

INR412



NATIONAL OPEN UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

**COURSE CODE: INR412
2 CREDIT UNITS**

COURSE TITLE: FOREIGN POLICY OF THE GREAT POWERS

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Course Title: FOREIGN POLICY OF GREAT POWERS

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COURSE DESCRIPTION

INR412: FOREIGN POLICY OF THE GREAT POWERS (2 Credit Units)

This course gives an insight on the policies of the great powers in the world such as Britain, United States of America, France, Germany, China, Japan and Russia. This course exposes you to the relationship that exists between nations, why and how they make international policies at both peace periods and the period of war. In this course, you will be able to understand the rationale behind the foreign policies made by these great powers and how these policies have affected the these nations and the World as a whole

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Introduction

INR 412: Foreign Policies of the Great Powers is a one-semester course in the fourth year of B.A. (Hons) Degree in French and International Relations. It is a two Unit Credit Course designed to explore the foreign policies of the Great Powers. The course begins with an introduction to foreign policy from theoretical viewpoint and proceeds into different cases of great powers explored in the course.

INR 412 is designed to facilitate understanding of relationship among great powers in the contemporary international system. The course explores how these great powers have influenced contemporary international system as well as their roles in various multinational organisations like the UN, EU and NATO. The course further explores the changing patterns of the relations among the great powers since the end of the cold war in 1989/90.

The study units are structured into Modules. Each module comprises of 5 units. A Unit Guide comprises of instructional material and also provides a brief description of the instructional material.

COURSE AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The main objective of INR 412 is to facilitate understanding of the patterns of foreign relations of the great powers and the impact of these relations on the international system.

The objectives of each unit are specified at the beginning of each unit and are to be used as reference points and to evaluate the level of progress in the study. At the end of each unit, the objectives are also useful to check whether the progress is consistent with the stated objectives of the unit. The entire units are sufficient to completely achieve overall objective of the course.

WORKING THROUGH THE COURSE

It is advised that you carefully work through the course studying each unit in a bid to understanding the concepts and principles in foreign policy and how the discipline evolved and has continued to develop. Knowing the theoretical debates to this study will also be very useful in having a good hold of the course. Your questions should be noted regularly and asked at the tutorial classes. It is recommended that students also engage new ideas generated from unfolding events around the world

The Course Material

In all of the courses, you will find the major components thus:

- (1) Course Guide
- (2) Study Units
- (3) Textbooks
- (4) Assignments

Study Units

There are 20 study units in this course: They are:

Module 1

- Unit 1 General Introduction to Foreign Policy
- Unit 2 Foreign Policy Decision-making Models
- Unit 3 The Environments of Foreign Policy
- Unit 4 Determinants of Foreign Policy Behaviours

Module 2

- Unit 1 The Principles/Goals of American Foreign Policy
- Unit 2 American Foreign Policy in Historical Perspectives
- Unit 3 British Foreign Policy in Historical Perspectives
- Unit 4 The Decline of British Power

Module 3

- Unit 1 The Fundamental Principles of French Foreign Policy
- Unit 2 France's Policy in Africa after 1945
- Unit 3 The Evolution of Common Foreign and Security Policy
- Unit 4 Component of the European Union's Foreign Policy

Module 4

- Unit 1: Fundamental Goals of Soviet Union Foreign Policy
- Unit 2: Soviet Union Foreign Policy in Historical Perspectives
- Unit 3: Fundamental Principles of Chinese Foreign Policy
- Unit 4: China in Contemporary World Politics

Module 5

- Unit 1: Principles of Japanese Foreign Policy
- Unit 2: Japan in World Politics
- Unit 3: Principles of Germany Foreign Policy
- Unit 4: Germany Foreign Policy in Historical Perspectives

From the above, we can see that the course starts with the basic introduction to the subject matter of foreign policy and expands subsequently into more detailed examination of different powers like USA, Britain, French, European Union, Soviet Union, China, Japan and Germany. The instructions given in each unit contains objectives, course contents and reading materials. In addition, there are also self-assessment exercise and Tutor-Marked Assignments. All these are intended to assist you in achieving the objectives of each unit.

TEXTBOOKS AND REFERENCES

At the end of each unit, you will find a list of relevant reference materials which you may yourself wish to consult as the need arises, even though I have made efforts to provide you with the most important information you need to pass this course. However, I would encourage you, as a fourth-year student to cultivate the habit of consulting as many relevant materials as you are able to within the time available to you. In particular, be sure to consult whatever material you are advised to consult before attempting any exercise.

ASSESSMENT

Two types of assessment are involved in the course: the Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs), and the Tutor-Marked Assessment (TMA) questions. Your answers to the SAEs are not meant to be submitted, but they are also important since they give you an opportunity to assess your own understanding of the course content. Tutor-Marked Assignments (TMAs) on the other hand are to be carefully answered and kept in your assignment file for submission and marking. This will count for 30% of your total score in the course.

TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

At the end of each unit, you will find tutor-marked assignments. There is an average of two tutor-marked assignments per unit. This will allow you to engage the course as robustly as possible. You need to submit at least four assignments of which the three with the highest marks will be recorded as part of your total course grade. This will account for 10 percent each, making a total of 30 percent. When you complete your assignments, send them including your form to your tutor for formal assessment on or before the deadline. Self-assessment exercises are also provided in each unit. The exercises should help you to evaluate your understanding of the material so far. These are not to be submitted. You will find all answers to these within the units they are intended for.

FINAL EXAMINATION AND GRADING

There will be a final examination at the end of the course. The examination carries a total of 70 percent of the total course grade. The examination will reflect the contents of what you have learnt and the self-assessments and tutor-marked assignments. You therefore need to revise your course materials before-hand.

COURSE MARKING SCHEME

The following table sets out how the actual course marking is broken down.

ASSESSMENT	MARKS
Four assignments (the best four of the assignments submitted for marking)	Four assignments, each mark out of 10%, but highest scoring three selected, then total of 30%
Final Examination	70% of overall course score
Total	100% course score

COURSE OVERVIEW PRESENTATION SCHEME

Units	Title of Work	Week Activity	Assignment (End-of-Unit)
Course Guide	FOREIGN POLICY OF GREAT POWERS		
MODULE 1	Introduction		
Unit 1	General Introduction to Foreign Policy	Week 1	Assignment 1
Unit 2	Foreign Policy Decision-making Models	Week 2	Assignment 1
Unit 3	The Environments of Foreign Policy	Week 3	Assignment 1
Unit 4	Determinants of Foreign Policy Behaviours	Week 4	Assignment 1
MODULE 2			
Unit 1	The Principles/Goals of American Foreign Policy	Week 5	Assignment 1
Unit 2	American Foreign Policy in Historical Perspectives	Week 6	Assignment 1
Unit 3	British Foreign Policy in Historical Perspectives	Week 7	Assignment 1
Unit 4	The Decline of British Power	Week 8	Assignment 1
MODULE 3			
Unit 1	The Fundamental Principles of French Foreign Policy	Week 9	Assignment 1
Unit 2	France's Policy in Africa after 1945	Week 10	Assignment 1
Unit 3	The Evolution of Common Foreign and Security Policy	Week 11	Assignment 1
Unit 4	Component of the European Union's Foreign Policy	Week 12	Assignment 1
MODULE 4			
Unit 1	Fundamental Goals of Soviet Union Foreign Policy	Week 13	Assignment 1
Unit 2	Soviet Union Foreign Policy in Historical Perspectives	Week 14	Assignment 1
Unit 3	Fundamental Principles of Chinese Foreign Policy	Week 15	Assignment 1
Unit 4	China in Contemporary World Politics	Week 16	Assignment 1
MODULE 5			
Unit 1	Principles of Japanese Foreign Policy	Week 17	Assignment 1
Unit 2	Japan in World Politics	Week 18	Assignment 1
Unit 3	Principles of Germany Foreign Policy	Week 19	Assignment 1
Unit 4	Germany Foreign Policy in Historical Perspectives	Week 20	Assignment 1

Tutor-Marked Assignments/ Self Assessment Exercises

There are two aspects to the assessment of this course. First is the Tutor Marked Assignments; second is a written examination. In handling these assignments, you are expected to apply the information, knowledge and experience acquired during the course. The Tutor Marked Assignments are now being done online. Ensure that you register all your courses so that you can have easy access to the online assignments. Your score in the online assignments will account for 30 per cent of your total coursework. At the end of the course, you will need to sit for a final examination. This examination will account for the other 70 per cent of your total course mark.

Tutor Marked Assignments (TMAs)

Usually, there are four (4) online tutor-marked assignments in this course. Each assignment will be marked over ten (10). The best three (that is the highest three of the 10 marks) will be counted. This implies that the total mark for the best three (3) assignments will constitute 30% of your total course work. You will be able to complete your online assignments successfully from the information and materials contained in your references, reading and study units.

Final Examination and Grading

The final examination for INR 412: Foreign Policy of the Great Powers will be of two hours duration and have a value of 70% of the total course grade. The examination will consist of multiple choice and fill-in-the-gaps questions which will reflect the practice exercises and tutor-marked assignments you have previously encountered. All areas of the course will be assessed. It is important that you use adequate time to revise the entire course. You may find it useful to review your tutor-marked assignments before the examination. The final examination covers information from all aspects of the course.

How to Get the Best from this Course

- 1) There are 20 units in this course. You are to spend one week in each unit. In distance learning, the study units replace the university lecture. This is one of the great advantages of distance learning; you can read and work through specially designed study materials at your own pace, and at a time and place that suites you best. Think of it as reading the lecture instead of listening to the lecturer. In the same way a lecturer might give you some reading to do. The study units tell you when to read and which are your text materials or recommended books. You are provided exercises to do at appropriate points, just as a lecturer might give you in a class exercise.
- 2) Each of the study units follows a common format. The first item is an introduction to the subject matter of the unit, and how a particular unit is integrated with other units and the course as a whole. Next to this is a set of learning objectives. These objectives let you know what you should be able to do, by the time you have completed the unit. These learning objectives are meant to guide your study. The moment a unit is finished, you must go back and check whether you have achieved the objectives. If this is made a habit, then you will significantly improve your chance of passing the course.

- 3) The main body of the unit guides you through the required reading from other sources. This will usually be either from your reference or from a reading section.
- 4) The following is a practical strategy for working through the course. If you run into any trouble, telephone your tutor or visit the study centre nearest to you. Remember that your tutor's job is to help you. When you need assistance, do not hesitate to call and ask your tutor to provide it.
- 5) Read this course guide thoroughly. It is your first assignment.
- 6) Organize a study schedule – Design a 'Course Overview' to guide you through the course. Note the time you are expected to spend on each unit and how the assignments relate to the units. Important information; e.g. details of your tutorials and the date of the first day of the semester is available at the study centre. You need to gather all the information into one place, such as your diary or a wall calendar. Whatever method you choose to use, you should decide on and write in your own dates and schedule of work for each unit.
- 7) Once you have created your own study schedule, do everything to stay faithful to it. The major reason that students fail is that they get behind in their coursework. If you get into difficulties with your schedule, please let your tutor or course coordinator know before it is too late for help.
- 8) Turn to Unit 1, and read the introduction and the objectives for the unit.
- 9) Assemble the study materials. You will need your references for the unit you are studying at any point in time.
- 10) As you work through the unit, you will know what sources to consult for further information.
- 11) Visit your Study Centre whenever you need up-to-date information.
- 12) Well before the relevant online TMA due dates, visit your study centre for relevant information and updates. Keep in mind that you will learn a lot by doing the assignment carefully. They have been designed to help you meet the objectives of the course and, therefore, will help you pass the examination.
- 13) Review the objectives for each study unit to confirm that you have achieved them. If you feel unsure about any of the objectives, review the study materials or consult your tutor. When you are confident that you have achieved a unit's objectives, you can start on the next unit. Proceed unit by unit through the course and try to space your study so that you can keep yourself on schedule.
- 15) After completing the last unit, review the course and prepare yourself for the final examination. Check that you have achieved the unit objectives (listed at the beginning of each unit) and the course objectives (listed in the course guide).

CONCLUSION

This is a theoretical as well as empirical course and so, you will get the best out of it if you can read wide, listen to as well as examine foreign policies between and among states and get familiar with international reports across the globe. You will also get to know the political dimensions of foreign policy as individuals.

Summary

INR 412: Foreign Policies of the Great Powers explores the nature and trends of the relationship among great powers in the contemporary international system. The course begins with an introduction to foreign policy from a theoretical viewpoint and proceeds into different cases of great powers. The course further explores how these great powers have influenced the contemporary international system as well as their roles in various multinational organisations like the UN, EU and NATO. All the basic course materials needed to successfully complete the course are provided. Upon completion, you will be able to:

- Understand the concept of 'foreign policy' from a general perspective. The intention here is to expose you to the complexities of the issues involved in making foreign policy decisions. When two states relate together for mutual political, economic and cultural benefits, their relationship is carried out under the banner of 'foreign policy'
- Explain the fundamental determinants of foreign policies of the great powers. These determinants are both domestic and external in nature.
- Provide an historical analysis of the foreign policies of great powers.
- Justify the various actions undertaken by different powers in their foreign policies against the background of national interest.
- Discuss the contemporary foreign policies of the great powers as well as the changing roles of these powers in the international system.

List of Acronyms

CSFP - Common Security and Foreign Policy

EU - European Union

PCAs - Partnership and Cooperation Agreements

MFN - Most Favoured Nation

APEC - Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation

DGAP - Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik e. V.

