite objective.

Propaganda is an attempt to direct the thinking of the recipient, without his conscious collaboration, into predetermined channels. It is the conditioning of the recipient by devious methods with an ulterior motive.

Propaganda emphasizes those facts which best serve its purpose. It creates the atmosphere in which the audience is most susceptible to suggestion. By power of suggestion, which in favourable circumstances becomes instruction, it secures positive action.

Propaganda has at its disposal, more plentiful and more powerful instruments than ever before in history. The radio, television, even movies, makes it possible to reach the individual in the privacy and the secrecy of his own home. An example that readily comes to mind is the way and manner news is broadcast on America’s Cable News Network (CNN). You will notice that a particular item of news is repeated over and over again within the hour and before one knows it, it is already etched in the person’s subconscious. In other words, if the American government wants to put across negative or even positive information across to whip up sentiment among the American people, all it needs to do is to get the information across to CNN!

Although usually directed at the citizens of a state, propaganda can also involve subversion as a direct-action technique aimed at weakening a state and overthrowing or influencing its political structures and decision-making elites. During the Cold War, both the United States and the
Soviet Union extensively used propaganda. The Soviet Government used various means to spread their propaganda, posters being a predominant mode. They demonized the United States, exaggerated facts to justify military spending. What they wanted to do most of course was to create a sense of confidence in the Soviet public that would intimidate Americans and its government which would leave the rest of the world wondering what its true civil defence capabilities were. America also portrayed the Soviet in a bad light to its citizens and the rest of the world.

### 7.1.1 Types of Propaganda

Information analysts often classify propaganda into three categories: black, grey and white.

**Black or Covert Propaganda**

Black or covert propaganda consists of outright falsehoods or material falsely attributed to a source. Black propaganda is subversive and provocative; it is usually designed to appear to have originated from a hostile source, in order to cause that source embarrassment, to damage its prestige, to undermine its credibility, or to get it to take actions that it might not otherwise. It routinely employs underground newspapers, forged documents, planted gossip or rumours, jokes, slogans, and visual symbols.

**Hint**

Black propaganda is usually prepared by secret agents or an intelligence service because it would be damaging to the originating government if it were discovered.

**Gray Propaganda**

Gray propaganda is unattributed material of questionable validity. In other words, it is unattributed to the sponsor and conceals the real source of the propaganda. The objective of gray propaganda is to advance viewpoints that are in the interest of the originator but that would be more acceptable to target audiences than official statements. The reasoning is that propaganda materials from a foreign government or identified propaganda agency might convince few, but the same ideas presented by seemingly neutral outlets would be more persuasive. Unattributed publications, such as articles in newspapers written by a disguised source, are staples of gray propaganda. Other tactics involve wide dissemination of ideas put forth by others—by foreign governments, by national and international media outlets, or by private groups, individuals, and institutions. Gray propaganda also includes material assistance provided to groups that put forth views deemed useful to the propagandist.

**White Propaganda**

White propaganda is the overt spreading of true information in the service of a cause. White propaganda is correctly attributed to the sponsor and the source is truthfully identified. (The U.S. government's international broadcast service Voice of America, for example, broadcasts white propaganda). From the above we see that propaganda could be ‘overt’ or ‘covert’.
Overt propaganda describes conditions in which the propagandist’s identity and interests are known to the target audience. In contrast, covert propaganda is in play when the propagandist is unknown or disguised, as in instances of unsigned political advertisements, clandestine radio stations using false names, or statements by officials who have been secretly bribed.

### 7.1.2 Strategies of Propaganda

To achieve their objectives, propagandists utilize various tactics to distort information in order to convince their target audience. These include: labelling or name-calling, transfer, testimony and plain folk.

#### Labelling or name-calling

This refers to a method used by propagandists seeking to create a bad image for an idea, person or process. To achieve this, they make slanderous remarks about such a person or idea so as to condemn it and make the people to reject it.

#### Transfer

This is a reverse of labelling. With transfer, the propagandists praise the person, idea or programme with the intention of making the target audience to admire and accept the object without probing the real facts about it.

#### Testimony

This is the process of using authoritative views of respected or influential persons or authorities to justify or condemn an idea, person or programme in other to encourage the target audience to accept or reject. In other words, it is assumed that the respected persons or celebrity has endorsed the idea being sold to an audience. In fact, just a photograph of the person can generate more interest in that issue or cause thousands, sometimes millions, of people to become supporters. For instance, respected former Presidents, business tycoons, elder statesmen could be interviewed by the media on the particular issue at hand with the view of influencing the opinion of the person.

#### Plain Folk

This may involve associating an object (idea, person or programme etc) with the values, norms, practices and preferences of the masses or the common man. It targets the average citizen and its presentation of the promoted argument is such that it would be portrayed as “working for the benefit of the common person”.

There are certain advantages in propaganda that makes it attractive to the governments of states that use it as a weapon of foreign policy. Although it is true that it cannot on its own achieve a particular objective, propaganda however create legitimate problems for the country in which it is directed as it usually spreads doubts in the minds of the people of that particular country about the honesty, reliability and preparedness of their government in advancing the interest of that country. The tool is often used to confuse an adversary, weaken his self-confidence and put him on the defence. For instance, imagine if the American government wants to
embarrass Nigeria, it can continue to beam pictures of the Niger-Delta militants and the Boko Haram crises on CNN portraying the country as a terrorist country and all the citizens as terrorists because it wants to achieve a certain objective. While it is true that there are certain trouble spots in the country, it would not be true to say that Nigerians are all terrorists.

Jowett and O’Donnell offer a 10 point checklist for analyzing propaganda:

1. The ideology and purpose of the propaganda campaign,
2. The context in which the campaign occurs,
3. Identification of the propagandist,
4. The structure of the propaganda organization (for example, identifying the leadership, organizational goals, and the form of media utilized),
5. The target audience,
6. Media utilization techniques,
7. Special techniques to maximize effect (which include establishing the credibility of the source, using opinion leaders, using face-to-face contact, drawing upon group norms, using rewards and punishment, employing visual symbols of power, language usage, music usage, and arousing emotions),
8. Audience reaction to various techniques,
9. Counterpropaganda (if present),
10. Effects and evaluation.

In essence, propaganda experts employ a range of symbols, ideas, and activities to influence the thoughts, attitudes, opinions, and actions of various audiences—including such contrasting modes of communication and human interaction as educational and cultural exchanges (including public diplomacy), books and scholarly publications, the adoption of slogans and buzzwords, monuments and museums, spectacles and media events, press releases, speeches, policy initiatives, and person-to-person contacts. Most often, the information that is giving out to the public in order to achieve such an objective are false or may be half-truth.

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### Study Session Summary

In this Study Session, we defined propaganda as the deliberate attempt to direct the thinking of the recipient, without his conscious collaboration, into pre-determined channels. It also involves trying to influence people’s views, feelings and emotion about an object through the manipulation of information.

Finally, we examined the categories of propaganda namely; black, gray, and white.
Assignment

1. Present the role of western media in the projection of the African continent as the ‘home of sit-tight leader’s syndrome’. Post your response to your tutor on Study Session Seven Assignment Page on course website.

2. discuss propaganda as psychological instrument.

Assessment

Required

Bibliography

Textbooks


Web resources

Study Session 8

Instruments of Foreign Policy: Military Instruments

Introduction

In the last Study Session, we examined the psychological instruments of foreign policy. In this Study Session, we want to examine the military instruments for implementing foreign policy.

Learning Outcomes

After you have studied this Study Session, you should be able to:
1. explain the uses of military instruments in foreign policy
2. describe the major forms of military instruments

8.1 Forms of Military Instruments

Deterrence  The policy of discouraging hostile action by a potential aggressor. Such an effect can be achieved either by convincing a would-be aggressor that the attack will fail—"deterrence by denial"—or by giving the impression that success would be achieved at an excessive price—"deterrence by punishment."

Military instruments involve the use of military means in the conduct of foreign policy. They are usually used in the attempt to get a target, a state, a group (or groups) within a state to change its objectionable behaviour through either the threat to use force or the actual use of limited force. Although generally associated with the coercive use of armed force (offensive, defensive or deterrent) in a situation of war (conventional or unconventional), it also includes military threats, military intervention, military aid and assistance, sales of arms and the use of the military in peace support operations.

There are three major forms of military instruments namely:

A. Military assistance,
B. Threat of coercion and
C. War.

8.1.2 Military Assistance

Military assistance is a valuable instrument of foreign policy. It helps friends and allies deter and defend against aggression and contribute to sharing the common defence burden.

Military assistance promotes overseas presence and peacetime engagement by improving the defence capabilities of allies and friends,
while demonstrating the country’s commitment to defend common interests. Adequate military capability among allies decrease the likelihood that force will be necessary if conflict arises. As an integral part of peacetime engagement, military assistance programs contribute to national security by enhancing deterrence, encouraging defence responsibility sharing among allies and friends, supporting readiness, and encouraging inter-operability among potential coalition partners. It helps in reducing regional tensions and promotes regional stability.

**Programs under Military Assistance**

Programs under military assistance include Foreign Military Sales (FMS), Foreign Military Financing (FMF), International Military Education and Training (IMET) and, Voluntary Peacekeeping Operations (PKO).

**A. Foreign Military Sales**

Foreign military sales programme is the government-to-government channel for selling defence equipments, services, and training. Responsible arms sales further national security and foreign policy objectives by preserving regional stability in areas important to a country’s national interests through ensuring balance of military forces and reducing incentives to acquire weapons of mass destruction. National benefits derived from these sales include an improved balance of trade, sustainment of highly skilled jobs, and generation of revenue the particular country.

**B. Foreign Military Financing**

Foreign military financing helps in meeting a country’s allies security needs. The funding country provides funding for special programmes that will help in enhancing the recipient country’s internal security.

**C. International Military Education and Training**

This is a low cost grant programme that provides professional military education and training to foreign military and civilian personnel, usually on annual basis. For example, identified future leaders of foreign defence and non-defence establishments receive training in U.S. values, regard for human rights, democratic institutions, and a professional military under civilian control by attending IMET sponsored courses and programmes in the United States. The IMET programme remains one of the least costly and most effective programme for maintaining U.S. influence and assisting countries in their transition to functioning democracies.

