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LECTURE 3:DEFINITIONS CHARACTERISTICS

After the treaty of Westphalia and the end of the First and Second World War, the international system has witnessed an increasing growth in the development of nation states. The end product of this development is thus, the creation of an interaction between these nation states. In addition, the establishment of United Nations and the process of decolonization that has liberated many states into sovereign entities have further provided the impetus to interrelationships among states. Such has resulted into the formation of 'foreign policies'. With the aim of determining and identifying the decisions, strategies, and ends of interaction of a state with another [1]. Furthermore, the modern world of "globalization"; the "widening, deepening and speeding up of global interconnectedness" has increased these interrelationships or interactions among states. Hence, there is unanimity among scholars on the necessity of a "foreign policy" for each state, since no state will like to function in complete isolation. This made scholars like Feliks Gross, to say that even a decision to have no relations with a particular state is also a foreign policy². A state without a foreign policy, has been compared to a ship in the deep sea without any knowledge of directions³. Thus, foreign policy leads a state in fulfilling its national interests and acquiring rightful place among comity of nations. Like small states studies, the first problem that one faces in the study of foreign policy, is the problem of definition or clear meaning of the term [2]. When used, it is either out of context or entails a different meaning. Such has led to scholars like Charles Hermann, to call foreign policy a "neglected concept"⁴. Adding that "this neglect has been one of the most serious obstacles to providing more adequate and comprehensive explanations of foreign policy." He believed that part of the reasons for this neglect is that "most people dealing with the subject have felt confident that they knew what foreign policy was." He term foreign policy has been defined in various ways by scholars; however, they are certain that it is concerned with behaviour of a state towards other states. Hermann for instance, defined foreign policy as "the discrete purposeful action that results from the political level decision of an individual or group of individuals [3]. It is the observable artifact of a political level decision. It is not the decision, but a product of the decision." By this, it can be seen that Hermann defines foreign policy as the behaviour of states. George Modelski, defines it as "the system of activities evolved by communities for changing the behaviour of other states and for adjusting their own activities to the international environment. Foreign policy must throw light on the ways states attempt to change, and succeed in changing the behaviour of other states." Modelski, noted only those aspects of policy that aim at the change in the existing behaviour of states, as the primary objectives of foreign policy. However, foreign policy is not only to change, but also continuation of the behaviour at different times [4]. It is concern both with the change and the status quo as far as they serve the national interest⁵. For example, Gambia's decision to cut diplomatic ties with Taiwan (a country it maintained ties with for almost two decades) in 2013, was a change in the foreign policy of the Gambia. In addition, no reasons were given for the decision, nor further details provided in the official press release other than stating that it was in the "national interests" of the Gambia. In the same vein, Gambia's decision to resume diplomatic relations with China, is a shift in her foreign policy towards a continuation of relationship with an old ally⁶. According to Joseph Frankel, "foreign policy consists of decisions and actions, which involves to some appreciable extent relations between one state and others"⁷. By this, foreign policy involves set of actions that are made within state's borders, intended towards forces existing outside the country's borders [5-7]. It comprises the formulation and implementation of a set of ideas that govern the behaviour of states while interacting with other states to defend and enhance their national interests. In the words of Padelford and Lincoln, "A State's Foreign Policy is totality of its dealings with the external environment. Foreign Policy is the overall result of the process by which a state translates its broadly conceived goals and interests into specific courses of action in order to achieve its objectives and

Preserve its interests"⁸. Two functions of foreign policy can be extracted from Padelford and

Lincoln's definition; first, foreign policy is to attain its conceived goals and second, to pressurize its national interests. In Hugeson's insight, "foreign policy is a well-rounded comprehensive plan based on knowledge and experience for conducting the business of government with rest of the world. It is aim at promoting and protecting the interests of the nations. His calls for a clear understanding of what those interests are and how far we hope to go with the means at our disposal. Anything less than this, falls short of being a foreign policy"⁹ . An interesting addition to that of Padelford and Lincoln's definition in Hugeson's insight is that of how far states are willing to go with the means at their disposal to achieve their interests. Such a claim leads us to ask the question; will states be willing to use force when diplomacy fails in achieving their interests? He answer to this is YES. An example of which is the Bush administration's invasion of Iraq in 2003; where the American government turned to military capabilities at her disposal to achieve their national interest¹⁰. Finally, in Deborah Garner's dictum, foreign policy is "the intentions, statements, and actions of an actor-open, but not always, a state-directed towards the external world and the response of other actors to these intentions, statements and actions." Laura Neck has criticized Deborah's definition being emphasized on states. She argued that other actors such as international cause groups, businesses, religions, and the like-in the international system formulate guidelines and goals that direct their actions towards other international actors. She used a broad definition of foreign policy that involves both statements and behaviors or actions. She asserts that foreign policy, "needs to consider more than what states declare to be their goals and how they attempt to achieve them [8]. He study of foreign policy needs to consider how certain goals arise and why certain behaviors result." Hus, in view of such a variety of definitions as to what is meant by 'foreign policy', I will conclude by defining a foreign policy as consisting of three parts: the 'end', the 'ways' and the 'means'. He end consists a vision of a desired outcome or set of interests in interacting with another state/actor; the ways, consists of the strategies and ideas (e.g. diplomatic tactics, coercion), to pursue these desired interests; and the means, consists of the available resources at a state's disposal (e.g. economic, military). Hus, a foreign policy is a vision of a desired outcome or set of interests in interacting with another state/actor, the strategies and ideas used in achieving these goals, and the available resources at a state's disposable, in guiding her interaction with other states. Determinants of Foreign Policy Decision-Making In Hill's insight, "foreign policy is the hinge of domestic and international politics"¹¹ . Here is also consensus among scholars that foreign policy serves as an intersection point of domestic and international politics. Hus, from here we can say that, the foreign policy of every state is influenced by mainly two determinants; international or external and domestic or internal. Hese are considered as factors which help in shaping and molding foreign policy [9-12]. However, the linkage between international and domestic determinants has long been a widely debated topic in the field of international relations and Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA) in particular. While others argue that domestic politics and foreign policy are two 'independent' arenas of issue, others are of the view that foreign policy and domestic politics are 'interdependent' and could spill over into each other. While both school of scholars made convincing arguments, however, the level of influence between domestic and international determinants of foreign policies varies from state and the political environment in which these states exist. In some cases, international factors play a major role, whereas in other cases, domestic determinants are more important. External Determinants of Foreign Policy Undoubtedly, the international environment plays an important role in shaping the foreign policy of every state. Since foreign policy in general is about the interaction of a state with another, this interaction only takes place at the international level and as such, cannot be ignored in analyzing the foreign policy of any state. As scholars in this school acknowledge the importance of both international and domestic factors, however, they argue that international factors play a more important role in determining country's foreign policy. He main external factors that determine the foreign policy of a state are but not limited to: the international system or power structure, international law, international organizations, alliances, and military strength or arm race. Now we can analyze these factors in details