FPA - Foreign policy analysis

- Folarin, Sheriff (2017). *Introduction to International Relations*. Covenant University Ota, Nigeria
- Frankel Joseph (1967) *The Making of Foreign Policy: An Analysis of Decision-Making* (London: Oxford University Press)
- Keith Legg & Morrison James (1971) *Politics and the International System* (New York: Harper and Row)
- Norman D. Palmer, Howard C. Parkins (2002) *International Relations*. 3rd edition. Krishan Nagar, Delhi. India revised
- Ojo Olusola & Sesay Amadu (2002) *Concepts in International Relations* (Ile-Ife: Classy Prints & Company)
- Reynolds, P.A. (1982) *An Introduction to International Relations* (London: Longman)
- Wallace William (1971) *Foreign Policy and the Political Process* (London: Macmillan Publisher)

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- Unit 4: Determinants of Foreign Policy Behaviours

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- Unit 1: The Principles/Goals of American Foreign Policy
- Unit 2: American Foreign Policy in Historical Perspectives
- Unit 3: British Foreign Policy in Historical Perspectives
- Unit 4: The Decline of British Power

MODULE 3: Foreign Policies of France and the European Union

- Unit 1: The Fundamental Principles of French Foreign Policy
- Unit 2: France's Policy in Africa after 1945
- Unit 3: The Evolution of Common Foreign and Security Policy
- Unit 4: Component of the European Union's Foreign Policy

MODULE 4: Foreign Policies of Russia and China

- Unit 1: Fundamental Goals of Soviet Union Foreign Policy
- Unit 2: Soviet Union Foreign Policy in Historical Perspectives
- Unit 3: Fundamental Principles of Chinese Foreign Policy
- Unit 4: China in Contemporary World Politics

MODULE 5: Foreign Policies of Japan and Germany

- Unit 1: Principles of Japanese Foreign Policy
- Unit 2: Japan in World Politics
- Unit 3: Principles of Germany Foreign Policy
- Unit 4: Germany Foreign Policy in Historical Perspectives

Module 1:

INTRODUCTION

Module one highlights the concept of foreign policy as a platform for nations engagements in the global system. The intention here is to expose students to the complexities of the issues involved in framing foreign policy decisions. Central to the discussion in this module is an in-depth analysis of the environment, models and determinants of foreign policy. The issues discussed in this module revolved around all the ‘powers’ discussed in this book and thus could be seen as the guide among committee of states in international relations.

This module, which is made up of four units, comprises of general introduction to foreign policy, models of foreign policy, the environments of foreign policy, determinants of foreign policy and the actors involved in making foreign policy decisions.

- Unit 1 General Introduction to Foreign Policy
- Unit 2 Foreign Policy Decision-making Models
- Unit 3 The Environments of Foreign Policy
- Unit 4 Determinants of Foreign Policy Behaviours

UNIT 1: GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO FOREIGN POLICY

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1.1 INTRODUCTION

As an introduction, the unit examines the conceptual issues and further explores the various components of foreign policy decision making. Discussions in this unit take a broad overview of foreign policy, regardless of the setting, where such policy is taking place; whether small, medium or great powers. The conceptual discussions explored in this unit form the foundation upon which the various case studies of great powers in subsequent modules are built. It is expected that at the end of this unit, you would be grounded in theoretical issues pertaining to the concepts, models, determinants and the environments of foreign policy making.



1.2. INTENDED LEARNING OUTCOMES

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the concept of ‘foreign policy’ either in your own words or by adapting diverse definitions drawn from various authors.
- Analyse the various constraints involved in arriving at universally acceptable definition of foreign policy.
- Demonstrate the common elements or attributes of all the definitions
- Evaluate the impact of globalisation on the contemporary foreign policy decision making of states.



1.3 MAIN CONTENT

1.3.1 What is Foreign Policy?

When two states relate together for mutual political, economic and cultural benefits, their relationship is carried out under the banner of ‘foreign policy’. At times, states need the active cooperation, even assistance, of other states in the international system to achieve their national objectives. Because of this, a state necessarily has to be in interaction with its external environment. It is the totality of this interaction that is commonly referred to as ‘foreign policy’. Foreign policy is the national pursuit of a set of national objectives (Folarin, 2017). Folarin (2017) opined that the word “pursuit” in this context suggests actions, steps and roles that will delineate the attitude or behavior of a state in the external context. He likened foreign policy to a wedding ring with which the domestic context of a nation solemnizes its union with the international community. Such political union is underlined by the ambitions and desires of a state and so foreign policy can be seen as a means to an end. The end in this case is to maximize greater advantages to the country hence developing countries such as Nigeria must move towards the direction of economic development to get better leverage in international politics

According to Keith and Morrison (1977:12), foreign policy may be defined as ‘a set of explicit objectives with regard to the world beyond the borders of a given social unit and a set of strategies and tactics designed to achieve those objectives’. It implies the perception of a need to influence the behaviour of other states or international organisations. To Frazier (2019) Foreign policy consists of the strategies a state adopts in order to protect its international and domestic interest and determines how best to interact with other state and non- state actors. From the foregoing, it is quite succinct to say that there is no single definition of foreign policy because all the definitions that have been offered were based on the perspective of the various authors.

The sub-discipline that specializes in foreign relations among states is known as foreign policy analysis (FPA). FPA contributes to overall communication between nations. A country's foreign policy consists of strategies chosen by the state to safeguard its national interests and to achieve its goals in international relations. The approaches are strategically employed to interact with other countries. In recent times, due to the deepening level of globalization and transnational activities, the states also interact with non-state actors. The aforementioned interaction is evaluated and monitored in attempts to maximize benefits of multilateral international cooperation. Since the national interests are paramount, foreign policies are designed by the government through high level decision making processes. Usually, foreign policy making is the job of the head of government and the foreign minister (or equivalent). In some countries the legislature also has considerable oversight.

1.3.2 Stages involved in Foreign Policy Making

- Assessment of the international and domestic political environment - Foreign policy is made and implemented within an international and domestic political context, which must be understood by a state in order to determine the best foreign policy option. For example, a state may need to respond to an international crisis.
- Goal setting - A state has multiple foreign policy goals. A state must determine which goal is affected by the international and domestic political environment at any given time. In addition, foreign policy goals may conflict, which will require the state to prioritise.
- Determination of policy options - A state must then determine what policy options are available to meet the goal or goals set in light of the political environment. This will involve an assessment of the state's capacity to implement policy options and an assessment of the consequences of each policy option.
- Formal decision making action - A formal foreign policy decision will be taken at some level within a government. Foreign policy decisions are usually made by the executive branch of government. Common governmental actors or institutions which make foreign policy decisions include: the head of state (such as a president) or head of government (such as a prime minister), cabinet, or minister.
- Implementation of chosen policy option - Once a foreign policy option has been chosen, and a formal decision has been made, then the policy must be implemented. Foreign policy is most commonly implemented by specialist foreign policy arms of the state bureaucracy, such as a Ministry of Foreign Affairs or State Department. Other departments may also have a role in implementing foreign policy, such as departments for:
trade, defense, and aid.

1.3.3 The Complexity of Foreign Policy

Like many other concepts in international relations, the definition of 'foreign policy' has been a subject of controversy. This controversy arises primarily from the different theoretical frameworks from which the subject matter is approached. The study of foreign policy is thus fraught with a number of difficulties.

Thus, whatever theoretical framework adopted would influence the interpretation of the analyst. For example, the analysis of foreign policy could be done using traditional, scientific, realist or liberalist frameworks

One of the major problems confronting foreign policy is the different theoretical frameworks that may be used for its analysis. For example, the subject matter can be interpreted from the standpoint of the individual, the state, or the systemic levels. Thus, the definition of 'foreign policy' can be influenced from the individual, state or the systemic levels, thereby, making a universally acceptable definition difficult. If foreign policy is analyzed from the systemic level, the focus will be on the external environments like foreign governments, international organizations, norms, international laws and external interactions among states. From the viewpoint of state level, domestic politics, national interests, interest groups and public opinion are seen as more central to the interpretation of foreign policy. While the systemic level relegates domestic environment to the background in foreign policy analysis, the state level gives primacy to the domestic factors as the focus of analysis of foreign policy

In addition, obtaining relevant and adequate information is another problem confronting foreign policy decision making. By its intrinsic nature, issues of foreign policy are very sensitive and often shrouded in secrecy. Because of this, states often use clandestine methods to gather information about other states. It is therefore possible not to have adequate information for making foreign policy decision. A vital aspect of the duty of a diplomat posted to another country is to obtain information about his host country and transmit home, this task is not a simple one as vital information are often held as 'classified documents' and access to this may be very difficult, even with the availability of modern products of information technology (ICT).

Lastly, foreign policy analysis is also confronted with the problem of 'defining appropriate scope' for the subject matter. If foreign policy entails the totality of 'interactions and engagements' across national boundaries; without any doubt, this is a wide area for an objective analysis. An objective analysis of foreign policy would take into consideration wider issues ranging from political, economic, cultural and technology. From this perspective, a multi-disciplinary approach is also needed for analysis. Also, in order to have a complete picture of the foreign policy of a country, one may need to understand the nature and dynamics of the relationship of the country under study with other countries in the international system.

1.3.4 Foreign Policy in Contemporary World Order

The previous discussions have focused primarily on conceptual issues relating to foreign policy. It is now appropriate to examine the nature of foreign policy in the contemporary world order. It should therefore be noted to the contemporary world order; the world was Bi-polar. In other words, the capitalist world headed by the USA and the communist world led by Russia under the umbrella of Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR). Thus, with the total collapse of USSR, the world order became uni-polar hence, the beginning of the age of globalization.

Foreign policy in the age of globalization must be international, extending across the entire globe. It must develop new thoughts and a believable moral strategy to shape a better world, focused on actions to promote these goals. We live in a world in which nation states are interdependent. The global economy is stimulating growth in trade between nations at double the rate of growth in output within their economies. The information revolution has produced satellites and fibre-optic cables that enable us to communicate with other continents as rapidly as with the next room. We are instant witness in our sitting rooms through the medium of television to human tragedy in distant lands, and are therefore obliged to accept moral responsibility for our response. Even our weather is changing as a result of changes to the rain forests in a different hemisphere. The global reach of modern weapons creates a clear national interest in preventing proliferation and promoting international control of conventional weapons. In such a modern world, foreign policy is not divorced from domestic policy but a central part of any political programme

Over the years, the roles and responsibilities of international organizations have been affected seriously by national, regional and global events, as well as the defining and changing features of globalization. Their roles in international affairs first, after the Second World War in the 1940s and secondly after the cold war in the 1990s have increased significantly as globalization and governance issues raise the bar for global problems and challenges.

Globalization has also facilitated the rise of powerful non state actors at the international arena (Transparency International, Action Aid, Oxfam, Amnesty International etc). Significantly, these non-state actors have directed global attention to a vast area of ignored development themes and have compelled some level of accountability for both national and international institutions. Global sensitivity to bio diversity and global consciousness about environmentalism has been enhanced.

Globalization through Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) has opened formerly closed spaces and facilitated greater access to information and knowledge. This knowledge has opened a vista of opportunities to address some of the worlds pressing problems. A new term describes the global economy system, arising from this development as “the knowledge or information economy”.

A major and critical consequence of globalization is the convergence of values. Important values such as democracy, representative government have increasingly been accepted and adopted as the world’s shared values. This enables common experiences for a vast number of regions across the globe.

Globalization has also enabled a global sense of collective or shared responsibilities for people and institutions from all the worlds regions to respond to global problems, like never before. With information flows becoming faster, the world reacts almost simultaneously in solidarity and in real time to problems including the war on terrorism, containment of communicable diseases and prevention of conflict or humanitarian threats.

The key problems of the major institutions of global governance is that of unilateralism led by hegemons and lack of democracy in the workings and operations of these institutions - voting and representation is heavily skewed towards the hegemons. Secondly, these institutions have continued to foster policies in the old spirit and using the same methods, without taking into account the dynamising impact of the logic of globalization which has implication for time and space compression and mobility of capital and markets.

These processes have further intensified the poverty in the global south and increased income inequalities in the global North. In particular, there has been so much arbitrariness in the operation of the World Bank and IMF and so much teleguiding of the activities of the UN and its agencies - the result of which is the Gulf crisis. All these organizations and agencies need reform in their Charters and Conventions to bring them up to date with the demands of current thinking and the democracy current gripping the world. In particular, the WTO has in many ways made it impossible for smaller countries to have leverage for their internal development with its clause on the principle of "Reciprocity". Its pronouncement on Agricultural development and indeed Third World Development has been most pernicious since the Doha Rounds, over which the major economic powers have foot dragged.

Over the years, the roles and responsibilities of international organizations have been affected seriously by national, regional and global events, as well as the defining and changing features of globalization. On the one hand, their roles in international affairs first, after the Second World War in the 1940s and secondly after the cold war in the 1990s have increased significantly as globalization and governance issues raise the bar for global problems and challenges. They however, would be best described at this time as anachronisms, organs that are more or less in danger of living out their relevance.

In conclusion, the modern world is going through fundamental and dynamic changes that profoundly affect foreign policies decision making. Differences between domestic and external perception of national interests and security are gradually disappearing. In this context, foreign policy becomes one of the major instruments of the steady national development and of states' competitiveness in a globalizing world.

1.4 SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

- i. It is difficult for states to claim exclusive rights and responsibilities over foreign policies. This is as a result of _____
- ii. _____ has also enabled a global sense of collective or shared responsibilities for people and institutions from all the worlds regions.
 - a. Globalization b. Trade c. International relations d. Foreign policy
- iii. Obtaining relevant and adequate information is a problem confronting _____ decision making



1.5 SUMMARY

The forces of globalization have furthered internationalized foreign policy thereby removing the exclusive preserve of states for its formulation which led to the break of USSR, USA is now at the centre piece of international Relations and foreign affairs. This is because there is no more distinction between the domestic policy and its and its foreign policy. What affects the world affects the USA and her NATO allies. This is evident in the 2022 Russian-Ukraine Crisis. The support Ukraine has received from USA and her NATO allies have prolonged Ukraine's resistance so far.

Discussions in this unit have focused primarily on the fundamentals of foreign policy. We have provided conceptual definitions of foreign policy from different perspectives. The unit has also explored the difficulties involved in foreign policy analysis, which are due primarily to the nature of the subject matter itself as well as different frameworks available for its interpretations. It should be obvious to you by this time that foreign policy forms the basis for states' relations and interactions in international politics. Also, the forces of globalization have deepened interdependent among states thereby reducing the exclusive preserve of states over foreign policy.