**D. Voluntary Peacekeeping Operations**

Multilateral peacekeeping is an essential element of foreign policy strategy for promoting peace abroad. It allows countries to share its security responsibilities and burdens with others. The number of situations requiring peacekeeping operations has risen dramatically in the past few years and can be expected to increase further in the years ahead.

**Case Study**

Explore Nigeria’s use of the instrument of peacekeeping force as an instrument in relation to Sierra Leone and Liberia in the 1990’s.

**Note your findings**
Threat of Coercion

This is also referred to as coercive diplomacy. It involves the use or threatened use of military force to achieve political objectives. It is a strategy that combines threats of force, and, if necessary, the limited and selective use of force in discrete and controlled increments, in a bargaining strategy that includes positive inducements. The aim is to induce an adversary to comply with one’s demands, or to negotiate the most favourable compromise possible, while simultaneously managing the crisis to prevent unwanted military escalation.

This may be done verbally, or it may involve shifts in the readiness or deployment of a country’s armed forces. For example, during the 1973 Arab-Israeli War, the Soviets readied airborne brigades and threatened to intervene if Israel attempted to destroy the encircled Egyptian army. The prospect of Soviet Union carrying out its threat was sufficient to restrain Israel.

War

War is also an instrument of foreign policy. Von Clausewitz said that “war is the mere continuation of policy by other means”. Nicolson also pointed out that where diplomacy provokes international animosity it “ceases to be diplomacy and becomes its opposite, namely war by another name”. War, at times, may be necessary to defend a country and its allies or to preserve broader peace and security, including by protecting civilians facing a grave humanitarian crisis.

Examples of wars abound. I am sure you can list more than ten wars that have been fought in the world. We can talk of international wars that are World War I and World War II. Also, we have wars between countries, as well as internal or civil wars within particular countries. However, most countries, if not all, endeavour to exhaust other options before war whenever they can, and carefully weigh the costs and risks of action against the costs and risks of inaction.

| When is war necessary? |

Study Session Summary

In this Study Session, you learnt that military instruments are usually used in the attempt to get a target, a state, a group(s) within a state to change its objectionable behaviour through either the threat to use force or the actual use of limited force. We also examined the three major forms of military instruments; military assistance, threat of coercion and war. The Study Session ended with a note that war is usually the last resort used by states in furthering their foreign policy.
Assessment

1. Explain the uses of military instruments in foreign policy
2. Describe the major forms of military instruments

Bibliography


Overview of the Foreign Policy of the Super Powers I

Introduction

In previous Study Sessions, we have examined the concept of foreign policy, its objectives, instruments, structures, and institutions of foreign policy. In subsequent Study Sessions, we shall examine the foreign policy of the major powers we have identified previously. For this Study Session, we shall focus on the United States of America (USA / US) and the United Kingdom.

9.1 USA Foreign Policy

The United States can be considered as the most popular country in the world. I am sure none of you can claim not to have heard of America before. The U.S. is a country mentioned almost everywhere and every time. The country holds great economic, political, and military influence on the entire world. There is even a saying that ‘when America sneezes, the whole world catches a cold!’ The atrocity of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks – and subsequent attacks in the UK and around the world – brought into focus a darker side of interaction in the international community. Thus, America and many other countries in the world had to re-focus their foreign policies in a way that will enable them to be more prepared for whatever happens in the international arena. Let us now examine the foreign policy of the United States of America.

9.1.1 Principles Guiding U.S. Foreign Policy

The United States bases its pursuit of specific foreign policy objectives on a variety of justifying principles. These include:

1. Protecting the Territorial Integrity of the Home Country
2. Protecting the Territorial Integrity of Allies  
3. Maintaining the International Balance of Power  
4. Fostering International Security through the United Nations  
5. Protecting Access to Strategic Resources  
6. Maintaining International Legal Principles, such as Freedom of the High Seas  
7. Furthering the Interests of American Business  
8. Safeguarding American Nationals in Foreign Countries  
9. Fostering Modernization and Economic Development throughout the World  

9.1.2 The Making and Implementation of US Foreign Policy

American’s foreign policy covers a wide range of functions and issues. It includes establishing and maintaining diplomatic relations with other countries and international organizations such as the United Nations and the Organization of American States. It also includes peacekeeping functions such as working with allies to assure regional and international security and arms-control efforts. It covers a range of international economic issues including trade, travel, and business. It also involves foreign aid and disaster relief. As a superpower, the United States has also taken a leadership role in peacemaking around the world by trying to negotiate treaties and agreements to end regional conflicts. Also, as a world leader, the United States has a longstanding role in trying to address international economic and environmental problems.

The United States foreign policies are greatly influenced by the domestic political environment, the economic implications and the president’s standing in the opinion polls. The domestic political system of the United States is that of a constitutional republic and representative democracy, “in which majority rule is tempered by minority rights protected by law.” The government is regulated by a system of checks and balances which is defined by the U.S. Constitution. It is interesting to note that the U.S. constitution is one of the shortest constitutions in the world.

U.S. Foreign Policy Decision Making Actors

The making and carrying out of America’s foreign policy involve all three branches of government, that is, the executive, legislature and judiciary and a complex array of governmental institutions and agencies.

By the provision of the constitution, the president cannot take foreign policy decisions without at least two third supports of the Senate. The president and the executive branch have the most significant role in making foreign policy and are responsible for carrying it out. With the advice and consent of the Senate, the president makes treaties and appoints ambassadors. Also, the president can hold summit meetings with world leaders. As commander in chief of the military, the president can,
by executive order, rapidly project U.S. power around the globe. Additionally, the president is allowed to enter into treaties with foreign states through executive agreement without the senate’s approval but such agreements are rarely long standing. It is the Congress that has the power to conduct commercial activities with other states as well as go to war.

The president is the commander-in-chief and the head of the government and despite relying on consensus of the senate he has significant control over policies. The degree of control over the senate depends on the individual leader, his leadership style and personal charisma. As the commander-in-chief of the country’s armed forces and head of government, the president appoints its leaders, the secretary of defence and the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Bureaucratic organizations within the U.S. government include Office of the President, National Security Council, State Department, Defence Department, Central Intelligence Agency, Joint Chiefs of Staff, Embassies, Consulates, Federal Reserve, Treasury Department, and so on. In forming U.S. foreign policy, the president relies on advice from the National Security Council. This group is made up of the vice-president, secretary of state, secretary of defence, head of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), and chair of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (the nation’s highest military adviser).

The secretary of state heads the U.S. State Department and often represents the president abroad. The State Department carries out foreign policy decisions and helps develop foreign policy for every region of the world. Attached to the State Department is the U.S. Foreign Service, or diplomatic corps. It is made up of ambassadors (who represent America’s political interests in every county), consuls (who represent America’s business interests), and other officials who specialize in technical matters and issues of foreign aid.

As I mentioned earlier, it is the Congress that has the constitutional backing to declare war. War requires resources such as money, troops, and equipment and in a democracy, resources require continued public support. The people’s representatives in Congress control public spending by what is referred to as the ‘power of the purse’. If a majority of lawmakers vote against the war, it will not be funded. If a military plan is not supported by majority of lawmakers it will be called off or at best be changed.

However, it is the President's job to convince the Congress of the validity of any decisions, which must incorporate domestic political agendas. For example, in World War II, U.S. Army Chief of Staff, Gen. George C. Marshall recommended that the right military strategy was to focus on Germany first, merely holding the line against Japan until the bigger threat was defeated in Europe and only after Germany was out of the way should the country move forces east and deal with the Japanese. President Franklin D. Roosevelt opted instead for parallel offensives against both Germany and Japan at the same time. According to this policy, the United States actually attacked Japan before it began its first attacks on Germany. A crucial motivating factor behind this decision was that Roosevelt was worried that he would lose domestic political support for the war if he ignored the country that attacked the United States at Pearl
Harbour, fighting Germans instead. Most people today think the U.S. strategy in World War II was very successful but instead of solely basing it on military advice the head of government at that time considered the issue of domestic politics. In other words, the United States strategy in World War II was greatly influenced by the president’s need to maintain popular support at home.

Congress also plays a critical role in America’s foreign policy through its power to set duties and tariffs on foreign exports and imports, regulate foreign commerce and immigration. It sets quotas on immigration, chooses which countries will benefit for most-favoured-nation status in trade agreements, votes on foreign aid, and sets the defence budget. But Congress is usually in the role of accepting, changing, or rejecting policies proposed by the president.

Additionally, the Supreme Court plays a limited role in foreign policy. It has jurisdiction over cases involving treaties, maritime law, and ambassadors and other public ministers. It also is charged with deciding disputes between states and foreign states and their citizens and subjects.

Despite the fact that all three branches of America’s government are involved in the process of foreign policy making, the president has more power in foreign policy than Congress for the following reason:

- First, the president has the power to conduct negotiations and use troops. Congress, however, can check and balance presidential decisions.
- Second, the president determines the general direction of foreign policy and the effectiveness of its implementation.
- Third, the very nature of Congress limits its influence on foreign policy; these things include its size, deliberative procedures, and its dispersed leadership.
- Fourth, Congress is oriented toward domestic policy and cannot respond quickly and decisively to international events.
- Finally, the president has access to the expertise of the executive bureaucracy, which coordinates and implements policy.

The public also plays a role in influencing foreign policy. Also, advocacy groups for foreign countries often try to influence Congress and the president about issues. Business associations lobby the government about international economic and trade issues. Groups and individuals with strong views on certain foreign policy issues, especially military intervention, often organize protests or other political actions to influence decisions.

In addition, the mass media play a crucial role as it can also check foreign policy powers. They investigate policies, expose scandals and inefficiencies, and affect public opinion. But most importantly, the media can call the attention of the public to issues to which the average American pay attention, thereby gaining the attention of elected officials.