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1.7 POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO SAEs 1

Answer to SAE

- i. Globalization
- ii. Globalization
- iii. Realist or liberalist

UNIT 2: FOREIGN POLICY DECISION-MAKING MODELS

CONTENTS

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Intended Learning Outcome
- 2.3 Main Content
 - 2.3.1 Foreign Policy decision making process
 - 2.3.2 Rational Decision Making Model
 - 2.3.3 Organizational/Bureaucratic Model
 - 2.3.4 Individual Decision Makers Model
- 2.4 Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 2
- 2.5 Summary
- 2.6 References/Further Readings
- 2.7 Possible answers to Self-Assessment Exercise 2



2.1. INTRODUCTION

The previous unit has introduced you to the subject matter of foreign policy and the difficulties in arriving at a universally acceptable definition. The unit further elaborated on the dynamics of foreign policy in the contemporary age of globalization. This unit further examines the various models that state could adopt in making foreign policy decisions. It should be noted that the foreign policy process is a process of decision making and from time to time, policy makers have to take appropriate actions to influence the behaviours of other actors in the international system. Decision making itself is a dynamic process that may be influenced by events in the domestic and external environments. Decisions are carried out by actions taken to influence the world, and then information from the world is monitored to evaluate the effects of these actions. This unit intends to expose you to three models that state could adopt in making foreign policy decision.



2.2 INTENDED LEARNING OUTCOME

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss Foreign Policy Decision-making
- Analyze the dominant models for making foreign policy decisions
- Demonstrate the characteristics of different foreign policy decision models
- Evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of different models



2.3 MAIN CONTENT

2.3.1 FOREIGN POLICY DECISION MAKING PROCESS

The foreign policy decision making processes includes three stages: foreign policy initiative, formulation and implementation (Folarin, 2017). The first stage which is also known as the identification and articulation of roles or the “role conception” stage involves the identification of strategies and practical steps to be taken to realize national interest in international politics. The second stage which is the formulation stage involves the formulation of policies. According to Folarin, (2017), in a democratic system, formulation requires sending the proposal to the parliament for debate, reading and adoption, after which it returns to the executive for approval and ratification. The implementation stage which is the third stage involves the executives who engage the foreign ministry and all other relevant ministries to ensure execution of the policy. The foreign ministry in particular engages the foreign services made up of political and career diplomats as well as envoys and other diplomatic field staff to work on the policy or policies. The implementation stage may also be known as the role assumption stage.

2.3.2 Rational Decision Making Model

A common starting point for studying the decision-making process is the rational model. In this model, decision makers set goals, evaluate their relative importance, and calculate costs and benefits of each possible course of action then choose the one with the highest benefits and lower costs. Rational choice decision-making procedures are guided by careful definition of situations, weighing of goals, consideration of all alternatives, and selection of the options most likely to achieve the highest goals (Kegley and Wittkopf, 1999:55-57).

As part of the process of making informed choices, rational decision makers should be good at attending to new information that comes along as they make their choices; they need to ‘update’ their estimates in response to new reliable information that contains significant evidence. The attentive reader may notice all sorts of caveats here: ‘reliable’ information that comes from a ‘trustworthy’ source, ‘new’ information, or information that the decision maker did not previously have, and ‘significant’ or diagnostic evidence that speaks to the likelihood of some of the consequences the policy maker is considering.

When President Bush was considering whether or not to go to war against Iraq, he was told that Saddam Hussein had sought to buy yellow cake uranium from Niger. This was new information to the president—he had not heard it before—and it was diagnostic: it signaled that Saddam was likely seeking to develop unconventional weapons. The information was however, not reliable or trustworthy and therefore, should have been excluded from any kind of consideration. The reliability of information is a threshold barrier that any piece of evidence should cross on its way into the decisionmaking process. Determining the trustworthiness of any piece of information, however, is often very difficult to do. Indeed, ‘rational’ processes of information management are often swamped by the quick intuitive processes and deep cognitive biases that political leaders use to interpret evidence.

Rational choice in foreign policy treats both initial preferences and expectations as given and exogenous. Models of rational choice identify the strategy that leaders should choose, given their preferences and expectations. They take original preferences as given and specify the optimal choice. In so far as formal models of rational choice discuss the process of choosing,

they assume that people are ‘instrumentally rational’. Given their existing preferences, people are expected to engage in an appropriate end–means calculation. Formal models of rational choice do not claim to explain the beliefs and expectations which *lead* to choice, and therefore, in a fundamental sense, leave out most of what is important in explaining foreign policy.

Rational decision makers resolve the conflicts they face in multi-attribute problems by measuring along a single attribute—that of subjective utility—and simply trading off to find the best outcome. Rational choice appears to do away with the conflict of choice by measuring along a single dimension. They assume a common yardstick which makes complex measurements simple.

Rational choice is a sequence of decision-making activities involving the following intellectual steps:

(1) Identification and Definition of Problem.

The first step in making rational choice starts with identification of a problem and a clear definition of its distinguishing characteristics. Objective problem identification requires comprehensive information about the external environment, the actors involved, their capabilities and the scope of the problem. The search for necessary information must be exhaustive, and all the facts relevant to the problem must be gathered.

(2) Goal Selection

This requires the identification and ranking of all values in a hierarchy from the most to least preferred. Policy makers must determine what they hope to accomplish in a certain context. The goals must be clearly stated and should be realistic in relations to the resources available to pursue the goals.

(3) Identification of Alternatives

Rational choice also requires policy makers to identify list of all available policy options and cost implication for each option. The identified alternatives could also be ranked in the order of preference and viability.

(4) Choice

This is the selection of a single course of action from the competing alternatives. The selected choice should have the best potential to accomplish the desired goals. In order to arrive at the best choice, policy makers must conduct a rigorous means-end, cost-benefit analysis guided by an accurate prediction of the probable success of each option.

Despite the virtues rational choice promises, the impediments to its realisation are substantial. Some are human, deriving from deficiencies in the intelligence, capability, and psychological needs and aspirations of foreign policy decision makers. Others are organizational, since most decisions require group agreement about the national interest and the wisest course of action.

Reaching agreement is not easy, however, as reasonable people with different values often disagree about goals preferences, and the probable results of alternative options. Thus, the impediments to sound rational policy making are not to be underestimated.

2.3.3 Organizational/Bureaucratic Model

The organizational/bureaucratic model of decision making is an alternative to the rational decision-making model. In this model, foreign policy decision makers rely for most decisions on standardized responses or standard operating procedures. Making and executing a state's foreign policy generally involves many different government organizations. In many countries, the foreign affairs ministry collaborates with other agencies of government like security, economic, defense, information, immigration and many others as participants in the foreign policy machinery.

Bureaucratic procedures based on the theoretical framework of Max Weber are perceived to enhance rational decision making and efficient administration. Bureaucracies increase efficiency and rationality by assigning responsibility for different people. They also define rules and standard operating procedures that specify how tasks are to be performed. Bureaucracy also relies on systems of records to gather and store information. Authority is also divided among different organizations in bureaucracy to avoid duplication of efforts. Bureaucracies also permit the luxury of engaging in forward planning designed to determine long-term needs and the means to attain them. In a bureaucracy, foreign policy decisions result from the bargaining process among various government agencies with somewhat divergent interests in the outcome (Welch, 1992:12). The involvement of many organizations may sometimes be a virtue.

The presence of several organizations can result in 'multiple advocacy of rival choices (George 1972:751-785). Another way in which bureaucracy contribute to the foreign policy making process is by devising standard operating procedures (SOPs), that is, established methods to be followed in the performance of designated tasks. However, these routines effectively limit the range of viable policy choices. Rather than expanding the number of policy alternatives in a manner consistent with the logic of rational decision making, what organizations are prepared to do shapes what is considered feasible.

On the other hand, bureaucratic agencies are parochial as every administrative unit within a state's foreign policy-making bureaucracy seeks to promote its own purposes and power. Organizational needs such as staffs and budgets take priority over state's needs, sometimes encouraging the sacrifice of national interests to bureaucratic interests. In addition, bureaucratic parochialism breeds competition among the agencies charged with foreign policy responsibilities. Far from being neutral or impartial managers, bureaucratic organizations frequently take policy positions designed to increase their own influence relative to that of other agencies. Finally, resistance to change within bureaucracy often slows down implementation of policy reforms and makes it difficult to take quick decisions.

2.3.4 Individual Decision Makers Model

Individual decision making model equates states' actions with the preferences and initiatives of the highest government officials. The study of individual decision making revolves around the question of rationality. To what extent are national leaders able to make rational decisions in the national interest— if indeed such an interest can be defined -- and thus to conform to a realist view of International Relations?

Individual rationality is not equivalent to state rationality: states might filter individuals' irrational decisions so as to arrive at rational choices, or states might distort individual rational decisions and end up with irrational state choices. However, realists tend to assume that both states and individuals are rational and that the goals or interest of states correlate with those of leaders.

Individual decision makers not only have differing values and beliefs, but also have unique personalities – their personal experiences, intellectual capabilities, and personal styles of making decisions. Some IR scholars study individual psychology to understand personality affects decision making. Psychoanalytic approaches hold that personalities reflect the subconscious influences of childhood experiences.

The impact of leaders' personal characteristics on their state's foreign policy generally increases when their authority and legitimacy are widely accepted by citizens or, in authoritarian or totalitarian regimes, when leaders are protected from broad public criticism. Also, the citizenry's desire for strong leadership will affect it as well. For example, when public opinion strongly favours a powerful leader, and when the head of state has an exceptional good qualities, foreign policy will more likely reflect the leader's character. There are other factors that can influence how leaders shape state's foreign policy. For instance, when leaders believe that their own interests and welfare are at stake, they tend to respond in terms of their private needs and psychological drives.

The amount of information available about a particular situation is also important. Without pertinent information, policy is likely to be based on leaders' personal likes or dislikes and conversely, 'the more information an individual has about international affairs, the less likely is it that his behaviour will be based upon illogical influences' (Verba 1969:217-231).

Another factor that also enhances a leader's significant influence on foreign policy is national crisis. Decision making during crises is typically centralised and handled exclusively by the top leadership. Crucial information is often unavailable and leaders see themselves as responsible for outcomes. Great leaders therefore customarily emerge during periods of extreme tumult. A crisis can liberate a leader from the constraints that normally would inhibit his or her capacity to control events or engineer foreign policy change. It is significant to note that great leaders like Napoleon Bonaparte, Winston Churchill, and Franklin Roosevelt emerged great crises.

Although individual decision-makers model may have a compelling appealing, it should be noted that leaders are not all-powerful determinants of states' foreign policy behaviour. Rather, their personal influence varies with the context, and often the context is more influential than the leaders. Whether in crisis mode or normal routine, individual decision makers do not operate alone. Their decisions are shaped by the government and society in which they work. Foreign policy is constrained and shaped by sub-state actors such as government agencies, political interest groups, and industries.

2.4 SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 2

- i. The study of individual decision making revolves around the question of _____
- ii. Political interest groups cannot influence foreign policies. True or false
- iii. Give a brief discussion on the rational decision model



2.5 SUMMARY

Foreign policy is a complex outcome of various competing influences from both domestic and external environments. There is no single individual, agency, or guiding principle that determines the outcome. Out of the turbulent internal processes of foreign policy formation emerge relatively coherent interests and policies that states pursue. Foreign policy choice occurs in an environment of uncertainty and multiple, competing interests. On some occasions, it is also made in situations when policy-makers are caught by surprise and a quick decision is needed. The stress these conditions produce impairs leaders' cognitive abilities and may cause them to react emotionally rather than objectively.

Although, a variety of impediments stand in the way of objective foreign policy choice, it is possible to design and manage policy-making machinery to reduce their impact. No design, however, can transform foreign policy making into a neat, orderly system. It is a turbulent political process, which involves complex problems and a multiplicity of conflicting actors.

This unit has focused on the three major models of foreign policy decision making. We have tried to explore the different contexts in which the models could be adopted for making foreign policy decisions. Discussions have also explored the strengths and potential weaknesses of each of the three models.



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2.7 POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO SAEs 2

- i. Rationality
- ii. False
- iii. Models of rational choice identify the strategy that leaders should Choose, given their preferences and expectations. They take original Preferences as given and specify the optimal choice.

UNIT 3: THE ENVIRONMENTS OF FOREIGN POLICY

CONTENTS

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Intended Learning outcome
- 3.3 Main Content
 - 3.3.2 The Domestic Environment of foreign policy
 - 3.3.3 The External Environment of foreign policy
- 3.4 Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 3
- 3.5 Summary
- 3.6 References/Further Reading
- 3.6 Possible answers to the Self Assessment Exercise 3



3.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous discussions have examined the subject matter of foreign policy and the different models that could be used to make foreign policy decisions. The unique characteristics, the strengths and weaknesses of the different models were also examined. Foreign policy is unique in the sense that it is a policy made in relation to other units or actors in the international system. Apart from internal factors, the process of foreign policy decision-making is influenced by forces and pressures from the external environment. We can therefore identify the setting of foreign policy as the internal and external environment. All major policies and actions relating to foreign policy are made within the domestic and external contexts.



3.2 INTENDED LEARNING OUTCOMES

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the features of the domestic and external environments.
- Analyze the impacts of the domestic environment on foreign policy
- Evaluate the influence of external environment on foreign policy



3.3 MAIN CONTENT

3.3.1 THE DOMESTIC ENVIRONMENT OF FOREIGN POLICY

The domestic environment has significant influence on foreign policy. Foreign policy makers operate not in a political vacuum but in the context of the political debates in their society. In all states, societal pressures influence foreign policy, although these are aggregated and made effective through different channels in different societies.

In pluralistic democracies, interested parties influence foreign policy through interest groups and political parties. Public opinion has greater influence on foreign policy in democracies than in authoritarian governments. Because of the need for public support, even authoritarian governments spend great effort on propaganda to win public support for foreign policies. The most dominant domestic influence on foreign policy is the national interest, which foreign policy is expected to project to the outside world. The national interest is a country's goals and ambitions whether economic, military, or cultural. The concept is an important one in international relations where pursuit of the national interest is the foundation of the realist school. The national interest of a state is multi-faceted. Among the core values of national interest are the protection of territorial integrity of a state and the lives of all its citizens against external aggression; the protection of political, economic, religious or social institutions; and the defense of the territorial integrity of allies. Many states, especially in modern times, regard the preservation of the nation's culture as of great importance. Also important is the pursuit of wealth and economic growth and power. Foreign policy geared towards pursuing the national interest is the foundation of the realist school of international relations. The range of state's objectives and the priority accorded to them has significant influence on the foreign policy of a state.

Another important domestic influence on foreign policy is public opinion. This is the aggregate of various attitudes or beliefs held by the adult population. Public opinion can also be defined as the complex collection of opinions of many different people and the sum of all their views. While scholars are divided about the extent of the influence of public opinion on foreign policy, it is believed that some decision-makers obey the dictates of public opinion while others strive to 'mould and re-orientate it' (Reynolds 1982:81). When foreign issues like war or peacekeeping result in human casualties and increase in government's spending, the general public tends to take interest and voice their opinions for or against government's actions. In democracies, where governments must stand for election, an unpopular war can force a leader or party from office, as happened to Lyndon Johnson of US in 1968 over the Vietnam War and George Bush in 2008 over Iraqi war. Similarly, a popular war can help secure a government's mandate to continue in power, as happened to Margaret Thatcher of Great Britain after the 1982 Falkland War.

Occasionally, a foreign policy issue is decided directly by a referendum of the entire citizen. In 2005, referendums in France and the Netherlands rejected a proposed constitution for the European Union, despite the support of major political leaders for the change. Governments sometimes adopt foreign policies for the specific purpose of generating public approval and hence gaining domestic legitimacy.

3.3.2 The External Environment

The foreign policy is formulated in the domestic environment and projected outside to achieve some predetermined objectives and goals. The external environment is characterized by multiplicity of actors and different pressures, which may affect the reactions of states. The international system is a system dominated by independent states that enjoyed absolute sovereignty and are not subjected to any higher authority.

The international system is characterized by a very high degree of interdependence among states. In formulating foreign policy therefore, states must take into consideration the interests of other states and the likely impacts of their policies on other states.

Although, states seem to enjoy absolute sovereignty, the existence of international laws, norms and conventions, to an extent, constrain the freedom of states to act in the international system. International law is constituted by agreements among states on the rules, principles and conventions, which are to guide their mutual relations. Despite the absence of enforcement agency, states observe international laws since they are product of mutual agreements among them.

Membership of international organizations is another factor in the external environment that influenced a country's foreign policy options. Since states willingly subscribe to these organizations, they are bound by the objectives, restrictions, stipulations and norms of these organizations. In the contemporary international system, there is plethora of international organizations ranging from political to socio-economic and strategic. By joining international organizations, states willingly shed some part of their sovereignty to these organizations.

Related to membership of international organizations is alliance formation as another constraint in the external environment that affects foreign policy behaviours of a state. Members of an alliance formulate strong strategy and are duty bound to come together to protect common interest. Alliance formation offers a means to counterbalance threats in an international system that does not provide a world government to protect states. However, the greatest risk to alliance formation is that they bind a state to a commitment that may later become disadvantageous.

3.4 SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 3

- i. Public opinion plays a great role in influencing foreign policy. Discuss
- ii. In pluralistic democracies, interested parties influence foreign policy through interest groups and political parties. True or false
- i. Alliance formation can put a nation in a disadvantaged position. How true is this?



3.5 SUMMARY

Foreign policy decision making is a product of interactions between the domestic and external environments. While it is relative to control the domestic environment, pressures from external environment are always difficult to control by the states. The external environment is also composed of different actors with varying beliefs, values, expectations and perceptions, which are quite different from that of domestic environment. It is therefore important for policy makers to have an objective perception of the environments in which foreign policy decisions are made and implemented

We have examined the various ways in which the domestic and external environments imparted on foreign policy decision making of sovereign states. It is significant to note that how policy makers manage the various pressures coming from both the external and internal environments would to a greater extent, determine the quality of foreign policy actions.



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Macmillan)



3.7 POSSIBLE ANSWER TO THE SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

Answer to SAE 3

- i. This is the aggregate of various attitudes or beliefs held by the adult population. Public opinion can also be defined as the complex collection of opinions of many different people and the sum of all their views. While scholars are divided about the extent of the influence of public opinion on foreign policy, it is believed that some decision-makers obey the dictates of public opinion while others strive to 'mould and re-orientate it' (Reynolds 1982:81).
- ii. True
- iii. The assertion is true because, alliance formation offers a means to counterbalance threats in an international system that does not provide a world government to protect states. However, the greatest risk to alliance formation is that they bind a state to a commitment that may later become disadvantageous.

UNIT 4: DETERMINANTS OF FOREIGN POLICY BEHAVIOURS

CONTENTS

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Intended Learning Outcome
- 4.3 Main Content
 - 4.3.1 Determinants of foreign policy
 - 4.3.2 Geo-political Determinants
 - 4.3.3 Economic Determinants
 - 4.3.4 Military Determinants
- 4.4 Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 4
- 4.5 Summary
- 4.6 References/Further Reading
- 4.7 Possible Answers to the Self assessment Exercise 4



4.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous discussions have focused largely on the subject matter of foreign policy, models of foreign policy decision making and the influence of domestic and external environments on foreign policy. This unit is a continuation of previous one and will specifically examine the various determinants that influence foreign policy of a state.



4.2 INTENDED LEARNING OUTCOME

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the features of geo-political determinants
- Analyze the impacts of geo-political factors on foreign policy
- Evaluate the influence of socio-economic factors on foreign policy



4.3 MAIN CONTENT

4.3.1 DETERMINANTS OF FOREIGN POLICY

There are three basic determinant of foreign policy.

4.3.2 GEO-POLITICAL DETERMINANTS

Geo-political factors are the influence of geography on state power and international conduct. Mackinder (1919:5) and Spykman (1944:9-23) stressed not only geographical location but also other factors like topography, size, climate, mineral resources and population as important determinants of the foreign policies of states. Policy makers' perceptions of foreign policy's choices are greatly influenced by the geo-political circumstances of their states.

Geopolitical factors exercise considerable influence on a country's foreign policy by providing both opportunities and limitations on the choices available to a state in foreign policy decisions. Geo-political factors also determine a country's needs in relation to other countries as well as its access to other states. A landlocked country for example would have to formulate a policy that is friendly to the countries through which access to the outside world is made. For example, Mozambique is surrounded by South Africa and access to the outside world, either by land, water or air depends on South Africa. It is therefore difficult for Mozambique to formulate a policy that antagonizes South Africa. Other influence of geo-political factors could also be seen in the case of Israel and its neighbours. Since Israel is located in a very volatile region and surrounded by unfriendly countries, the issue of defense and security form a cornerstone of Israeli foreign policy. The availability of valuable mineral resource can also influence a country's foreign policy. The United States of America's relationship with Saudi Arabia could be analyzed from this point of view as US is the dominant buyer of Saudi's oil.

The factor of geography as it affects the geographical location of a state could also be seen in the diplomatic history of some great powers. The presence of natural frontiers between the US and Europe permitted America to develop an 'isolationist' foreign policy for over 150 years. The mountainous Switzerland has also made neutrality a corner stone of her foreign policy due to the factors of geography. The United Kingdom whose location is at the extreme flank, separated from continental Europe, has maintained autonomy from continental politics.

4.3.3 Economic Determinants

The economy of a state plays a significant role in determining the choices of foreign policy available at any point in time. Apart from the presence of strategic mineral resources, the strength of an economy also determines the options available to a state in foreign policy. A weak economy, for instance, can limit the options available in foreign policy. Also, the level of industrialization, foreign reserves and the amount of technical skills, financial autonomy and capability in information technology can determine foreign policy choices. The poor countries of the developing world, particularly, in sub-Saharan Africa have limited choices available to them in foreign policy and in most cases, are dependent on the rich countries of the West for survival. As a result of this dependent relationship, their foreign policies have largely been pro-western in orientation. Generally, the more economically developed a state is, the more likely it is to play an activist role in the global political economy. Related to this is the fact that states that enjoy industrial capabilities and extensive involvement in international trade also tend to be militarily powerful because military might to some extent, is a function of economic capabilities.

In the contemporary politics, majority of the countries that have nuclear weapons or the potential to acquire one are also the most scientifically advanced and economically developed states of the world. The strength of military and the weapons available is a function of economic resources of a state and the financial capacity to spend huge amount of amount to procure needed armaments.

4.3.4 Military Determinant

Military determinant is a function of the strength of a country's technology and economy. The level of a country's military capability also affects its foreign policy. A country that depends on external sources for military hardware would be constrained in its foreign policy objectives. Such a country cannot implement a policy that would antagonize its supplier of hardware. In a conflict situation, if embargo is imposed on supply of weapons, such a dependent country would be adversely affected. In addition, without formidable, highly mobile and well equipped armed forces, it is almost impossible to implement an 'activist oriented' foreign policy. Military capabilities also act as mediating factor on policy makers' national security decisions. When issues that have military implications are at stake in foreign policy, there is no doubt that the size, mobility and the range of weapons available to the armed forces would determine the outcome of such issues.

4.4 SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 4

- i. If Nigeria depends on America sources for military hardware, will the foreign policy objectives of Nigeria be affected?
- ii. Military determinant is a function of the strength of a country's ___ and economy.



4.5 SUMMARY

Military capabilities are prerequisite for an activist foreign policy. Realist theorists have clearly defined the protection of self interest as the *raison d'être* of state. Without a well equipped army, the fundamental objective of safeguarding territorial integrity and protection of citizenry would be difficult to achieve by states. Furthermore, in the contemporary international system where states compete among themselves for dominance and influence, military capabilities are very important determinants of a successful foreign policy.

This unit has highlighted the importance of geo-political, economic and military factors as major determinants of choices available to states in making foreign policy decision. It should however be emphasized that the relative influence that each factor wields would depend on the issue at stake whether political, economic or military.



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4.7 POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO SAE 4

- i. Yes. When a country depends on external sources for military hardware, the foreign policies of that nation will be affected.
- ii. Technology

MODULE 2: FOREIGN POLICIES OF THE UNITED STATES AND BRITAIN

Discussions in the Module 1 focused on the introductory aspect of foreign policies. Most of the salient issues examined in the module would have practical expression in the foreign policies of the great powers. The different models of making foreign policy decisions could be adopted by any of the great powers while the factors that determined foreign policies are applicable to all states, irrespective of status and prestige in the international system. Similarly, the influence of non-state actors on state actors in the international politics is not restricted to some states but applicable to all sovereign states in the international system; though to some varying degree levels.

Having extensively examined the conceptual issues of foreign policy in Module 1, the remaining Modules would focus on case studies to examine in depth how some of the issues addressed in Module 1 specifically relate to the great powers. Discussion in this module is organized under the following units:

- Unit 1 The Principles/Goals of American Foreign Policy
- Unit 2 American Foreign Policy in Historical Perspectives
- Unit 3 British Foreign Policy in Historical Perspectives
- Unit 4 The Decline of British Power

UNIT 1: THE PRINCIPLES/GOALS OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

CONTENTS

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Learning Outcomes
- 1.3 Main Content
 - 1.3.1 The Structures of American Foreign Policy
 - 1.3.2 The Principle of the American Foreign Policy
 - 1.3.3 Criticisms of American Foreign Policy
- 1.4 Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 1
- 1.5 Summary
- 1.6 References/Further Reading
- 1.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises 1



1.1 INTRODUCTION

The United States is highly influential in the world. The global reach of the United States is backed by a \$14 trillion economy, approximately a quarter of global GDP, and a defense budget of \$711 billion, which accounts for approximately 43% of global military spending (CIA Factbook). The United States has a vast economic, political and military influence on a global scale, which makes American foreign policy a subject of great interest, discussion and criticisms around the world. The foreign policy of the United States is the policy through which the United States interacts with foreign nations and sets standards of interaction for its organizations, corporations and individual citizens.



1.2 INTENDED LEARNING OUTCOMES

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the structures of foreign policy making in the United States
- Analyze the principles and goals of American Foreign Policy



1.3 MAIN CONTENT

1.3.1 THE STRUCTURE OF THE AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

1.3.2 The American Foreign Policy

The United States foreign policy is the sum total of the assumptions and reaction of the American people with relation to the world affairs, as they are channeled up through the executive branch of government and through congress (Palmer and Pakins, 2002) Being a former British colony, liberty or freedom has always been its focus in its domestic and foreign policy. Thus, having gained independence from Britain after its first war of freedom in 1776, the country operated a true federal system of government. The original thirteen British colonies that fought the war were initially represented in the flag with thirteen stars (i.e, 13 states). Today, the stars have increased up to Fifty (i.e, 50 states). at the head of its government is the president which has an executive and also the chief commander of the Armed forces and other security Agencies

The United States Secretary of State is the head of the United States Department of State, concerned with foreign affairs. The Secretary is a member of the Cabinet and the highest-ranking cabinet secretary both in line of succession and order of precedence. As the head of the United States Foreign Service, the Secretary of State is responsible for management of the diplomatic service of the United States. The Secretary of State advises the President on matters relating to U.S. foreign policy, including the appointment of diplomatic representatives to other nations, and on the acceptance or dismissal of representatives from other nations. The Secretary also participates in high-level negotiations with other countries, either bilaterally or as part of an international conference or organization, or appoints representatives to do so. This includes the negotiation of international treaties and other agreements and is also responsible for overall direction, coordination, and supervision of interdepartmental activities of the U.S. Government overseas.