### 9.2 Approaches to US Foreign Policy

In the last Study Session, we established that America is the only super power in the world since the dis-integration of the Soviet Union in 1991. Since then the country has been enjoying all the trappings of a global world power and sees itself as the ‘policeman’ of the world. In this Study Session we shall examine the major policies of America since before World War I and thereafter till date.
9.2.1 US Major Foreign Policy Approaches

Isolationism

Isolationism was the dominant ideology guiding American foreign policy from the era of the founders until the end of World War II. Isolationism is a foreign policy adopted by a state in which the country refuses to enter into any alliances, foreign trade or economic commitments, or international agreements in hopes of focusing all of its resources into advancement within its own borders while remaining at peace with foreign countries by avoiding all entanglements of foreign agreements. In other words, it is a foreign policy view that nations should stay out of international political alliances and activities and focus on domestic matters.

| The central principle of America’s isolationism was that the country should take advantage of its geographic distance from Europe and avoid political or economic entanglements with other countries. |

Supporters of isolationism also thought America was better off pursuing its interests in other parts of the world without participating in alliances or foreign wars. Isolationists thought the best way to secure democracy and prosperity was to build it at home.

World War I nevertheless proved to be the first clear indicator that the United States, would, by virtue of its new power position, find it difficult and perhaps also undesirable, to remain ‘un-entangled’. Since the conflict pitted many ideological friends and major trading partners of the United States against a group of European autocracies—most particularly after the March Revolution of 1917 in Russia—it proved extraordinarily difficult, for the country to remain in the path of isolation.

Internationalism

Another type of America’s foreign policy is tagged Internationalism. Internationalism means involvement in events beyond one’s borders to accomplish and protect the national interest. In essence, it is a foreign policy view that the U.S. should actively engage in the affairs of other nations in order to try to shape events in accordance with U.S. interests. It has dominated American foreign policy since 1955. In addition, America pursued a policy of containment towards the Soviet Union and its allies. In other words, it meant that the United States did not need to engage in a war to defeat the Soviet Union. Instead it could adopt a policy of constant vigilance and the creation of alliances in which American power would be used to contain and counter Soviet aggressive moves. Let us now briefly examine the uses of these policies in the history of America’s interaction with the rest of the world.

9.2.2 An Overview of U.S. Foreign Policy

During the Revolutionary War, John Adams was directed by the Continental Congress to outline a plan for the new country’s foreign
economic means.

**Containment**

An association of two or more nations united by a formal treaty for some agreed-upon purpose. Most alliances are defensive in form, involving a pledge of mutual military assistance against an actual or potential common enemy.

policy. Adams advocated free trade and the avoidance of political ties. The demands of war, however, made military aid from foreign states a necessity. France, who had struggle with Britain, gave the Americans aid. In 1778, France and the North American colonies signed a military alliance, the first and only military alliance until the twentieth century.

In the early years of the republic, the U.S. was weak and on the margins of international affairs. The U.S. had geopolitics on its side, as it was protected by large oceans, has abundant resources, industrious people, and relatively friendly neighbours. The Framers, having led a revolution against Great Britain, were generally opposed to alliances with European powers. They saw Europe as a bunch of petty squabbling principalities that had been at war for most of the last few hundred years. George Washington warned the country to avoid entangling alliances when he left office. Despite a brief alliance with France to help the U.S. win independence, the U.S. generally avoided alliances with Europe until the twentieth century. The country entered into few treaties in the early years. In 1809, the United States entered into their first executive agreement (a government to government agreement that is binding only on the current administration). Despite that agreement, that attempted to end problems between the U.S. and Great Britain, the two nations were at war in 1812.

The U.S. under President Monroe announced that if any country attempted to re-colonize Latin America, or if Russia attempted to move on the western coast of America, the U.S. would respond with force. This became known as the **Monroe Doctrine**.

In his annual message to Congress in 1823, United States president James Monroe declared that the United States had the right to exclude foreign powers from colonizing in the western hemisphere. Monroe's bold assertion was primarily intended to prevent Spain from reclaiming its former colonies in the Americas. The statement became known as the **Monroe Doctrine**, and in subsequent decades the doctrine emerged as the foundation of U.S. policy in Latin America.

For years, the U.S. was concerned primarily with the Western hemisphere and with conquering the continent. Eventually, the country spanned from the Atlantic to the Pacific. During this period, the U.S. accumulated some territories in the Pacific Ocean, including Hawaii and other islands. As a result of the Spanish American War in 1898, the U.S. acquired Puerto Rico, American Samoa, the Philippines, and hegemony over Cuba. The war also elevated the U.S. to the status of a world power. During the nineteenth century, the United States expanded dramatically taking land from Native Americans and buying territories from Russia, France, and Spain. By the end of the century, the U.S. spanned the entire continent. Often, this process of expansion was called **Manifest Destiny**, arguing that the United States had a divine obligation to tame the continent and control its riches. While other countries were grabbing colonies overseas, the United States expanded in mostly contiguous (neighbouring) areas.

**Manifest Destiny** refers to a tenet holding that territorial expansion of the United States is not only inevitable but divinely ordained. The phrase was first used by the American journalist and diplomat John Louis O'Sullivan, in an editorial supporting annexation of Texas, in the July-August 1845 edition of the **United States Magazine and Democratic Review**, a magazine that featured literature and nationalist opinion.
In 1903, U.S. President, Teddy Roosevelt sent the navy to Panama to help it gain independence from Colombia. In 1904, the United States started building the Panama Canal (it opened in 1914). This was the beginning of the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine that stated it was the responsibility of the U.S. to assure stability in Latin America and the Caribbean. Under this doctrine, the U.S. sent military forces to Nicaragua, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Cuba, Panama, Mexico, and elsewhere. This history of interventions has left a mark on U.S. relations with Latin America to this day. Many in that region still have animosity towards the heavy handedness of U.S. foreign policy. By the turn of the twentieth century, the U.S. was on its way to becoming a world power.

9.2.3 World War I and the Inter-war Years

World War I broke out in Europe in 1914. The U.S. wanted to remain neutral, but was eventually forced into the war by the German policy of unrestricted submarine warfare.

Troops and aid from the U.S. began to arrive in Europe as Britain and France were virtually exhausted. Over five million Americans served in WWI. The U.S. also provided huge loans to the allies and massive amounts of war material. Woodrow Wilson hoped that an international organization would prevent additional wars, and in that vein, he advocated the League of Nations. The domestic politics of the U.S. were not ready for a permanent foreign policy role and the Senate defeated the treaty establishing the League. The U.S. returned to a policy of high tariffs and isolationism. The war had made the economy boom and the U.S. became the leading economic power in the world. Only the Great Depression and the rise of Adolf Hitler shook the U.S. out of its isolation and back onto the world stage.

9.2.4 World War II

In 1939, WWII began. The United States soon found that its grand strategy of isolationism, unilateralism, and strict neutrality failed to make the country secure and keep it out of war. In December 1941, the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, and Germany declared war on the U.S. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt quickly mobilized the country for war. Defence spending helped shake off the lingering Great Depression. Lend-Lease helped provide war material to the Allies and helped American businesses.

Even before the end of the war, Roosevelt and the allies created the United Nations to guarantee the security of member nations and promote economic prosperity around the globe. The five great powers--U.S., Soviet Union, China, France, and Great Britain--were to have seats on the Security Council and any of them had veto power over UN actions.

As the war ended, the allies also created new international economic organizations to promote trade and economic growth. Among the institutions the allies created were the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. These
organizations would regulate exchange rates, provide funds to rebuild war-torn economies, and lower trade barriers. These new institutions represented a shift in American strategy from isolation and unilateral action to engagement and multilateral action.

9.2.5 The Cold War and Containment: 1947-1969

During World War II, the United States was allied with Great Britain and the Soviet Union. As the war was ending, cracks had already become visible in the relations between western allies and the Soviet Union. Joseph Stalin, leader of the Soviet Union, attempted to encourage the spread of communism through eastern and central Europe and into the Balkans.

President Truman responded with the Truman Doctrine to contain the expansion of communism. This was the beginning of a bipartisan consensus in foreign affairs to resist communism and oppose the Soviet Union. Truman also got Congress to pass the European Recovery Program, or the Marshall Plan, to rebuild Europe with huge infusions of American aid. The idea was to prevent communism by making strong vibrant economies in Western Europe. For the first time, the U.S. joined a political and military alliance in peacetime, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

The post-WWII era was also the nuclear era. Until 1949, the U.S. had a monopoly on nuclear weapons. Then, the Soviet Union exploded their bomb and the race was on. After the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962, in which the USSR attempted to station nuclear missiles in Cuba, ninety miles from U.S. soil, both sides began to look for ways to limit the nuclear and military tension between the two countries. The U.S. began to seek ways to control the growth of nuclear weapons through test ban and nonproliferation treaties. Both sides also began to negotiate limits on the growth of their own arsenals and eventually arms control became arms reduction in the 1980s.

9.2.6 Detente and Human Rights, 1969-1981

President Nixon announced that the time for confrontation was over and a new era of negotiation was in order in 1969. This new era was called détente. This period was characterized by summit meetings of U.S. and Soviet leaders and arms control agreements.

The culmination of detente was the achievement of the Helsinki Accords in 1975. The heads of government of virtually every European state, Canada, and the United States met in Finland. The Soviets hoped that...
Helsinki would recognize their control of Eastern Europe and other conquered territories and the western powers wanted the USSR to agree to human rights and other protections for all citizens. Both got what they wanted. The inviolability of borders was made an important point in international law and human rights. Until the fall of the Berlin Wall and the reunification agreement in Germany, the Helsinki Accords were as close as we came to a European peace from WWII.

In 1977, Jimmy Carter expressed his desire to make human rights the cornerstone of his foreign policy. In 1979, the Iranian hostage crisis erupted and undermined Carter’s domestic support. The Republicans charged that Carter and the Democrats had made America weak. Detente finally died when the Soviets invaded Afghanistan in 1979. Carter also promulgated the Carter Doctrine – which the Persian Gulf was an area of vital U.S. interest and the U.S. would fight to maintain its interests there.