The second arm of its government is the United States Congress is the bicameral legislature of the federal government of the United States, consisting of the Senate and the House of Representatives. The Congress meets in the United States Capital in Washington, D.C. Senators and representatives are chosen through direct election. Each of the 435 members of the House of Representatives represents a district and serves a two-year term. House seats are apportioned among the states by population. Each state, regardless of population, has two senators; since there are fifty states, there are one hundred senators who serve six-year terms. Congress has an important role in national defense, including the exclusive power to declare war, to raise and maintain the armed forces, and to make rules for the military. The Senate ratifies treaties and approves top presidential appointments while the House initiates revenue-raising bills.

Whereas, the third arm is the Judiciary headed by chief Justice of United States of America Federation and also the Supreme Court has traditionally played a minimal role in foreign policy of the United States; however, the Court's decisions could have a substantial impact on issues of foreign policy and national security. For example, First in June 2004, the Court ruled that foreign nationals kept at the Guantanamo Bay detention center were entitled to challenge their captivity in U.S. courts. Then, it also ruled the same for U.S. citizens labeled "enemy combatants".

1.3.3 The Principles of American Foreign Policy

The United States bases its pursuit of specific foreign policy objectives on a variety of justifying principles. These principles are the focus of this section. Most foreign policy decisions incorporate several of the principles, each principle adding its portion to shaping the final foreign policy decision. Most of the key principles of American foreign policy have their origin with the founding of the nation.

(A) Maintaining or Restoring an International "Balance of Power"

"Balance of power," as an international relations concept, is an outgrowth of the Napoleonic Wars in Europe in the late Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Centuries. The nations of Europe became convinced the only way to prevent France, or any other European nation, from making another attempt to conquer a European empire is to create a series of perfectly balanced alliances. Under a balance-of-power system, cooperation and mutual accommodation among states is encouraged, and the continued, perpetual existence of each state is virtually guaranteed.

Until World War I, the United States avoids being included in European balance of power calculations. World War I proves that a balance of power can successfully prevent any aggressor nation, or any combination of aggressor nations, from achieving military victory over non-aggressor nations. The Europeans fight themselves to a bloody stalemate. The entry of the United States into the war tips the balance of power and is considered by many historians to be the decisive factor in the final outcome of the war. During the post-war period, America withdraws from active involvement in European alliance-building activities but does participate in several world-wide arms control and arms limitation conferences intended to reduce the absolute power of each of the alliances while maintaining the relative balance of power among the alliances.

(B) Support for Western Values

Throughout the history of the United States, Americans express a broad consensus of support for liberal, democratic, and egalitarian values, dubbed "the American Creed". American foreign policy assumes that the form of pluralist, capitalist, egalitarian, republican government practiced in the United States is inherently superior to other forms of government; it may even be a God-given form of government.

For most Americans...foreign-policy goals should reflect not only the security interests of the nation and the economic interests of key groups within the nation but also the political values and principles that define American identity.... Hence the recurring tendencies in American history, either to retreat to minimum relations with the rest of the world... or... to set forth on a crusade to purify the world, to bring it into accordance with American principles.... (Ikenberry, 240)

Throughout American history, Americans export American beliefs, values and behaviours in an effort to bring the blessings of American-style government and Western civilization to the rest of the people of the world. First, Americans export American values, norms, expectations and behaviours to the Native American tribes, to the occupants of Spanish controlled territories, and to the Mormons settling at the Intermountain West. Later, America tries to recast the entire world in the American image. In the 20th and 21st Centuries, America becomes more active in protecting and promoting western values in World War I and World War II, making the world safe for democracy, and, through President Wilson's call for a League of Nations, promoting the American notion that the world could be made peaceful and prosperous if the world would simply accept the American notions of cooperation, stable political order, gradual economic change, and democratic decision-making.

In spite of the criticisms, the United States continues to support the adoption of "Western" values abroad and continues to reward those nations adopting American-style values, institutions and life-styles. In Afghanistan and Iraq, America is even willing to use armed force to encourage the introduction of western cultural and political values.

(C) Protecting United States National Security and National Autonomy

For a nation to maintain national autonomy, the nation must be able to maintain national security. Like national autonomy, national security must be defined by the nation itself. National security and national autonomy are issues related to the organic state itself-- to the state as an entity distinct from the people that populate the state.

In a very vague and general way 'national interest' does suggest a direction of policy which can be distinguished from several others which may present themselves as alternatives. It indicates that the policy is designed to promote demands which are ascribed to the nation rather than to individuals, sub-national groups or mankind as a whole. (Wolfers 1952: 481-502)

United States gives primary concern for the factors that insure its national survival. America defends and secures its borders, maintains its territorial integrity and access to key raw materials and commercial trading partners. The US also defends geographic positions of defensive and offensive strategic importance, hides its weaknesses from its enemies, defends its citizens and protects its young. America defines its national goals and has some degree of assurance that those national goals can be achieved. America also defines itself as a nation-state different from and apart from other nation-states, and is able to develop and maintain its military and industrial strengths.

(D) Geopolitical Considerations

Geopolitics is based on an "organic analogy;" the nation-state is seen as a living organism. Like all living organisms, the nation-state must be able to grow and expand to its natural ideal size; it must have access to raw materials and nutrients necessary for growth; it must have living space in which it can manoeuvre and feel comfortable and safe; it must be able to develop self sufficiency and national self-actualization (national autonomy). America's buffer states are, in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries, the nations of the Western Hemisphere. In the "Cold War," the European states and the Pacific Rim states are added to America's buffer zone. America's successful war with Spain brings many Caribbean and Pacific Islands under American control; the United States now has an overseas empire and the debate over empire begins in earnest, as reflected in the political party platforms of the period. America's historic demand that Europeans and the Soviet Union stay out of the Western Hemisphere (as manifested, for example, in the "Monroe Doctrine"), and America's fear of dependency on any foreign nation for raw materials, manufactured goods or technical/scientific knowledge are both further examples of geopolitical considerations influencing American foreign policy.

(E) Freedom of the Seas, including Freedom of Commerce and Freedom For Citizens Mobility

America is a seafaring nation. Colonial Americans use the sea for commerce with the colonial "mother country," as a highway for transport up and down the Atlantic coastline, as a rich fishing ground, and as a highway for commerce with European colonies in the Caribbean. Merchants in the new nation depend on sea commerce for trade and depend on trade for wealth.

Because America is founded by people who cross the seas themselves, or are descended from people who made the voyage across the seas, and because the commerce, wealth, and survival of the young nation depends on the sea, Americans are vocal and forceful defenders of the principles of freedom of the seas and of freedom of commerce. Issues of free trade, freedom of the seas, and free movement of American goods and citizens require constant continuing national attention, however. Many nations, including the United States, impose tariffs, duties, and trade restrictions that limit the free movement of raw materials and commercial goods.

(F) Protection of the Nations of Western Europe

During the Twentieth Century, America re-establishes its cultural and psychological ties with Europe. Three times during the Twentieth Century, America was forced to commit its wealth, manpower, and war machinery to support the nations of Western Europe. First, in World War I against an assault by the Prussian-Austrian-Turkish-German bloc of Central Europe; second, in World War II against German aggression; finally, in the "Cold War" against Soviet Union aggression. America commits both money and manpower to the Marshal Plan to rebuild Europe after World War II.

As the individual nations of Europe move closer together in the common market and, later, in the European Union, the United States develops increasingly closer ties with both the individual nations and with the European Union even if closer ties with the Second and Third World of developing nations might be of greater economic advantage.

The key principle of "nonentanglement with the nations of Europe" is in rapid decline as the United States seems more and more intent on uniting itself politically, economically, and culturally with the developed nations of Europe.

(G) Maintenance of a Protective Tariff

One of the most persistent themes in American foreign policy history is the debate over protective tariffs. A tariff is a charge or "tax" levied on goods coming into the U.S. from abroad. It makes foreign products more expensive to buy, thus, hopefully, decreases consumption demand for those products. Mercantilist economics rely heavily on tariffs to limit the quantity and value of products coming into a country in order to limit the quantity and value of the specie-- mostly gold and silver-- flowing out of the country to pay for those products. Mercantilist nations of the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Centuries measure their success in international affairs and their national strength and power in terms of the excess of gold and silver hoarded in their national treasuries. Whenever merchants sell products abroad, gold and silver flow into the country from abroad to pay for the product. But, whenever foreign products are purchased, gold and silver flows out of the country to pay for the product. The secret to national success and power is to sell more abroad than is purchased from abroad. Capitalist economies also rely on protective tariffs, but they are interested in protecting domestic manufacturers by insuring those manufacturers have a domestic market for their product, even if foreign producers can manufacture the product at a lower cost and sell it for a price cheaper than domestic products of similar quality. The debates over tariffs continue to the beginning of the Twenty-first Century, with many of the same arguments in support of tariffs and in opposition to tariffs used in the Twentieth Century as are used in the Nineteenth Century.

1.3.4 Criticisms of American Foreign Policy

Critics of US foreign policy tend to respond that the fundamental goals/principles commonly regarded as noble were often overstated and there are often contradictions between foreign policy rhetoric and actions. For instance, promotion of global peace is a cornerstone of American foreign policy; the irony is that American military involvements and interventions have endangered global security and peace in several cases, particularly during the cold war and recently, in the Middle East. Also, while America is committed to promotion of freedom and democracy, for pragmatism and strategic reasons, many dictatorships have received and are still receiving US financial or military support, especially in Latin America, Southeast Asia, Middle East and Africa. While promotion of free trade is also central to American foreign policy, this is contrasted by the imposition of import tariffs on foreign goods. In addition, American's development assistance to developing states is contrasted with the low spending on foreign aid (measured as percentage of GDP when compared to other western countries). Finally, the non-ratification of Kyoto Protocol on environmental protection is also a slight on US's commitment to global peace.

1.4 SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

Attempt the following exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than five minutes.

- i. Mention two instances in which the involvement of the US military has engendered peace in the world
 - a.
 - b.
- ii. There are often contradictions between foreign policy rhetoric and actions. True or False



1.5 SUMMARY

This unit has introduced the subject matter of American Foreign Policy. We have examined the structures that support US foreign policy as well as the underlying principles and fundamental goals of the American foreign policy. It has been clearly established that while fundamental goals wield considerable influence on American foreign policy, the US is also pragmatic in accommodating other influences and pressures in her foreign policy decisions. The next unit will examine how fundamental principles and pragmatism have influenced the course of American Foreign Policy in specific cases.

It is necessary to state that in spite of the fundamental goals and underlying principles that shape US foreign policy, the nature of international politics sometimes dictate the jettison of these principles for pragmatism. American foreign policy therefore oscillates between fundamental principles and pragmatism. Contemporary US foreign policies have clearly shown elements of fundamental principles, but at the same time, other factors have clearly influenced American foreign policy, outside the fundamental goals.



1.6 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

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1.7 Possible Answers to SAE 1

- i. (a) Cold war
 - (b). in the Middle East
- ii. True

UNIT 2: AMERICAN FOREIGNPOLICY IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

CONTENTS

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2.1 INTRODUCTION

From the foundation of the United States, American foreign policy has displayed vibrant dynamism in its reactions to International Politics. The earliest years of US foreign policy were characterized by rigid commitments to fundamental principles, especially, insularity and isolationism. However, the changing dynamics of the world politics after the end of the second war had led to a fundamental shift in US foreign politics into a more interventionist policy in global politics. The main trend regarding the history of U.S. foreign policy since the American Revolution is the shift from isolationism before and after World War I, to its growth as a world power and global hegemon during and since World War II and the end of the Cold War in the 20th century.



2.2 INTENDED LEARNING OUTCOMES

By the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- Discuss the nature of American Foreign Policy before World War 1
- Analyze the impact of the World Wars on American Foreign Policy
- Evaluate the foreign policy of the US during the cold war years



2.3 MAIN CONTENT

2.3.1 American Foreign Policy before World War 1

After the Americans war of independence with the British Colonial Masters (July 4, 1776), its thirteen colonies formed United States of America. Thus, its original flag had thirteen stars which represent the thirteen British colonies. In general, the U.S. remained aloof from European disputes, focusing on territorial expansion in North America. After the Spanish colonies in Latin America declared independence, the U.S. established the Monroe Doctrine, a policy of keeping European powers out of the Americas. The U.S. expansionism led to war with Mexico and to diplomatic conflict with Britain over the Oregon territory and with Spain over Florida and later Cuba. During the American Civil War, the U.S. accused Britain and France of supporting the Confederate States and trying to control Mexico, but after the war, the U.S. remained dominant in the Americas.

Thomas Paine is generally credited with instilling the first non-interventionist ideas into the American body politics; his work *Common Sense* contains many arguments in favour of avoiding alliances. These ideas introduced by Paine took such firm foothold that the Continental Congress struggled against forming an alliance with France and only agreed to do so when it was apparent that the American Revolutionary War could be won in no other manner.

In 1822, President James Monroe articulated what would come to be known later as the '*Monroe Doctrine*', which some have interpreted as noninterventionist' in intent. According to the Doctrine:

In the wars of the European powers, in matter relating to them, we have never taken part, nor does it comport with our policy, so to do. It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries, or make preparations for our defense.
(*Monroe Doctrine*)

Through the Monroe Doctrine, the U.S. strove to be the dominant influence in the Americas by weakened European influence in Latin America and occasionally intervening to establish puppet governments in weak states. Despite occasional entanglements with European Powers such as the War of 1812 and the 1898 Spanish-American War, U.S. foreign policy was marked by steady expansion of its foreign trade and scope during the 19th century, and it maintained its policy of avoiding wars with and between European powers. Concerning its domestic borders, the 1803 Louisiana Purchase doubled the nation's geographical area; Spain ceded the territory of Florida in 1819; annexation brought Texas in 1845; a war with Mexico in 1848 added California, Arizona and New Mexico. The U.S. bought Alaska from the Russian Empire in 1867, and it annexed the Republic of Hawaii in 1898. Victory over Spain in 1898 brought the Philippines, and Puerto Rico, as well as oversight of Cuba. The short experiment in imperialism ended by 1908, as the U.S. turned its attention to the Panama Canal and the stabilization of regions to its south, including Mexico.