President Jimmy Carter condemned the December 1979 invasion of Afghanistan by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) in both his 1980 State of the Union message and a subsequent address to a joint session of the United States Congress. Carter claimed a Soviet presence in Afghanistan threatened control of vital oil exports from the Middle East. His pledge to protect strategic U.S. interests in the Persian Gulf region “by any means necessary” became known as the Carter Doctrine.

In 1990, Iraq invaded Kuwait and the U.S. led a U.N.-approved operation to expel Iraqi troops from Kuwait. The operation was lauded as a great success and President George Bush’s approval ratings skyrocketed. Shortly thereafter, the Soviet Union was wracked by a coup in August 1991 and then the collapse of the USSR. The Cold War and Communism were gone.

President Clinton inherited a much different world order than his predecessor. He followed policies of engagement, not isolation. And Clinton pursued more multilateral approaches to world problems than previous administrations. However, without the Communist threat and the doctrine of containment, the U.S. government did not know when and how to intervene and when to hang back.

When George W. Bush became president, these issues had still not been resolved. Bush placed a high priority, initially, on Mexico and Latin America. His first foreign visit was to Mexico in a highly symbolic gesture to that country.

**9.2.7 The War on Terrorism: 2001 to Present**

But whatever plans he might have had Bush’s foreign policy agenda were overcome by events. The al-Qaeda terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, forced the government to respond to that threat and other potential threats. Almost 3,000 people died in the attacks on New York’s World Trade Centre towers, the Pentagon, and in the plane crash in Pennsylvania that didn’t reach its target due to the heroism of its passengers. Thousands had their lives disrupted by the attacks and the economy suffered a major setback that had worldwide repercussions. Bush declared a war on terrorism. He proposed a new Office of Homeland Security and took the country to war against the Taliban.
regime of Afghanistan that had harboured and protected al-Qaeda. By the end of 2001, the Taliban were defeated and 17 countries had troops in Afghanistan. Many more had pledged aid to rebuild the country shattered by the Soviet invasion, then civil war, then the Taliban rule, and finally the war on terrorism.

As the Bush administration confronted the aftermath of 9-11, the policies of the United States changed from the reactive strategies of containment and deterrence to a more proactive policy of preemptive military action. In March 2003, Bush launched a war in Iraq in the belief that Iraq was developing weapons of mass destruction (WMD). WMD’s are nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons. The administration argued that Iraq was a safe haven for terrorists and needed regime change. The United Nations did not approve of the invasion. Regime change came quickly and Saddam Hussein was overthrown, and captured in December 2003. However, coalition forces found no evidence of WMD. The Bush administration then changed its justification for the war to the goal of promoting democracy and remaking the Middle East. Bush declared “mission accomplished”.

But violence escalated. By the end of June 2007, more than 3,585 American soldiers had died. In addition, Iraq had elected a new government but the insurgency, which became a civil war continued. In 2007, Bush responded with a “surge” in troop levels in an effort to win the conflict. The September 11th attacks brought about a change in foreign and defence policy priorities. Defence of the homeland and pursuing a global war on terror became the dominant goals of U.S. foreign policy.

9.3 U.S. Foreign Policy Doctrines

Apart from the principles guiding America’s foreign policy that we discussed in the previous section, U.S. foreign policy is also guided by what is referred to as doctrines. A foreign policy doctrine is a general statement of foreign policy and belief system through a principle. In some cases, the statement is made by a political leader, typically a country’s president or chief diplomat, and comes to be named after that leader. The purpose of a foreign policy doctrine is to provide general rules for the conduct of foreign policy through decisions on international relations. These rules allow the political leadership of a country to deal with a situation and to explain the actions of a country to other countries.

The following is a brief summary of some of the various doctrines (presidential or otherwise) that have defined and undergirded the United States’ foreign policy throughout its history.

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<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>Proclamation of Neutrality &amp; Farewell Address (by Washington)</td>
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<td>The U.S. is neutral in the conflict between France and Great Britain; the United States will pursue legal proceedings against any American providing assistance to the warring countries; it is the true policy of the U.S. to steer clear of permanent alliances.</td>
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<td>Monroe Doctrine</td>
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<td>02</td>
<td>Further efforts by European countries to colonize land or interfere with states in the Americas will be viewed as acts of aggression requiring U.S. intervention; the Western Hemisphere is not to be further colonized by European countries, but the United States will neither interfere with existing European colonies nor meddle in the internal concerns of European countries.</td>
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<th>Roosevelt Corollary</th>
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<td>03</td>
<td>A right of the United States exists to intervene in order to stabilize the economic affairs of states in the South America, if they’re unable to pay their international debts’.</td>
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<th></th>
<th>Lodge Corollary</th>
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<td>04</td>
<td>The U.S. forbids any foreign power from acquiring any significant territory in the Western Hemisphere.</td>
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<th>Stimson Doctrine</th>
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<td>05</td>
<td>The United States does not recognize international territorial changes executed by force; furthermore, the U.S. cannot admit the legality of any situation de facto nor recognize any treaty between those governments which may impair the treaty rights of the United States.</td>
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<th>Good Neighbour Policy</th>
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<td>06</td>
<td>Non-intervention and non-interference in the domestic affairs of Latin America to create new economic opportunities and to reassert the influence of the U.S. in Latin America.</td>
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<th>Truman Doctrine</th>
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<td>07</td>
<td>The policy of the United States is to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures; because totalitarian regimes coerced free peoples, they represent a threat to international peace and the national security of the United States. Under this, the U.S. promised to send money, equipment, or military force to countries that were threatened by and resisting communism. This began the American policy of containment to try and stop the fall of countries to communism and to halt the expansion of</td>
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Soviet influence.

**Eisenhower Doctrine**
A country can request American economic assistance and/or aid from U.S. military forces if it is being threatened by armed aggression from another state, specifically the USSR in the Middle East.

**Kennedy Doctrine**
The United States must focus on the containment of Communism and the reversal of Communist progress in the Western Hemisphere. “We shall pay any price, bear any burden”.

**Johnson Doctrine**
Communist dictatorship of a Latin American country is a priority concern of the United States and is no longer a local matter.

**Nixon Doctrine**
The United States henceforth expects its allies to take care of their own military defence, but that the U.S. would aid in defence as requested; the U.S. will honour all previous treaty commitments and continue to provide a nuclear shield against threats on allied nations.

**Carter Doctrine**
An attempt by any outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf region will be regarded as an assault on the vital interests of the United States of America; the United States would use military force if necessary to defend its national interests there.
Reagan Doctrine
The focus of the U.S. was to shift from keeping Communism from spreading to eliminating existing Communist governments, from containment to rollback; the United States also will encourage capitalism and democracy in these places; specific nations targeted for rollback are Afghanistan, Angola, Ethiopia, Iran, Laos, Libya, Nicaragua, and Vietnam. It was a major change in policy moving from simple containment to more direct assistance to those fighting against communist governments. In fact, the point of the doctrine was to provide military and financial support to guerrilla forces such as the Contras in Nicaragua.

Clinton Doctrine
The United States has a national interest in preventing genocide; if it’s within the United State’s power to stop genocide, the U.S. will use military force to affect that end.

Bush Doctrine
The United States has the right to secure itself against countries that harbour or give aid to terrorist groups; to prevent hostile acts by adversaries, the United States will act pre-emptively in exercising its inherent right of self-defence if necessary; the U.S. must also advance the cause of freedom and democracy abroad. Part of Bush’s policies is based on the belief that those who harbour terrorists should be treated the same as those who are terrorists themselves.

Obama Doctrine
Highest priority is to keep the American people safe. He is committed to ensuring the United States is true to its values and ideals while also protecting the American people. The President is committed to securing America against 21st century threats by preventing terrorist attacks and other threats against the country, preparing and planning for emergencies, and investing in strong response and recovery capabilities.

Discussion Activity
Throughout history, the foreign policy of the US has been guided accordingly by the statement of preference of its president per time.

Task:
Point out the doctrine that best describe the US occupation of Iraq.

Resources: You may review the respective doctrines above; and also explore the following resource:
9.3.1 Challenges to American Foreign Policy

There are many challenges facing the U.S. and almost all countries in the 21st century. These include the possibility of terrorist attacks that have led to additional security measures within the country and to fighting a global war on terrorism overseas; identifying policies to pursue in the national interest, balance foreign and domestic affairs; and many more.

Basically, some of the major foreign policy issues of America’s concern are:

1. Terrorism  
2. Nuclear Proliferation  
3. The Rising Power of China  
4. The Global Economy  
5. The Split in NATO and the UN  
6. Regional Conflicts  
   a. War with Iraq  
   b. North Korea and Nuclear Weapons  
   c. The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict  
   d. Iran  
   e. The HIV/AIDS crisis, especially in Africa  
   f. Cuba, Haiti, Colombia, Venezuela, Libya  
   g. China and Taiwan  
   h. Eastern Europe

Essentially, therefore, all these and many more problems are strong factors that defines or that will define America’s foreign policy now and in the near future.

Study Session Summary

In this Study Session, you examined the US foreign policy-making formulation and implementation. United States foreign policy is greatly influenced by the domestic political environment, the economic implications and the president’s standing in the opinion polls from. The US foreign policy approaches include: isolationism, containment and internationalism. Over the years America has been known for a number of doctrines which defined its Foreign policy per time.
Assessment

1. outline the principles guiding the making and implementation of US foreign policy.
2. discuss U.S. foreign policy doctrines.
3. highlight at least ten approaches to America’s foreign policy.

Bibliography

Textbooks


Web resources


U.S. Foreign Policy. Available at: http://faculty.ucc.edu/egh-damerow/US%20Foreign%20Policy.htm
Study Session 10

Overview of the Foreign Policy of the Super Powers II

Introduction

In the last Study Session, we examined the formation and conduct of foreign policy of the United States. In this Study Session, we shall examine the United Kingdom and France Foreign Policies.

Learning Outcomes

After you have studied this Study Session, you should be able to:

10.1 discuss Britain’s key foreign policy initiatives as pivots in the international scene.
10.2 highlight the roles of different segments of France foreign policy.

10.1 United Kingdom’s Foreign Policy

The UK is officially called the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. It is made up of England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland. It is a developed country and has the world’s sixth-largest economy by nominal GDP and seventh-largest economy by purchasing power parity. It was the world’s first industrialized country and the world’s foremost power during the 19th and early 20th centuries. In the early 20th century, a quarter of the world’s people and a quarter of the world’s land surface were controlled in some way by Britain. The country colonized some parts of Africa, Asia and even the United States of America!

The UK remains a major power with leading economic, cultural, military, scientific and political influence. It is a recognized nuclear weapons state and its military expenditure ranks third or fourth in the world. The UK has been a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council since its first session in 1946; it is also a member state of the European Union, the Commonwealth of Nations, the G8, the G20, the OECD, the Council of Europe, the World Trade Organization, and NATO.
The UK was the world’s foremost power during the 19th and early 20th centuries. Throughout history it has wielded significant influence upon other nations via the British Empire, and until the 1950s was considered a superpower. However, the cost of two World Wars and the process of decolonization diminished this influence. World War II consumed Britain to such an extent that it brought an end to the British Empire and its international standing. This was because Britain was virtually bankrupt from WW1. Its army was overstretched and Britain was not in a position to enter another war. This is why in the post war era; British global aims have been restricted by its economic reality. British foreign policy today is built upon having a role in Europe and influencing the US. British policy makers have accepted the nation’s weakness after WW2 and developed a policy of preservation rather than outright competition with the U.S. Britain has managed to achieve its interests through a policy of preserving its global ambitions by working with the U.S. and the EU, whilst at the same time working to divert, alter, complicate and limit the aims of both.

United Kingdom’s foreign policies are implemented by the United Kingdom’s Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO). In March 2006, the FCO released a White Paper titled *Active Diplomacy for a Changing World: The UK’s International Priorities* in which UK’s foreign policy objectives are listed. In June 2006, an additional priority on climate security was added to these by then Secretary of State, Margaret Beckett. The ten International Priorities formed a framework to guide the FCO’s work, and are as follows:

1. Making the world safer from global terrorism and weapons of mass destruction.
2. Reducing the harm to the UK from international crime, including drug trafficking, people smuggling and money laundering.
3. Preventing and resolving conflict through a strong international system.
4. Building an effective and globally competitive EU in a secure neighbourhood.
5. Supporting the UK economy and business through an open and expanding global economy, science and innovation and secure energy supplies.
6. Achieving climate security by promoting a faster transition to a sustainable, low carbon global economy.
7. Promoting sustainable development and poverty reduction underpinned by human rights, democracy, good governance and protection of the environment.
8. Managing migration and combating illegal immigration.
9. Delivering high-quality support for British nationals abroad, in normal times and in crises.
10. Ensuring the security and good governance of the UK’s Overseas Territories.

The UK simultaneously pursues multiple foreign policies, some of which overlap and some of which may be contradictory. Consequently, the combination of institutions, government representatives and external pressures involved in the policy process varies from issue to issue. It is thus unwise to generalize about the foreign policy process as a whole from just a small number of issue areas.

The United Kingdom is one of the United States’ closest allies, and British foreign policy emphasizes close coordination with the United States. Bilateral cooperation reflects the common language, ideals, and democratic practices of the two nations. Relations were strengthened by the United Kingdom’s alliance with the United States during both World Wars, in the Korean conflict, in the Persian Gulf War, in Operation Iraqi Freedom, and in Afghanistan, as well as through its role as a founding member of NATO. The United Kingdom and the United States continually consult on foreign policy issues and global problems and share major foreign and security policy objectives.

The United Kingdom is the fifth-largest market for U.S. goods exports after Canada, Mexico, China, and Japan, and the sixth-largest supplier of U.S. imports after China, Canada, Mexico, Japan, and Germany. U.S. exports of goods and services to the United Kingdom in 2010 totalled $48.5 billion, while U.S. imports from the U.K. totalled $49.8 billion (U.S. Census Bureau). The United Kingdom is a large source of foreign tourists in the United States. In 2010, 2.67 million U.S. residents visited the United Kingdom, while 3.15 million U.K. residents visited the United States.

The United States and the United Kingdom share the world’s largest foreign direct investment partnership. U.S. investment in the United Kingdom reached $421 billion in 2008, while U.K. direct investment in the U.S. totalled $454 billion. This investment sustains more than 1 million American jobs.

In conclusion, Britain has successfully kept itself in the international game through participating in international issues. An example of this is the Afghan war, Britain has no overriding interests in the country, however it has participated in the U.S. led war to keep itself relevant and in this way it is able to shape the outcome of the conflict. Like America and other world powers, British Foreign Policy has faced a
range of new challenges at the dawn of the 21st Century, from global terror networks to energy insecurity. It has also had to consider old problems of international order and justice such as alliances, balances of power, military intervention and the role of international institutions.

10.2 Foreign Policy of France

France is a major industrialized nation in Western Europe. It is the third largest country in Europe, after Russia and Ukraine, and the fourth most populous. France has a long history of prominent foreign policy. The country has 158 embassies and 97 consulates across the world with an average of 2 million citizens living overseas. It is the 2nd largest diplomatic network after the U.S. It is a charter member of the United Nations, holds a permanent seat in the UN Security Council and is a member of most of the UN related agencies with which France has a permanent seat in 17 multilateral missions. The country was a founding member of the NATO alliance in 1948. France was a founding member of the Common Market, the European Economic Community and the European Union. The country has continually worked to build European institutions, an integrated economic area and closer common positions on foreign policy.

10.2.1 Overview of France’s Foreign Policy

In explaining France’s foreign policy, I would like to emphasize five points. These are: the central role of the presidency; the secondary role of the government; the specific influence of the foreign ministry and of the diplomatic apparatus, superseding the would-be influence of the Think Tanks and of the NGOs; the lesser role of the Parliament; and the contrasted role of public opinion. Let us examine these points one after the other.

The central role of the Presidency

This central role derives from the Constitution itself, and is confirmed by its practice. As far as constitutional provisions are concerned, the President exerts both representative and substantial functions. He appoints ambassadors, negotiates and ratifies international treaties, with, in some cases only, the authorization of the Parliament. He is also responsible for their implementation at the international level. He is also the commander in chief of the armed forces, and legally in charge of the decisions concerning the nuclear deterrent. The consent of the Parliament is not necessary for the use of armed forces, apart a formal declaration of war which is not necessary nowadays: either the armed forces are used with an authorization of the Security council, or they are used in the context of a formal alliance, in both cases implementing international commitments of the State. And, for the Security Council for instance, in 2003, the decision to oppose any resolution from the Security Council backing a military intervention against Iraq was a presidential decision.

In practice, all the successive Presidents have been internationally very active. They participate regularly in international Summits, G 8 for instance, or to the UNGA regular annual sessions. They follow the negotiation and conclusion of the main political treaties, and sometimes
directly, as in the European Summits. Indeed, the President is at the origin of the main orientations of the French foreign policy, and of their continuity. At the military level, he has also used intensively his powers, deciding for instance either to suspend (1992) or to resume (1995) the French nuclear tests, before deciding their definite cessation and the French participation to the CTBT (1996). The President has also decided, in 1995, to send a robust intervention force to Bosnia, and, for instance, to increase substantially the French participation to UNIFIL in 2006.

The Secondary Role of the Prime Minister and the Government

Generally speaking, the duality between the Presidency and the Government in the Executive branch is a specificity of the Fifth Republic. In the international field, the Prime Minister and the Government are not deprived of powers and influence, even if they have fewer powers than in the domestic field. In European matters, nevertheless, it is difficult to distinguish between the domestic and the international field. At the international level, the Government has to approve the appointment of the ambassadors, and it may also negotiate and conclude international executive agreements. It is also in charge of the domestic implementation of international agreements. But, as far as the political majority in the Parliament is in accordance with the electoral majority of the President himself – who is elected by the vote of all citizens -, it means that the Presidency and the Government are in the same political line, and that the effective master of the public policy is the President, directly for the general directives, through his collaborators for the day by day policies.

We must nevertheless contemplate another possibility, which occurred three times in the course of the Fifth Republic – in 1986, 1993, 2002: the hypothesis of a contradiction between the political majority in the Parliament and the political orientations of the President. As the Fifth Republic remains basically a parliamentarian regime, the Government is the expression of the majority of the National Assembly. The Prime Minister could thus be in opposition with the President, and there is a need of a minimal agreement between them in order to make their “cohabitation” possible. In the domestic field, the Government is rather free to implement its own policy, and it is the role of the President that becomes secondary. But in the international field, whether diplomatic or military, given the presidential prerogatives, it is absolutely necessary that both authorities (the president and the Prime Minister) concur in the main orientations. Fortunately, it was the case during the three practical cohabitations, with some exceptions – for instance, an agreement in the economic multilateral field, the Blair House agreement, in the nineties, had to be renegotiated due to the change of parliamentarian majority – which was accepted by the President. But, in the case of the treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe, the main orientations were accepted by President Chirac and Prime Minister Jospin, in a context of cohabitation.

The specific role of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Indeed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has an eminent and traditional role, not only in the implementation of foreign policy decisions, but also in their very definitions. It is due in part to its place in the political-
administrative apparatus, which belongs to a more than secular tradition of the successive French Republics, and for another part to the professional quality and to the solidarity as a group of the diplomatic corps. And France keeps one of the main diplomatic networks all around the world. It is elite, both by its recruitment, by a very selective process, and by its origin – diplomats are globally coming from the upper class, or from the upper middle class. Even in the French administration, whose high level is selected by the Ecole Nationale d’Administration, the Quai d’Orsay, “le Département”, or “la Carrière”, remain very prestigious.

The Quai d’Orsay embodies a reservoir of knowledge, experience and wisdom of which French diplomats are both fully aware and proud. Besides, the diplomatic corps is able to manage the career of its members, the allocation of tenures and posts, and the political apparatus must take it into consideration. For sure, it is not in a position to define by itself the Foreign policy, especially when new decisions have to be taken. But it is able to put them in a larger perspective, in the perspective of the traditions and of the consistency of the traditional French foreign policies, and to smooth the moves which could be perceived as too far and too fast. The diplomats have the legitimate feeling of being the servants of the State, of its permanent interests and positions, and not the domestics of transitory governments. It could be a matter for further analysis and explanations, but let’s stop at this for the time being. I would just like to highlight two consequences.