The U.S. also competed with other powers for influence in China. Throughout the 19th Century, the U.S. policy of non-intervention was rigidly maintained.

2.3.2 The US in the World War 1

At the beginning of the First World War in 1914, United States was determined to be aloof from the conflict. By this it adopted a policy of neutrality and isolation. When news of trench warfare and the horrors associated with it reached the shores of America, it confirmed to the government that they had adopted the right approach. Their approach had the full support of the majority of Americans – many of whom could not believe that a civilized entity called Europe could descend into such depths as were depicted by trench warfare and the futility associated with such a strategy.

The United States originally pursued a policy of non-intervention, avoiding conflict while trying to broker a peace. When a German U-boat sank the British liner *Lusitania* in 1915, with 128 Americans aboard, U.S. President Woodrow Wilson vowed, "America is too proud to fight" and demanded an end to attacks on passenger ships. Germany complied. Wilson unsuccessfully tried to mediate a settlement. He repeatedly warned the U.S. would not tolerate unrestricted submarine warfare, in violation of international law and U.S. ideas of human rights.

In January 1917, Germany resumed unrestricted submarine warfare. The German Foreign minister, in the Zimmermann Telegram, told Mexico that U.S. entry was likely once unrestricted submarine warfare began, and invited Mexico to join the war as Germany's ally against the United States. In return, the Germans would send Mexico money and help it recover the territories of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona that Mexico lost during the MexicanAmerican War 70 years earlier. Wilson released the Zimmerman note to the public and Americans saw it as a *casus belli*—a cause for war. The US entered the war for a variety of reasons. Here are some summaries of explanations:

- The U.S. had huge economic investments with the British and French. If they were to lose, then they would not be able to pay the U.S. debt back.
- If Allies could not pay back all the loans made to them by the American bankers, the US's economy could collapse.
- France and England were financing their war with US loans. In addition, they were buying massive amounts of arms from the US on credit. The US wanted to make sure that it got paid back. Germany also purchased arms, but in a much more limited fashion.
- There were unauthorized German submarines along the US East coast. Germany's resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare in the spring of 1917 provided the final straw for US politicians, and America declared war.

- There was the sinking of the Lusitania, a British cruise/transport ship, bound for Britain from New York. The German U-boat ring sought to sink all supply ships headed for Britain in order to starve the island. It sank the Lusitania as part of its efforts. 1195 people died, including 128 Americans.

After the sinking of seven U.S. merchant ships by submarines and the publication of the Zimmerman telegram, Wilson called for war on Germany, which the U.S. Congress declared on 6 April 1917.

Following U.S. entry into World War I, massive shipments of munitions and food stuffs enabled the Allies to withstand the last German offensive and ultimately prevail. The Allies were able to borrow \$10.5 billion from sources in the United States, and \$3.5 billion of that sum was raised before the United States entered the war. Given the fact that America was the largest industrial nation in the world, the enormity of the mistake bringing the United States into the War can be seen. The Allies were already out producing the Central Powers before America entered the War. World War I was the first major war in which motor vehicles had an important impact. They were extensively used for transport and supply. And automobile plants could easily be converted for production of military equipment (tanks and aircraft). And thanks to Henry Ford, American, the assembly line had become the most important manufacturer of automobiles and trucks. American production capacity was enormous and dwarfed German production. American industry produced armaments and support equipment (trucks, planes, artillery, tanks, munitions, etc) in unimaginable quantities that proved vital to Allies victory in the war.

World War I was a watershed moment for America, a time when an isolationist nation involved itself in world affairs and began the rise to the economic and military power that America is today. After keeping out of the conflict that had been ravaging Europe for nearly three years, President Woodrow Wilson took America to war only months after winning an election on the slogan "He Kept us Out of War." Claiming that American intervention was needed to "make the world safe for democracy," Wilson sent over two million men to Europe, of whom over 100,000 would never return. World War I marked the end of the old order in Europe, and the beginning of what has been called the "American Century."

American soldiers fought bravely and well in battles at Cantigny, Belleau Wood, St. Mihiel and in the Argonne Forest from May to November 1918. With nearly one million troops in the line by the end of the war, the American presence finally convinced the Germans that the war could not be won; they had managed to win a war of attrition with France and Britain, but the influx of an endless supply of American troops meant that there was no way Germany could win. By November 1918, the writing was on the wall and on 11 November 1918, the guns fell silent along the entire line as an armistice was signed, signaling the end of the war.

The United States' entrance into World War I in 1918 changed the country in profound ways. Not only in inaugurating the major role it would play in global affairs for the rest of the century, but domestically as well.

In mobilizing for and undertaking its part in the global conflict, America discovered new strengths, but also faced tribulations and weaknesses in its own social fabric. The trends that arose during the war years would set the agenda that dominated American life for the rest of the century.

When President Wilson traveled to Paris for the peace conference that would lead to the Treaty of Versailles, he came armed with his Fourteen Points, an idealistic plan to reorder Europe with the United States as a model for the rest of the world. He failed to gain most of what he wanted as the French and British were more inclined towards a vengeful peace, requiring reparations from Germany, than to any idealistic requests of the United States. The League of Nations, the one victory Wilson managed at the conference, was never ratified by the United States Senate, and, without the United States, it failed as a toothless organization that collapsed in the face of German and Japanese aggression in the 1930s.

2.3.3 The U.S and World War 11

America to an extent was neutral in its foreign policy objectives. But it gave enormous support to Britain in terms of supply of arms and ammunitions as a result of their diplomatic ties. However, Most Americans hoped the Allies would win, but they also hoped to keep the United States out of war. The isolationists wanted the country to stay out of the war at almost any cost. Another group, the interventionists, wanted the United States to do all in its power to aid the Allies. Canada declared war on Germany almost at once, while the United States shifted its policy from neutrality to preparedness. It began to expand its armed forces, build defense plants, and give the Allies all-out aid short of war.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt called upon the United States to be "the great arsenal of democracy," and supply war materials to the Allies through sale, lease, or loan. The Lend-Lease bill became law on March 11, 1941. During the next four years, the U.S. sent more than \$50 billion worth of war materials to the Allies.

On December 7, 1941, Japan suddenly pushed the United States into the struggle by attacking the American naval base at Pearl Harbour, Hawaii. More than 2,300 Americans were killed and the U.S. Pacific Fleet was crippled. This attack was seen as a serious political mistake. Four days later Hitler declared war on the United States. President Roosevelt called on Congress for immediate and massive expansion of the armed forces. The US entered the war officially on 8 December 1941 following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour, Hawaii the previous day. This attack was followed by attacks on US, Dutch and British possessions across the Pacific. On 11 December, the remaining Axis powers, Germany and Italy, declared war on the US, drawing the US firmly into the war and removing all doubts about the global nature of the conflict. The U.S. used atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki to shock the Japanese leadership, which (combined with the Soviet invasion of Manchuria) quickly caused the surrender of Japan.

World War II holds a special place in the American psyche as the country's greatest triumph, and the soldiers of World War II are frequently referred to as "the greatest generation" for their sacrifices in the name of liberty. Over 16 million served (about 11% of the population), and over 400,000 died during the war. The U.S. emerged as one of the two undisputed superpowers along with the Soviet Union, and unlike the Soviet Union, the US homeland was virtually untouched by the ravages of war. During and following World War II, the United States and Britain developed an increasingly strong, if one-sided, defense and intelligence relationship.

2.3.4 The United States and the Cold War

The Cold War was an ideological war between two major world blocs. The Western capitalist bloc headed by the United State of America and the Socialist bloc headed by the defunct Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR). The Cold War was also the state of political conflict, military tension, proxy wars, and economic competition that existed after World War II (1939–1945) between the Communist World – primarily the Soviet Union and its satellite states and allies – and the powers of the Western world, primarily the United States and its allies. Although the primary participants' military force never officially clashed directly, they expressed the conflict through military coalitions, strategic conventional force deployments, extensive aid to states deemed vulnerable, proxy wars, espionage, propaganda, conventional and nuclear arms races, appeals to neutral nations, rivalry at sports events, and technological competitions such as the Space Race.

The US foreign policy during the Cold War was the Truman Doctrine, which was to prevent the expansion of communism to new nations. The Truman Doctrine was a policy set forth by U.S. President Harry S Truman on March 12, 1947 stating that the U.S. would support Greece and Turkey with economic and military aid to prevent their falling into the Soviet sphere.

Truman stated the Doctrine would be "the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures." Truman reasoned, because these "totalitarian regimes" coerced "free peoples," they represented a threat to international peace and the national security of the United States. Truman made the plea amid the crisis of the Greek Civil War (1946–1949). He argued that if Greece and Turkey did not receive the aid that they urgently needed, they would inevitably fall to communism with grave consequences throughout the region.

In other words, containment was basically the US policy to stop the spread of communism. Ordinarily, this took the form of stationing military forces in direct confrontation with communists: Greece, Iran, Germany, Turkey, Latin America, Korea, and Vietnam, and the general belief was that the communists (most of the time the Soviets) would back down.

Despite being allies against the Axis powers, the USSR and the US disagreed about political philosophy and the configuration of the post-war world while occupying most of Europe. The Soviet Union created the Eastern Bloc with the eastern European countries it occupied, annexing some and maintaining others as satellite states, some of which were later consolidated as the Warsaw Pact (1955–1991). The US and its allies used containment of communism as a main strategy, establishing alliances such as NATO to that end.

The US funded the Marshall Plan to effectuate a more rapid post-War recovery of Europe, while the Soviet Union would not let most Eastern Bloc members participate. Elsewhere, in Latin America and Southeast Asia, the USSR assisted and helped foster communist revolutions, opposed by several Western countries and their regional allies; some they attempted to roll back, with mixed results. Among the countries that the USSR supported in pro-communist revolt was Cuba, led by Fidel Castro. The proximity of communist Cuba to the United States proved to be a center point of the Cold War; the USSR placed multiple nuclear missiles in Cuba, sparking heated tension with the Americans and leading to the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962, where full-scale nuclear war threatened. Some countries aligned with NATO and the Warsaw Pact, and others formed the Non-Aligned Movement.

The Cold War featured periods of relative calm and of international high tension – the Berlin Blockade (1948–1949), the Korean War (1950–1953), the Berlin Crisis of 1961, the Vietnam War (1959–1975), the Cuban Missile Crisis (1962), the Soviet war in Afghanistan (1979–1989), among others. Both sides sought détente to relieve political tensions and deter direct military attack, which would probably guarantee their mutual assured destruction with nuclear weapons.

In the 1980s, under the Reagan Doctrine, the United States increased diplomatic, military, and economic pressures on the Soviet Union, at a time when the nation was already suffering economic stagnation. In the late 1980s, Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev introduced the liberalizing reforms of *perestroika* ("reconstruction", "reorganization", 1987) and *glasnost* ("openness", ca. 1985). The Cold War ended after the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991, leaving the United States as the dominant military power, and Russia possessing most of the Soviet Union's nuclear arsenal.

2.3.5 RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE U.S FOREIGN POLICY

2.3.6 TRUMPISM

The U.S has remained the dominant power for some years. The coming of different administrations over the years has brought in new foreign policies. Particularly, the former president of United States of America Donald Trump had lots of policies in connection to the international community. Former president Donald Trump was elected into office in 2016 and left the office of the president in 2020 after losing the election. During his administration, he came up with foreign policies collectively referred to as Trumpism. Trumpism is a term for the political ideologies, social emotions, style of governance associated with the administration of Donald Trump and his political base. Those who exhibited the characteristics of trumpism were referred to as ‘Trumpians’ or ‘Trumpists’ and the ‘political’ supporters of the idea were referred to as ‘Trumpers’.

The ideas that make up Trumpism are controversial. Gordon (2018) opined that though trumpism is sufficiently complex to overwhelm any single framework of analysis, it has been referred to as an American political variant of the Far-right and of the national-populist and neo-nationalist sentiment seen in multiple nations worldwide from late 2010s to the early 2020s.

There have been arguments from commentators on the issue of Trumpism. Some commentators are of the opinion that the populist designation for trumpism should be rejected rather it should be viewed as a part of a trend or movement towards a new form of fascism. Others see it as pure facism while others are of the view that it is being illiberal.

Some of the policies that the Donald Trump's administration came up with were:

1) Trans-Pacific Partnership Withdrawal:

In the inaugural speech of President Donald trump, trump announced approaches to American Foreign Policy and trade, which revolved around reducing the U.S trade deficits and rebalancing burden sharing within alliances. Trump on the 23rd of January 2017, Donald Trump directed the office of the U.S trade representative to withdraw the united states from the trans-pacific partnership, a twelve-country, Asia-focused trade agreement in the united states had championed under the administration before his own which was the barrack Obama's administration.

2) Travel Ban

President Donald trump on the 27th of January signed an executive order banning the nationals of six Muslim majority countries from entering the United States of America for ninety days. The order was amended later to include two more countries, also indefinitely freezes refugee intake from Syria. There were series of judicial challenges from the federal judge in Washington state blocks on the order but trump went further to sign two other executive orders concerning immigration. One of those others directed funds to the construction of walls along the U.S- Mexico border and the other bars so-called sanctuary cities from receiving federal grants

3) Leaving the Paris Agreement

On the first day of June 2017, the U.S President announced that the United State of American would withdraw from the 2015 Paris climate accord which was an agreement negotiated by president Barrack Obama. According to Trump, the agreement would have a negative effect on the American Economy. He criticized the 195-country agreement under which the United States would have voluntarily limited its carbon emissions, for constructing U.S. sovereignty, harming American workers and disadvantaging the United States economically.

4) Recognition of Jerusalem

Before the coming of president trump as the U.S President, there was conflict as to which country actually owned Jerusalem. The coming of President Donald Trump broke with decades of U.S Policy on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict by recognizing Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. President Trump justified the move he took as the reality that Jerusalem was indeed the seat of Israel's government. After recognizing Jerusalem, the U.S moved the American Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem thereby reversing the U.S Policy that dates back to President Harry Truman.