Firstly, by comparison with other Western democracies, the non-governmental organizations’ (NGOs) political role in France is rather limited. Indeed there are in France a lot of active NGOs, specifically in the field of human rights, humanitarian law, and humanitarian assistance. Everybody knows Médecins sans frontière, or Médecins du Monde, among others, and the name of Bernard Kouchner is a popular one. But in fact they do not really influence foreign policy. From time to time, it is certainly possible to note that this policy is influenced by some coalitions of NGOs – for instance, with the Roma Convention of 1998 on the International Criminal Court, or with the Montreal Convention on anti-personal mines. But it was more by international coalitions, in which the French NGOs played a limited role. On the contrary, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as well as the Ministry of Defence, are able to use the NGO’s for their own purposes, and in a way to use them as tools. The relationship is more one of partnership than of lobbying from the NGO’s, despite some appearances. It’s another example of the central role of the State apparatus in the public life in France. It is for example symbolic that M. Bernard Kouchner, coming from the NGO’s, was appointed minister in several governments.

Second, the role of the Think Tanks, still in comparison to other Western democracies, also remains a limited one. There are a lot of reasons to explain why the Think Tanks are globally underdeveloped in France, and for instance the lack of recognition of the study of international relations as an academic formation and topic. Another explanation is the central role of the State, which doesn’t facilitate the private funding of independent research centres. But it is also a consequence of the traditions of the Quai d’Orsay, and of the idea that diplomats do not need academic expertise. They frequently dismiss it as theoretical, poorly
informed or ideological. They sure pay a lip service to the importance of expertise and of external consultants, but they rarely take their advice into consideration. This situation is indeed evolving, and some Think Tanks are beginning to emerge, but the trend remains limited. And when some Think Tanks are mobilised, it is more as a tool for the French diplomacy than for an independent evaluation of the French foreign policies.

The Intermittent Role of the Parliament

In the global context of the Fifth Republic, and by comparison with the previous ones, the role of the Parliament has been dramatically reduced. It has been reduced in order to rationalize and stabilize the governmental life, which before that was very unstable. Fifty years after, more and more voices are emerging from all the political parties, claiming a renewal and an extension of Parliament powers. But these claims do not seem to apply to the international powers of the Parliament, despite the fact that it is even more limited in this field than in the others. In fact, under the previous Republics, the international powers of the Parliament were also strictly limited.

The Parliament indeed has to authorize the ratification or the approval of international agreements, but in some areas only – in particular, the treaties establishing military alliances are not concerned. And the rights of the Parliament in the discussion of the texts of the international agreements are very restricted: it can only adopt or reject the text, without any modification or interpretation. In fact, the parliamentarian discussions about international agreements are frequently symbolic, and, under the Fifth Republic, no one was ever rejected by the Parliament. To the contrary, one was rejected by the National Assembly, under the Fourth Republic, in 1954, the treaty establishing a European Defence Community.

It could happen, and it happened several times, that the ratification of a given treaty should need a preliminary modification of the Constitution, because this treaty embodies provisions which are contrary to the Constitution. In this case, the Parliament is requested to adopt the requested modification, which it has regularly made, in the European building process notably, but also for the entry into force of the International Criminal Court. The general idea, traditional in some respect, is that the Parliament feels that it belongs to the Executive branch to play the leading role in international relations, and this idea is largely accepted in France.

As far as the use of force is concerned, we have already noted that, apart from a formal declaration of war, it does not need to be authorized by the Parliament. It could happen nonetheless that, without any legal obligation, the government informs the Parliament, or that the President sends a message to the Parliament. In some cases, the government could request a vote of approval, in order to increase the legitimacy of the decisions, but it is not the regular practice. It is a political tool to obtain a manifestation of support, but it is not a legal obligation.

Public Opinion and Popular Votes

A particularity of the Fifth Republic is the possibility to ask the people to decide directly on important matters, through referendums. It has been
used several times, and it is not a symbolic procedure, because two of these referendums got negative results – in 1969, provoking the departure of President de Gaulle, and in 2005, about the treaty establishing a European constitution. It was indeed a very important decision. Does it mean that international questions are a subject of serious dissension among the citizens or between the leaders and the citizens? Certainly not, and this event, as spectacular as it is, remains an exception.

What is more striking in fact is the French consensus about international matters. Despite the vivid opposition between the political parties from the left and from the right, international subjects are rarely a subject of dissension among the political parties, and in the public opinion. For instance, the nuclear deterrent force, the presence of French soldiers in Afghanistan, the French position towards the Iraqi war, and more generally the idea that France is an ally but not a subordinate of the United States, the French position about the Israeli Palestinian conflict, or about the military operation of Israel against Lebanon, were not or are not really challenged. There is also a large support for the Kyoto agreement, the cessation of nuclear tests, the International Criminal Court, to take a few examples.

This consensus derives in part from bad reasons: among them a lack of interest; a lack of information – the French media seldom make a priority of international matters; the feeling that the events are not affecting the French people’s daily life, or than in any case France has no grip on the situation, and should simply remain quiet about it. But, on the contrary, and this a more positive reason, numerous French people share the feeling that France has to play a role, and should express freely its own positions. In this respect, the French permanent membership of the Security Council is welcome, as well as its consequences, namely the maintenance of military armed forces able to intervene at the request or with the authorization of international bodies for the sake of international security.

In conclusion, France continues to be relevant in the international community. While it is not a super power, its status as one of the permanent members of the United Nations Security Council is a very important factor that shapes the country’s foreign policy. The fundamental principles of French foreign policy include: the right of peoples to self-determination, respect for human rights and democratic principles, respect for the rule of law and cooperation among nations. Within this framework, France’s concern is to preserve its national independence while at the same time working to foster the European construction as well as regional and international solidarity.

Also, as a victim of international terrorism both at home and abroad, France has for many years shown its determination to combat terrorism in all its forms and irrespective of its source. France, which considers that an uncompromising fight to eliminate terrorism must be conducted without prejudice to human rights and public freedoms, has put in place specific anti-terrorism legislation. The United Nations resolutions adopted following the attacks of 11 September 2001 in the United States stepped up international cooperation against terrorism. France is an active
participant in the work of the United Nations Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC).

**Study Session Summary**

In this Study Session, we established that the UK was the world’s foremost power during the 19th and early 20th centuries. United Kingdom’s policy is implemented by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO). The important role of the Britain’s mainly in the international arena, the United States of America was also examined.

We also identified the major input into the foreign policy of France; the presidency. The role of the media and public opinion of French citizens also play out in the country’s foreign policy formulation and implementation. We should also note that France is actively involved in the fight against terrorism.

**Assignment**

1. Compare France’ and America’s Foreign policy approaches towards terrorism since the September 11 attack.
2. Discuss Britain’s key foreign policy initiatives as pivots in the international scene.
3. Highlight the roles of different segments of France foreign policy.

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Study Session 11

Overview of the Foreign Policy of the Super Powers III

Introduction

In the last Study Session, we examined the foreign policy of two European powers: United Kingdom and France. In this Study Session, we will examine the foreign policy of Russia and China.

Learning Outcomes

After you have studied this Study Session, you should be able to:

1. describe Russia’s foreign policy.
2. explain China’s foreign policy towards Africa and factors influencing it.

11.1 Russia’s Foreign Policy

The former Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) broke up into Russia and 14 other independent republics in Dec 1991. Russia is the largest of the fifteen republics that made up the Soviet Union, accounting for over 60% of the GDP and over 50% of the Soviet population. Russians also dominated the Soviet military and the Communist Party (CPSU). After the break up, Russia went from the status of ‘super power’ to ‘great power’. Thus, Russia was widely accepted as the Soviet Union's successor state in diplomatic affairs and it assumed the USSR’s permanent membership and veto in the UN Security Council.

Despite this acceptance, post-Soviet Russia lacked the military and political power of the former USSR. Russia managed to make the other ex-Soviet republics voluntarily disarm themselves of nuclear weapons and concentrated them under the command of the still effective rocket and space forces, but for the most part the Russian army and fleet were in near disarray by 1992. Prior to the dissolution of the Soviet Union, Boris Yeltsin had been elected President of Russia in June 1991 in the first direct presidential election in Russian history.
11.1.1 History of Soviet foreign policy: Ideology and Objectives

According to Soviet theorists, the basic character of Soviet foreign policy was set forth in Vladimir Lenin’s Decree on Peace, adopted by the Second Congress of Soviets in November 1917. It set forth the dual nature of Soviet foreign policy, which encompasses both proletarian internationalism and peaceful coexistence. On the one hand, proletarian internationalism refers to the common cause of the working classes of all countries in struggling to overthrow the bourgeoisie and to establish communist regimes. Peaceful coexistence, on the other hand, refers to measures to ensure relatively peaceful government-to-government relations with capitalist states. Both policies can be pursued simultaneously: “Peaceful coexistence does not rule out but presupposes determined opposition to imperialist aggression and support for peoples defending their revolutionary gains or fighting foreign oppression.” The Soviet commitment in practice to proletarian internationalism declined since the founding of the Soviet state, although this component of ideology still had some effect on later formulation and execution of Soviet foreign policy. Although pragmatic national interest undoubtedly accounted for much of more recent Soviet foreign policy, the ideology of class struggle still played a role in providing a worldview and certain loose guidelines for action in the 1980s. Marxist-Leninist ideology reinforces other characteristics of political culture that create an attitude of competition and conflict with other states.

The general foreign policy goals of the Soviet Union were formalized in a party program ratified by delegates to the Twenty-Seventh Party Congress in February–March 1986. According to the program, “the main goals and guidelines of the CPSU’s international policy” included ensuring favourable external conditions conducive to building communism in the Soviet Union; eliminating the threat of world war; disarmament; strengthening the “world socialist system”; developing “equal and friendly” relations with “liberated” (Third World) countries; peaceful coexistence with the capitalist countries; and solidarity with communist and revolutionary-democratic parties, the international workers’ movement, and national liberation struggles.