5) Trump and the “Rocket man”

The trump led administration has had a war of words with North Korea after Pyongyang threatens to launch ballistic missiles into the waters around Guam, Trump warns that North Korea will be met with “Fire and Fury” if it continues to threaten launches and the U.S. The remark initiated hostile rhetorical exchanges that culminated with North Korean Leader Kim Jong-un insulting while addressing the United Nations at the 72nd United Nations general assembly at the UN headquarters; Trump addressed the North Korean President as the “Rocket Man”. According to Trump, the United States has great strength and patience but when forced to defend herself and her allies, the U.S will have no choice but to totally destroy North Korea. In Trumps words, “Rocket man” is on a suicide mission for himself and his regime. The United States is willing and able, but hopefully, this will not be necessary.”

6) Announcing tariffs

On the first day of March 2018, President Donald Trump announced that the United States of America was going to impose tariffs on foreign-made steel and aluminum. The administration imposed the restrictions on china but exempted Canada and other U.S aligned States as well as the European Unions, as trade negotiations continued. In response to this, the Chinese government imposed retaliatory tariffs on U.S products worth about \$3 billion dollars, escalating the trade war between the two economies. By November, the United States had levied tariffs on \$250 billion worth of Chinese goods while China had imposed tariffs on \$110 billion worth of U.S products. At the Groups of twenty summits in Buenos Aires in December, Trump and Chinese President Xi Jinping agreed to a cease-fire, as well as to strike a broader trade agreement within ninety days.

2.3.7 THE BIDEN’S FOREIGN POLICY

In 2019, Joe Biden took over the presidential office from Donald Trump in 2019 and became the president of the United States of America. President Joe Biden took office with the promise to trade in the America first approach of his predecessor, for a diplomacy-heavy, human right led foreign Policy. After his first 100 days in office, observers that joined in the celebration in the White house said the president was taking positive steps to realize his promises including re-engaging with a number of international organizations and pressing for multilateral cooperation on global issues, such as climate change. Although the foreign policy of Joe Biden seemed to have a wholly different style from Donald Trump, his Foreign policy has not been a wholesale rebuke of his Predecessor. Some of the Biden’s major Foreign Policy moves over his first 100days were:

1. U.S and China

The administration has increasingly made competing with china and countering Beijing’s economic and military assertiveness a top priority while promising a minor distinction approach that involves cooperation wherever possible. While America continued to sanction

Chinese officials for human rights abuses, impose tariffs in an ongoing trade dispute build regional alliances to counter Beijing, Biden administrative officials traded barbs with their Chinese counterparts during an inaugural meeting in Alaska in March.

2. U.S and Latin America

The administration of President Biden ended the Trump's Remain in Mexico policy which made asylum seekers to stay in Mexico often in makeshift camps set up along the border. The Biden administration has also ended agreements with El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras that allowed US authorities to deport asylum seekers who passed through one of those countries on their way to the U.S and send back. Despite this moves by the current U.S president, the president continues to use title 42 a trump-era public health policy that allows authorities to expel most migrants at the border during the Covid-19 pandemic except for unaccompanied minors.

3. U.S and Russia

The coming of President Joe Biden has led to the imposition of sanctions against Russia. The first sanction against Russia was over the alleged poisoning and imprisonment of opposition leader Alexei Navalny and the second was for a raft of allegations including US elections meddling and hacking of an array of US federal agencies. The President of the US has also taken a more confrontational tone with the president of Russian President Vladimir Putin for his crackdown on dissent and building up of Russian troops along the Ukrainian border, notably confirming that he believed President Putin to be a killer in an interview in March 2021.

4. U.S, Saudi Arabia and UAE

One of the promises the current President of US made before he was elected to the office of the President was that he would reassess the US-Saudi Arabian relationship. The approach used by President Biden seem to be entirely different from that of President Trump who equivocally backed Saudi crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman, the administration of Biden has criticized for not sanctioning MBS after a US intelligent report directly linked him to the killing of journalist Jamal Khashoggi. President Biden has also received some criticism for proceeding with the \$23billion Trump-era arm sales to the United Arab Emirates, which is also a member of the coalition fighting in Yemen. The sale includes F-35s, drones and other advanced equipments that critics believe could further put Yemeni civilians at risks.

5. US and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict

There have been no serious changes to the trump's policy regarding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. While President Biden has renewed funding to the UN agency for Palestinian refugees he has also made it clear he will not reverse Trump's relocation of the US embassy to Jerusalem or his recognition of Israeli sovereignty over the occupied Syrian Golan Heights. The Biden's administration also said they planned to build on Trump-brokered

normalization deals between Israel and the UAE, Bahrain Mexico and Sudan which drew condemnation from Palestinians.

6. US and Afghanistan

On the 13th of April, 2021 President Biden announced that the US would withdraw all remaining US troops from Afghanistan by September 11. The 20-year anniversary of the 9/11 attacks that precipitated the US invasion of the country. Biden Pushed Back May 1 withdrawal deadline reached between the Trump administration and the Taliban and his plan has been hailed by advocates who have long called US to end its so called “forever wars”. But, others have questioned if the withdrawal would lead to renewed violence that will leave the Afghan government ill-equipped to hold into territory, and make peace agreement between the government and the Taliban more elusive.

(C). Dynamics in Multilateral Diplomacy

i. United States of America and the World Health Organization (WHO)

The World Health organization is a UN specialized agency that directs and coordinates health efforts within the United Nations system. President Trump in April 2020 announced that the United States would halt all forms of funding to WHO. He further declared in May 2020 that the US would “terminate” its relationship with the organization. According the President Trump, WHO failed in managing the corona virus pandemic which became a catastrophe that killed a huge number of American citizens. Trump’s administration also showed concern regarding WHO’s “alarming lack of independence” from china. In July 2020, the secretary of State Mike Pompeo notified the U.N Secretary General of the of the US intentions to withdraw from the organization which under the joint resolution adopted by congress in 1948 would take effect from July 2021.

The coming of the current president Joe Biden on his first day in office overturned the decision made by President Trump to withdraw from the WHO. Biden wrote to the U.N. Secretary General Antonio Guterres retracting the letter sent by his predecessor that notified the U.N secretariat of the U.S intentions to withdraw from the World Health Organization in 2020.he commended the role played by the WHO during the covid-19 pandemic and said that the U.S would like to remain a part of the WHO

ii. United States of America and the World trade Organization (WTO)

The United States of America was a major force behind the creation of the multilateral trade system that emerged after WWII. That system was based on negotiated rounds of trade liberalization and common trade rules, most recently through the Uruguay Round (1986-1994) and the establishment of the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 1995. In recent times, the United States has made a decision to withdraw from the WTO and this will have lots of consequences.

The supporters of the withdrawal claim that it would restore the sovereignty of the U.S by relieving the U.S from its WTO obligations. They point out that WTO agreements do not include labour and environmental obligations, allegedly leading to loss of jobs and offshoring. Withdrawal will allow the U.S to pursue American policies in the absence of its commitments under the WTO government Procurement Agreement.

On the other hand, the opponents of this move claims that the withdrawal of the U.S from WTO would enable the remaining 163 WTO members to renege on their WTO obligations to the united states such as the principle of non-discrimination, which underpins most favoured nation treatment and national treatment. The move could also remove the United States from a body whose core function is to shape the multilateral trading system and to allow other major economies including China, a greater role. The withdrawal of the U.S from the WTO could be a Pivotal moment in trade policy.

iii. United States of America and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)

It is often said that the creation of NATO was because of the Threat posed by the Soviet Union. This is not entirely correct. The formation of NATO was for three basic reasons:

- a. Deterring Soviet expansionism
- b. Forbidding the revival of nationalist militarism in Europe through a strong North American presence on the continent
- c. Encouraging European political integration.

President Donald Trump suggested a move that was tantamount to destroying NATO. The move was the withdrawal of the U.S from NATO. The move brought up several criticisms as they believed that withdrawal from NATO would be a reckless move. The report that President Donald Trump floated the idea of pulling the U.S out of NATO did not go down well with lots of officials as they believed that NATO has been the bedrock of peace for many decades.

2.4 SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 2

- i. Thomas Paine argues against _____
- ii. The original flag of the U.S had thirteen stars which represented _____
- iii. The first sanction against Russia was over the poisoning and imprisonment _____



2.5 SUMMARY

We have examined in detail in this unit the changing dynamics of American foreign policy from isolationism to an interventionist foreign policy through the world wars and the cold war. Throughout the course of American international relations from its foundation to the end of the cold war, the U.S. has oscillated between commitments to fundamental principles and pragmatism. For instance, during the second war, the U.S. collaborated with communist Soviet Union to confront the common enemies – Germany and Japan. Pragmatism also informed U.S. collaborations and supports to non-democratic states and even brutal dictators in order to win global allies against the Soviet Union during the cold war.

The initial collaboration between the allied powers suddenly broke down and deteriorated as the Second World War was gradually coming to an end. There were mutual suspicions, mistrusts and fears among the allied powers toward the end of the war. These suspicions and mistrusts finally resulted into the ‘cold war’ with global consequences.



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2.7 POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO SAE 2

- i. Forming alliances
- ii. The thirteen colonies that formed the United States
- iii. Opposition leader Alexei Navalny

UNIT 3: BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

CONTENTS

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Intended Learning Outcomes
- 3.3 Main Content
 - 3.3.1 Traditional Bases of British Foreign Policy
 - 3.3.2 Britain in the First World War
 - 3.3.3 The Appeasement Policy (1937-1939)
 - 3.3.4 Britain in the Second World War
- 3.4 Self-Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3
- 3.5 Summary
- 3.6 References/Further Readings
- 3.7 Possible answers to Self-Assessment Exercise 3



3.1 INTRODUCTION

The United Kingdom 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. Nevertheless, the United Kingdom remains a major power and a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council, a Member State of the European Union, and a founding member of the G7, G8, G20, NATO, OECD, WTO, Council of Europe, OSCE, and the Commonwealth of Nations, which is a legacy of the British Empire.



3.2 INTENDED LEARNING OUTCOMES

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the traditional principles of British Foreign Policy
- Analyze the forces and factors that shaped British Foreign Policy during the World Wars
- Evaluate British relationship with other European powers.



3.3 MAIN CONTENT

3.3.1 Traditional Bases of British Foreign Policy

The Congress of Vienna in 1815 was a landmark event for the shaping of both political Europe and British Foreign Policy. It was called to solve the problems caused by the defeat of Napoleon and to officially redress the balance of power between countries. With this change, Castlereagh also established the principles of British Foreign Policy that would be followed in the next hundred years.

These had the aim of ensuring power and profit for Britain. An integral policy was maintaining naval supremacy, as it had been throughout Britain's history. With the acquisition of an empire, and obviously being an insular nation, British power by sea was vitally important. Similarly trade routes around the world had to be protected, as the economy relied on trade outside of the country. This linked to the policy of maintaining peace in Europe, as this was necessary for effective trading. The potential for French expansion was also a major issue after Napoleon's defeat, and preventing this became a priority for Castlereagh, and for subsequent foreign ministers.

The related policies of solving the 'Eastern Question' and stopping Russian expansion arose due to the wane of the Ottoman Empire, and Russia's increasing interest in the Straits and the Mediterranean. Again, this threatened trade routes in the Mediterranean and overland to India. All of these contributed to the final principle of preservation of the 'balance of power' in Europe.

It is possible to identify a number of consistent aims and objectives in British Foreign Policy in the period between the end of the French Wars and the death of Lord Palmerston: 1815 to 1865. These principles are as follows:

Geography and the Sea

The British foreign policy is determined first and foremost by its geographical situation on the ocean. Being an island nation surrounded by Seas and Rivers, its major foreign policy is to control the sea against external aggression and also to master international trade and relations via the major Seas and Oceans in the world. It is therefore against this major background that the framework of the British foreign policy. Thus, its geographical background serves as a fulcrum among other factors that the foreign policy formers consider in the British external relations. From the foregoing, naval power becomes British trump card in its foreign policy. So its Royal Navy is its prestige and a strong arm of its foreign office.

Maintenance of the Peace in Europe

This was not altruism on the part of Britain but the result of important considerations. There was a great 'war-weariness' throughout Britain and also in Europe. The French Wars had lasted for twenty-two years and throughout that time, only Britain consistently opposed the French. Other European nations had been defeated by the French armies and/or had signed peace treaties with them.

The people of Britain remembered the effort that had been made by the country during the French Wars; also the wars had cost Britain £600 million. Other-and perhaps more important-considerations related to Britain's economic situation. Britain depended on trade for survival. Her colonies provided raw materials and a ready market for Britain's manufactures, invisible earnings- banking and insurance-provided vast amounts of incoming cash. These things invariably suffered in wartime so Britain wanted to see that diplomacy was the first weapon used. After 1830, Britain was the 'Workshop of the World', needing raw materials to maintain her growing industries and markets for the finished goods. She also needed safe shipping routes. Palmerston said he wanted peace and prestige; he used 'gun-boat diplomacy' as a last resort to clarify Britain's position and to avert a more serious situation.

In 1815, Britain was seen in Europe as the principal agent in defeating France in three ways:

- militarily, through the successful activities of the Royal Navy and then Wellington's army in the Peninsular campaign and later in Europe
- economically through providing gold to her allies and also providing supplies to the allied armies
- diplomatically through the establishment and maintenance of four coalitions

Britain was anxious to enhance her European status after Waterloo: she saw herself as a major force and wanted to 'count for something' on the international scene. Of all the European nations, Britain's political system was the only one that had remained intact throughout the French Wars. Other crowned heads had been removed from their thrones; countries had had their systems of government overturned and replaced, sometimes several times in the period. In Britain, it was felt that only Britain was stable enough to pull Europe together again. Also, Britain had no ambitions in Europe so could act as the 'honest broker'. At the same time, Britain could not afford to distance herself from Europe because of the proximity of potentially huge markets and the fact that continental instability invariably impacted on domestic affairs.