Although these general foreign policy goals were apparently conceived in terms of priorities, the emphasis and ranking of the priorities have changed over time in response to domestic and international stimuli. After Mikhail Gorbachev became general Secretary of the Communist Party in 1985, for instance, some Western analysts discerned in the ranking of priorities a possible de-emphasis of Soviet support for national liberation movements. Although the emphasis and ranking of priorities were subject to change, two basic goals of Soviet foreign policy remained constant: national security (safeguarding CPSU rule through internal control and the maintenance of adequate military forces) and, since the late 1940s, influence over Eastern Europe.

Many Western analysts have examined the way Soviet behavior in various regions and countries supports the general goals of Soviet foreign policy. These analysts have assessed Soviet behaviour in the 1970s and
1980s as placing primary emphasis on relations with the United States, which was considered the foremost threat to the national security of the Soviet Union. Second priority was given to relations with Eastern Europe (the European members of the Warsaw Pact) and Western Europe (the European members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization – NATO).

Third priority was given to the littoral or contiguous states along the southern border of the Soviet Union: Turkey (a NATO member), Iran, Afghanistan, People's Republic of China, Mongolia, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea), and Japan. Regions near to, but not bordering, the Soviet Union were assigned fourth priority. These included the Middle East and North Africa, South Asia, and Southeast Asia. Last priority was given to sub-Saharan Africa, the islands in the Pacific and Indian oceans, and Latin America, except insofar as these regions either provided opportunities for strategic basing or bordered on strategic naval straits or sea lanes.

In general, Soviet foreign policy was most concerned with superpower relations (and, more broadly, relations between the members of NATO and the Warsaw Pact), but during the 1980s Soviet leaders pursued improved relations with all regions of the world as part of its foreign policy objectives. When Mikhail Gorbachev succeeded Konstantin Chernenko as General Secretary of the Communist Party in 1985, it signalled a dramatic change in Soviet foreign policy. Gorbachev pursued conciliatory policies toward the West instead of maintaining the Cold War status quo. The USSR ended its military occupation of Afghanistan, signed strategic arms reduction treaties with the United States, and allowed its satellite states in Eastern Europe to determine their own affairs.

**11.1.2 Russia’s Foreign Policy Outlook**

With the disintegration of the former USSR into 15 independent republics in 1991, what used to be Soviet domestic became Russian foreign policy. With the collapse of the Soviet Union Moscow’s Foreign Ministry found itself with 14 new countries with which it had to develop some kind of political relationship.

- With its recognition by world states and international organizations as the Soviet Union's successor state after its collapse, Russia aggressively assumed Soviet assets and most of the Soviet Union’s treaty obligations. The assets included diplomatic properties worldwide and a large portion of the existing diplomatic personnel staffing those posts.

- Most foreign states simply reassigned their ambassadors from the Soviet Union to Russia, and international organizations allowed Russia to assume the Soviet seat. Most notably, Russia took over the permanent seat of the Soviet Union in the United Nations (UN) Security Council, which allowed it to join the elite power group with Britain, China, France, and the United States.

Russia’s foreign policy is determined by the President and implemented by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In April 1993, the newly created Interdepartmental Foreign Policy Commission of the Security Council
finalized a foreign policy concept that the parliament approved. According to the 1993 foreign policy concept, Russia is a great power with several foreign policy priorities. These are:

1. Ensuring national security through diplomacy;
2. Protecting the sovereignty and unity of the state, with special emphasis on border stability;
3. Protecting the rights of Russians abroad;
4. Providing favourable external conditions for internal democratic reforms;
5. Mobilizing international assistance for the establishment of a Russian market economy and assisting Russian exporters;
6. Furthering integration of the Commonwealth of Independent States and pursuing beneficial relations with other nearby foreign states, including those in Central Europe; continuing to build relations with countries that have resolved problems similar to those that Russia faces; and
7. Ensuring Russia an active role as a great power.

However, at the end of 2008, Russian President D. Medvedev declared “5 principles of foreign policy” in a short interview which the president gave to representatives of three leading television channels of the country. According to him:

1. Russia recognizes the superiority of basic principles of which define relations between the civilized people. And in frames of the principles and international law Russia will also develop its relations with other states.
2. The world should be multi-polar. One-polarity is unacceptable. Domination – is inadmissible. We cannot accept such a situation in which all decisions are accepted by one country, even such serious and authoritative, as the United States of America. Such a world – is unstable and threatens with conflicts.
3. Russia does not want confrontation with any country. Russia is not going to be isolated. Russia will develop as friendly relations both with Europe and the United States of America, and with other countries of the world as possible.
4. An absolute priority for us is the protection of our citizens regardless of their residence. We also will protect interests of our business community abroad. And it should be clear for everyone that if someone will make aggressive sorties, it will face a resistance.
5. Russia has regions with the exclusive interests. In these regions there are our goodhearted allies and we will work very attentively in these regions. We have to develop such friendly relations with these states - with our close neighbours.

Thus, throughout 2000–2008 there was an evolution of foreign policy of Russia from integration into the world community to giving priority to the protection of its own interests and support its own forces. Transition from so called “blocked” diplomacy in search of constant allies to network diplomacy took place when Russia reached agreements with its partners on individual questions and against rivals.
The notion of multi-polarity has shaped Russian foreign policy horizon since mid-90s, when it became clear that Russian integration into Western system as an equal partner was not an option. The idea of a multi-polar world promoted by then foreign minister Yevgeni Primakov was reaction to American dominance in international affairs, a way to counterbalance rising US unilateralism, but did not contain any serious strategy. That rhetoric revived 2003, when Russia decided to join France and Germany in their opposition to Iraq war, but the main purpose of Moscow was to achieve a breakthrough in relationship with the European Union, which didn’t happen. By the end of this decade emerging multi-polarity and relative decline of the US power turned into most frequently discussed international issue worldwide. Russian interest in that configuration started to evolve into real strategy of foreign policy diversification towards new centres of power like China, India, Brazil and Iran.

Russia has played an important role in helping mediate international conflicts and has been particularly actively engaged in trying to promote a peace following the Kosovo conflict. Russia is a co-sponsor of the Middle East peace process and supports UN and multilateral initiatives in the Persian Gulf, Cambodia, Myanmar (Burma), Angola, the former Yugoslavia, and Haiti. Russia's participation in international peacekeeping in Yugoslavia beginning in 1992 has provided an opportunity to regain international prestige and influence and to underline the government's commitment to the prevention of aggression. Although initially cut off from the UN/NATO decision-making process, Moscow brokered ceasefires and gained Serbian support, thus managing, much to its own satisfaction, to inject itself into the policy-making process and to achieve “great power” status. Its promotion of Serb concerns about sanctions, however, betrayed a craving for bipolar regional arrangements with which the Russians obviously felt more comfortable. But this initiative runs counter to UN peace-seeking efforts. Moscow's involvement in international peacekeeping set a precedent to seek UN support for its own “near abroad” peacekeeping operations.

Russia is a member of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) (the group of former soviet republics), Union of Russia and Belarus, Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC).

In essence, the major difference between the former USSR and the Russian Republic stem from the increased openness of the political system. The former USSR was characterized by severe restrictions on political participation as well as a façade of conventional democratic institutions. It had a constitution, voting, federalism, a bicameral legislature, organized interest groups and so on. Yet, all of these were weak mechanisms which did not perform the function of limiting executive power, in this instance the dictatorship of the CPSU. Russia is witnessing the introduction of democratic institutions. The people and the media especially are now having inputs into foreign policy making in the country.

11.2 China’s Foreign Policy

China is the largest country of the Asian continent and most populous in the world. In terms of its geographical size, it is next only to Canada and is nearly three times as large as India. China is situated in the centre of the world’s largest continent and the bulk of the Asian continent lies within the scope of Chinese cultural influence. The countries situated in
China’s periphery are weak and small and more vulnerable to Chinese influence. China’s significant socio-political status is given recognition by the United States and other great powers.

### 11.2.1 Factors Influencing China’s Foreign Policy

These variations have been influenced by changing circumstances both at home and abroad. Since the founding of the Communist regime in People’s Republic of China in October, 1949 concern for security has been the main bulwark of China’s foreign policy. Over the past six decades, the Chinese leadership has shown remarkable capacity for adaptation to changing circumstances and for employing various tactics to attain the goal of national security. The factors that have influenced the Chinese foreign policy are: national interest, nationalism, historical experience and cultural values, revolutionary strategy, the theory of contradiction and the theory of the three worlds and the leadership and decision making powers.

When the Communist forces led by the Mao Zedong scored victory over the Kuomintang forces of Chiang Kai-Shek in 1949, the latter fled to Taiwan. Hence there emerged two Chinas – Mainland China or People’s Republic of China (PRC) and Taiwan or the Republic of China. The Communist leadership in Beijing argued that Taiwan was not an independent territory but part of Mainland China. Beijing debunked the theory of two Chinas and regarded itself as the real China. You need to read more on the ‘two Chinas’ for better understanding of the conflict situation.

However, the United States did not only recognized Taiwan, but also maintained political, economic and defence relations with it. America did not recognize the Communist regime in Beijing and even thwarted the latter’s induction into the United Nations by using its veto power in the UN Security Council. It was argued in America that Taiwan was an essential link in the U.S. defence system in the Pacific. In the wake of renewed friendship between America and China in 1972, and induction of PRC into the United Nations in October, 1971, relations between Beijing and America have considerably improved. But the Taiwan issue is still an irritant for the two countries.

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**Reflection**

China’s foreign policy has been governed by certain basic principles which have remained constant despite variations in ways and means in attaining them.

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**Hint**

The People’s Republic of China is not interested in exporting communist ideology; it...

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### 11.2.2 China’s Foreign Policy Objectives

In the context of China’s foreign policy, there are three dominating objectives: national unification, the promotion of world peace and an impartial world order, and the sustainability of economic development. It is important to note that China’s development strategy demands resource supplies and exports markets; that its diplomacy requires support in the international organizations and through persuasion it seeks allies to advance Chinese interests.
is economic and political influences that occupy Chinese attention.

The decade of 1970s witnessed China’s strategic alignment with the United States, its induction into the United Nations and also the formulation of Three Worlds Theory: the First World of super powers, the Third World of the vast majority of developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the Second World juxtaposed as an intermediate between the two, primarily consisting of Japan and Europe. China was seen as part of the Third World.

The decade of 1980s was marked by traumatic changes in the regional as well as the global scenario and the period witnessed a shift in emphasis from political; to economic and technological issues. The growing economic might of Japan and Western Europe and the growing US-Soviet detente provided the framework for a new multi-polar configuration of power. By the mid 1980s, the Chinese leadership had started believing that it would not be the military factor, but economic and technological capability which determine the superiority or otherwise of a country.

11.2.3 China’s Foreign Policy towards Africa

China’s presence in Africa has increasingly become so visible. The Chinese are involved in construction works, especially railways, and also in electricity production. China’s relation with Africa may be traced back to six centuries ago. In 1415, Chinese explorers visited the East African coast and brought shiploads of Chinese commodities. Kenya provided many local gifts as return. But the interaction in the modern time started from the Bandung Conference held in the year 1955, which was widely regarded as a seminal event in Sino-African history.

Since the beginning of the 1990s, China’s relations with African countries has become so noticeable. By the turn of the 21st century, China has noted Africa as a viable market to trade in, between China & Africa.

Task:
Make a presentation in PowerPoint on the “Sino-Africa Relations using Nigeria as case study”.

Upload your presentation on Study Session Eleven forum page on course website.

The conference was expected to enhance economic and cultural cooperation of the two continents and promoted the anti-imperialist and anti-colonial struggle. Of the 29 states that participated in the conference, six were African, such as Egypt, Libya and so on. The Former Premier, Zhou Enlai, attended the conference and presented “the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence”, which covered mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity; mutual non-aggression; non-interference in each other’s internal affairs; equality and mutual benefit; and peaceful coexistence. The achievement of great diplomatic success followed the conference increased Chinese interests in the continent. In 1963, Premier Zhou embarked on his first ten-nation tour of Africa to promote the second Asia-African conference. Though few agreed on the necessity for
the next meeting, Premier Zhou put forwards a particular ‘Eight-Principles’ that were designed to guide China’s engagement to African countries. They are:

1. Chinese government have persistently been providing assistance to foreign countries according to the principles of equality and mutual benefit.
2. While providing foreign aid, Chinese government strictly respects the sovereignty of recipient countries, no strings attached and no privilege required.
3. In order to relief the burden of recipient countries, Chinese government provides economic aids in the way of interest free or low interest loan, the time limit of repayment could be delayed when it is needed.
4. The purpose of Chinese government providing foreign aid is not to make recipient countries being dependent on China, but to help recipient countries gradually develop on the track of self reliance and economic development independently.
5. For the projects constructed through China foreign aids, Chinese government does its best to make quick effects through smack investment. Thus, the governments of recipient countries could increase income and accumulate money.
6. Chinese government provides equipment and materials made in China with the best quality, and negotiate the price in accordance with the price of international market.
7. While providing technical assistance, Chinese government assures to teach recipients to fully master this kind of technology.
8. The experts who are dispatched by Chinese government to help recipient countries carrying out construction, should be paid as same as their own experts of recipient countries. They are required to not have any special requirement and enjoyment.

These principles clearly clarified the Chinese intention to assist African countries by the policy of economic and technical aid. Moving into 1970s, China significantly expanded aid projects in Africa, illustrated in the number of recipient countries. Furthermore, the principles showed that Chinese government provided the assistances to the African countries without asking for any return, at least from an economic perspective. Some loans did not require repayment if the recipients could not afford this. However, for China’s decision-makers, the aid diplomacy had both political and ideological objectives. On the ideological level, China seemed to support any revolutionary movement against imperialism, including African revolutions. On the political level, the primary motivation was to compete with Taiwan and then get African to support the PRC in international recognition, as well as to compete with the Soviet Union in the African sphere.

After the most important political goal, the UN seat, was achieved in 1971, a mutual diplomatic recognition between China and America was established in 1979. The less intensive international environment was reflected in China’s foreign policy so that economic growth and domestic reforms instead of revolutionary goals dominated the policy agenda. The
12th Communist Party Committee National Assembly in 1982 sent two messages that had implications for China’s African policy: China would concentrate on domestic economic development; China would pursue its independent foreign policy characterized with ‘mutual benefits’ in real meaning. On the 1982 trip to the African continent, in accordance with these changes, the Prime Minister Zhao Ziyang offered a wholly new ‘Four Principles on Sino-African Economic and Technical Cooperation’, which stressed equality and mutual benefits, practical result, diversity in forms and common development. The Four Principles include:

1. In carrying out economic and technological cooperation with African countries, China abides by the principles of unity and friendship, equality and mutual benefit, respects their sovereignty, does not interfere in their internal affairs, attaches no political conditions and asks for no privileges whatsoever.

2. In China’s economic and technological cooperation with African countries, full play will be given to the strong points and potentials of both sides on the basis of their actual needs and possibilities, and efforts will be made to achieve good economic results with less investment, shorter construction cycle and quicker returns.

3. China’s economic and technological cooperation with African countries takes a variety of forms suited to the specific conditions, such as offering technical services, training technical and management personnel, engaging in scientific and technological exchanges, undertaking construction projects, entering into cooperative production and joint ventures.

4. The purpose of China’s economic and technological cooperation with African countries is to contribute to the enhancement of the self-reliance capabilities of both sides and promote the growth of the respective national economies by complementing and helping each other.

If we compare the Four Principles of the 1980s to the Eight Principles in the 1960s, a remarkable difference was that China asked for mutual promotion of the two economies, as showed in principle 2 and 4. Indeed, economic assistance between the poor countries could not be sustained in the long term if it was only limited to a one-way flow. By that time, China was no longer interested in sustaining its position as an influential player on the continent, but was eager to develop own economic capability. In other words, Africa lost its importance in Chinese eyes and was marginalized as China’s focus shifted to its own modernization. In a period when China itself depended on foreign funds, there was little that China could do for Africa.

The lull in relations lasted until the Tiananmen crisis in 1989. Though China intended to focus its diplomacy with the developed countries, it was confronted with harsh condemnation on human rights and punishment exemplified by political isolation and economic sanctions. These made China aware of the insurmountable value divergence between itself and the West. The only strategy seemed to be to look back, and to strengthen ties with the developing world as a defensive mechanism. This meant a reappraisal of the role of the third world countries, including the ASEAN countries and African countries, which expressed their understanding towards Beijing’s action in handling this
internal problem. As part of an effort seeking political assistance, the Foreign Minister, Qian Qichen visited 14 African countries during 1989 and 1992. The tour highlighted Beijing’s intention in seeking potential political supports from the African side. During his 1996 national visit, President Jiang Zemin proposed building a long-term and stable Sino-African relationship of all-round cooperation and friendship geared towards the 21st century.

In 2006, Beijing government particularly released an important white paper, China’s African Policy, to clarify Africa’s strategic importance to China. It was ‘the first of its kind in China’s diplomatic history with Africa’, which embodied Chinese long-term plan of enhancing all-rounds cooperation with Africa. Through it, Beijing presents the world that the objective of China’s African policy is to establish and develop a new type of strategic partnership with Africa on the basis of advancing the fundamental interests of both sides.

The 2006 China’s African Policy White Paper captures the Beijing government’s attempt to construct a strategic relationship with the continent. What Beijing addresses repeatedly is mutual-benefit under the framework of the strategic partnership. Apparently, the benefit here does not just purely refer to the political gains in 1955-1978, or the economic interests during 1978-1989. Instead, it established strategic goals through pragmatic pursuits, including political cooperation, economic interactions, and cultural exchange and so on, as showed in the white paper.

China has been one of the three largest trade partners with Africa, following America and France. The bilateral trade is growing annually and rapidly, from 10 billion USD in 2000 to 733.11 billion USD in 2007. China has acknowledged the export and investment potential in the continent. With 900 million potential customers, the African continent is a rather suitable market for Chinese cheap but sometimes good quality commodities, such as textiles and manufactured goods. The exports to Africa went up from 2.3 percent of the total exports in the year 2001 to 3.1 percent in the year 2007. The exports are mainly household utensils, mechanical and electric products, textiles and clothes. Those countries with large populations are the focusing markets, such as South Africa, Nigeria, and Algeria.

In conclusion, the turn of this century has witnessed China’s rising international status in the global arena. Determined to be an important player in a post-Cold War world, China has been carrying out a pragmatic foreign policy to ensure a favourable environment for its economic growth. Chinese foreign policy has never been seen to be as active and confident as in the first years of the 21st century. Despite some ups and downs, China’s relations with all the major powers as well as its neighbouring countries are at its best time since the establishment of the People’s Republic more than half century ago.

However, China’s apparent hand of friendship to the African continent is a major source of worry to other major powers, especially the U.S. Also, China’s poor human rights record is another source of concern for the international community.

Now that we have examined the foreign policies of the five major powers, I hope you have been able to understand the main actors of foreign policy decision making, the internal and external factors that
influence foreign policy as well as the importance of foreign policy in international relations. I would advise you to know and use correctly all the key concepts (in bold) in this course manual.

**Study Session Summary**

**Summary**

In this Study Session, we learnt that, Russia; the largest of the fifteen republics that made up the former Soviet Union, is more democratic than that of the former Soviet Union. Russia still maintains a major power role in the international arena and the idea of multi-polarity continues to shape the country’s foreign policy.

You were also exposed to China’s foreign policy. During the 1970s, China’s relations with the United States improved and in October, 1971 China joined the UN. We identified the three dominating objectives of China’s foreign policy are: national unification, the promotion of world peace and an impartial world order, and the sustainability of economic development. Finally, we also noted that China pursues a very vibrant foreign policy towards Africa.

**Assessment**

1. describe Russia’s foreign policy.
2. explain China’s foreign policy towards Africa and factors influencing it.

**Bibliography**

**Textbooks**


World Affairs Press.

Web resources

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Foreign_relations_of_the_Soviet_Union

References


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