Maintenance of the Balance of Power in Europe

The defence of Britain's security interests has gone hand in hand with a consistent and growing concern to safeguard the liberties of Europe by opposing the domination of the continent by any single power. Learning from experience, successive British governments, supported by public opinion, correctly concluded that the desire of particular rulers to build European empires was not only in itself a reprehensibly tyrannical objective, but inevitably inimical to the cause of peace and British independence, since unchecked imperial ambition, and the desire of would-be Caesars for personal power, knows no limits and tolerates no opposition.

Britain adopted this principle in an attempt to prevent the domination of Europe by any one Power. In the past and at various times different nations had dominated Europe: Spain, France, and Austria-Hungary in particular. The Treaty of Paris in 1815 and the settlement agreed at the Congress of Vienna ensured that there were no obvious winners or losers from the French Wars. Britain wanted to maintain the *status quo* of 1815. Britain also wanted to balance constitutional regimes against autocracies. In 1815 more territory in Europe was controlled by autocratic rulers than by constitutionalists, therefore wherever possible, Britain encouraged the spread of constitutionalism, especially in littoral countries: Belgium, France, Spain, Portugal, Italy and Greece.

Hence the constant mobilisation of Britain's military, diplomatic and economic resources against all such threats to the peace and public law of Europe.

Cautious Containment of France

Britain wanted to contain France through co-operation with the other Powers. This was a priority in 1815 and was a policy that was shared by all other European nations. Later it became a British prejudice under Palmerston, who failed to see the rise of Prussia. Britain was almost paranoid about possible French expansionism, whether it was diplomatic, territorial or through influence. Britain tried to keep France pinned down within her borders because France was seen as the most dangerous nation in Europe. This policy towards France was rather limited and was maintained for far too long: by about 1850 the Foreign Office was virtually blind to the rise of Prussia, which was a greater threat to the peace and stability of Europe than France. Bismarck and Prussia were able diplomatically to hoodwink Britain.

A Conscious Promotion of Constitutional States in Europe

Britain wanted to help other nations to have constitutions similar to that of Britain, but wanted it especially in the littoral states such as the Netherlands, Belgium, Spain, Portugal, Italy, and Greece. Britain helped with advice and even militarily on occasion. Britain's aim in doing this was to help to develop her own trade. It was thought that constitutional governments would have similar outlooks and ideas, and would be easier with which to negotiate. Britain also felt that it would encourage peace thought that it would provide allies thought that it would balance autocracy, which was the dominant system of government in Europe in 1815

By 1865 Britain had played a major part in setting up constitutional monarchies in almost every European littoral state from Belgium to Greece. These countries provided a barrier to central and eastern European autocracies. Also, the Foreign Office considered trade and income for Britain by using the physical support and presence of the fleet and army or by utilizing her diplomatic influence to encourage constitutional governments. Britain, as the most democratic state in Europe, was generally tolerant towards Liberal Nationalism and had sympathy for the aims of the Liberal Nationalists

3.3.2. Britain in the First World War

In the 19th century, the major European powers had gone to great lengths to maintain a balance of power throughout Europe, resulting by 1900 in a complex network of political and military alliances throughout the continent. These had started in 1815, with the Holy Alliance between Prussia, Russia, and Austria. Then, in October 1873, German Chancellor Bismarck negotiated the League of the Three Emperors (German: *Dreikaiserbund*) between the monarchs of Austria–Hungary, Russia and Germany. This agreement failed because Austria–Hungary and Russia could not agree over Balkan policy, leaving Germany and Austria–Hungary in an alliance formed in 1879, called the Dual Alliance. This was seen as a method of countering Russian influence in the Balkans as the Ottoman Empire continued to weaken. In 1882, this alliance was expanded to include Italy in what became the Triple Alliance.

After 1870, European conflict was averted largely through a carefully planned network of treaties between the German Empire and the remainder of Europe orchestrated by Chancellor Bismarck. He especially worked to hold Russia at Germany's side to avoid a two-front war with France and Russia. With the ascension of Wilhelm II as German Emperor (*Kaiser*), Bismarck's system of alliances was gradually de-emphasised. For example, the Kaiser refused to renew the Reinsurance Treaty with Russia in 1890. Two years later, the Franco-Russian Alliance was signed to counteract the force of the Triple Alliance. In 1904, the United Kingdom sealed an alliance with France, the Entente cordiale and in 1907, the United Kingdom and Russia signed the Anglo-Russian Convention. This system of interlocking bilateral agreements formed the Triple Entente. German industrial and economic power had grown greatly after unification and the foundation of the empire in 1870. From the mid-1890s on, the government of Wilhelm II used this base to devote significant economic resources to building up the *Kaiserliche Marine* (Imperial German Navy), established by Admiral Alfred von Tirpitz, in rivalry with the British Royal Navy for world naval supremacy. As a result, both nations strove to out-build each other in terms of capital ships. With the launch of HMS *Dreadnought* in 1906, the British Empire expanded on its significant advantage over its German rivals. The arms race between Britain and Germany eventually extended to the rest of Europe, with all the major powers devoting their industrial base to the production of the equipment and weapons necessary for a pan-European conflict

Because Russia, Britain and France had an alliance under the Triple Entente, when Austria-Hungary invaded Serbia following the assassination of the heir apparent to the throne of Austria-Hungary (Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria) Russia joined in to help Serbia per a separate agreement. Germany, an ally of Austria-Hungary, then declared war on Russia and France and began to move troops through the neutral sovereign state of Belgium to attack France. The British were not obliged to help the French in the event of war and did not declare war when German forces invaded Belgium on August 4 1914. Britain ordered Germany to withdraw immediately from Belgium, Germany refused and The United Kingdom declared war on Germany on the afternoon of August 4, 1914. The Treaty of London meant that the sovereignty of Belgium, the

Netherlands and Luxembourg was guaranteed. In the event of a major European Power invading it, Britain was obliged to help defend the small nations and on August 4, when Germany executed the Schlieffen plan via Belgium and Luxembourg Britain honoured the Treaty and declared war on Germany.

The First World War redrew the map of Europe and the Middle East. Four great empires, the Romanov, the Hohenzollern, the Habsburg, and the Ottoman, were defeated and collapsed. They were replaced by a number of weak and sometimes avaricious successor states. Russia underwent a bloody civil war before the establishment of a Communist Soviet Union which put it beyond the pale of European diplomacy for a generation. Germany became a republic branded at its birth with the stigma of defeat, increasingly weakened by the burden of Allied reparations and by inflation. France recovered the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, but continued to be haunted by fear and loathing of Germany. Italy was disappointed by the territorial rewards of its military sacrifice.

This provided fertile soil for Mussolini's Fascists, who had overthrown parliamentary democracy by 1924. The British maintained the integrity and independence of Belgium. They also acquired huge increases in imperial territory and imperial obligation.

3.3.3 The Appeasement Policy (1937-1939)

Appeasement is most often applied to the foreign policy of British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain towards Nazi Germany between 1937 and 1939. His policies of avoiding war with Germany have been the subject of intense debate for seventy years among academics, politicians and diplomats. The historian's assessment of Chamberlain has ranged from condemnation for allowing Hitler to grow too strong, to the judgement that he had no alternative and acted in Britain's best interests. At the time, these concessions were widely seen as positive, and the Munich Pact among Germany, Great Britain, France and Italy prompted Chamberlain to announce that he had secured "peace for our time" (Livy, 2006:12).

Chamberlain believed that Germany had been badly treated by the Allies after it was defeated in the First World War. He therefore thought that the German government had genuine grievances and that these needed to be addressed. He also thought that by agreeing to some of the demands being made by Adolf Hitler of Germany and Benito Mussolini of Italy, he could avoid a European war.

Chamberlain's policy of appeasement emerged out of the weakness of the League of Nations and the failure of collective security. The League of Nations was set up in the aftermath of the First World War in the hope that international cooperation and collective resistance to aggression might prevent another war. Members of the League were entitled to the assistance of other members if they came under attack. The policy of collective security ran in parallel with measures to achieve international disarmament and where possible, was to be based on economic sanctions against an aggressor. It appeared to be ineffectual when confronted by the aggression of dictators, notably Germany's occupation of the Rhineland, and Italian leader Benito Mussolini's invasion of Abyssinia.

On May 5, 1936, the Italians invaded the Ethiopian capital of Addis Ababa, using both air power and indiscriminate poisonous gassings. By the time Emperor Haile Selassie had been deposed, the African nation suffered more than three times the number of battle casualties than its aggressors. On June 30, 1936, Haile Selassie appealed to the League of Nations Assembly for league assistance against the Italian antagonists. In response, the League imposed feeble economic restraints on the aggressors. After proving ineffective and even producing uninvited results, the measures were dropped, leading Mussolini towards an alliance with Hitler and the idea that subsequent actions would result in similar leniency.

Accordingly, in 1935, Hitler announced that Germany was undergoing preparations to rearm itself, a fervent violation of the Treaty of Versailles. In 1936, Hitler continued to disobey the restrictions that followed the Great War by announcing the mobilization of troops in the French-occupied Rhineland. Though the German army was under strict order to retreat in case of resistance, it was a simple victory. With France and Great Britain at odds with one another and a lack of support for France from Great Britain, Hitler was allowed to believe that his defiance of the Treaty of Versailles was tolerable.

Following the German conquest of the Rhineland and Italian success in Ethiopia, there was a great expansion of both the distinction and appeal of the authoritarian orders. The various dictatorial regimes of Poland, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia were quick to emulate the forms and methods of their Fascist and National-Socialist mentors. Those tyrannical rulers insisted their governments were the embodiments of a new political essence. Just when it seemed the situation could not reach a more volatile state, cooperation was forged between Hitler and Mussolini, giving the Rome-Berlin axis a concrete foundation.

As the Allies reeled at the thought of a Fascist-dominated Europe, the western democracies were also faced with two alternatives -opposition by force or negotiations which would ultimately end in concessions to Nazi Germany. In August 1938, negotiations began after local German officials asserted that the Sudeten people had been discriminated against by the Czech government. On September 29, 1938, the Munich Pact, which allowed for the cession of four specific districts of the Sudetenland to Germany, was signed.

The transitions of power in the Sudetenland and ensuing actions were overseen by an international commission comprised of delegates from France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Czechoslovakia, and representatives of adjoining German territories. Additionally, Germany, as well as Great Britain and France, agreed to guarantee the new borders of Czechoslovakia. The commission also addressed the issues of the plebiscites. By 1939, it was abundantly clear that the policy of appeasement had rendered ineffective by any standard.

In March 1939, Hitler continued his rampage by invading the remains of Czechoslovakia without resistance from the French or the British. That action, which led to the revocation of the Munich Pact, had two engaging, quite opposing effects. It was Hitler's invasion that finally convinced France and Great Britain that the Fuhrer would not terminate his actions voluntarily.

On September 1, 1939, Hitler invaded Poland, with the firm belief that Britain and France would condone his action. Ironically, in March, 1939, a British French alliance pledged to aide Poland with all available power in the event of any action which clearly threatened Polish independence. On September 3, 1939, Great Britain and France declared war against Hitler and Nazi Germany.

Ultimately, appeasement failed. The commencement of World War II forced the western allies to realize the flaws of the policy of appeasement. Though appeasement appeared to be the solution to all problems, it ensured a peace that would have been very costly to maintain. To a great extent, appeasement was a course that tended to ignore some hard political ideas.

3.3.4 Britain in the Second World War

The war is generally accepted to have begun on 1 September 1939, with the invasion of Poland by Germany and Slovakia, and subsequent declarations of war on Germany by France and most of the countries of the British Empire and Commonwealth. Germany set out to establish a large empire in Europe. From late 1939 to early 1941, in a series of campaigns and treaties, Germany conquered or subdued much of continental Europe; amid Nazi-Soviet agreements, the nominally neutral Soviet Union fully or partially occupied and annexed territories of its six European neighbours. Britain and the Commonwealth remained the only major force continuing the fight against the

Axis in North Africa and in extensive naval warfare. In June 1941, the European Axis launched an invasion of the Soviet Union, giving a start to the largest land theatre of war in history, which, from this moment on, was tying down the major part of the Axis military power. In December 1941, Japan, which had been at war with China since 1937, and aimed to dominate Asia, attacked the United States and European possessions in the Pacific Ocean, quickly conquering much of the region.

The Axis advance was stopped in 1942 after the defeat of Japan in a series of naval battles and after defeats of European Axis troops in North Africa and, decisively, at Stalingrad. In 1943, with a series of German defeats in Eastern Europe, the Allied invasion of Fascist Italy, and American victories in the Pacific, the Axis lost the initiative and undertook strategic retreat on all fronts. In 1944, the Western Allies invaded France, while the Soviet Union regained all territorial losses and invaded Germany and its allies.

The war in Europe ended with the capture of Berlin by Soviet and Polish troops and the subsequent German unconditional surrender on 8 May 1945. The Japanese Navy was defeated by the United States, and invasion of the Japanese Archipelago ("Home Islands") became imminent. The war in Asia ended on 15 August 1945 when Japan agreed to surrender.

The war ended with the total victory of the Allies over Germany and Japan in 1945. World War II altered the political alignment and social structure of the world. The United Nations (UN) was established to foster international cooperation and prevent future conflicts. The Soviet Union and the United States emerged as rival superpowers, setting the stage for the Cold War, which lasted for the next 46 years. Meanwhile, the influence of European great powers started to decline, while the decolonization of Asia and Africa began.

Most countries whose industries had been damaged moved towards economic recovery. Political integration, especially in Europe emerged as an effort to stabilize post-war relations. Britain began the War as one of the Great Powers and a prominent naval power. At the end of the war, it was a junior partner of one of the two world super powers --the United States and the Soviet Union.

3.4 SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 3

- i. The British foreign policy is determined first and foremost by its geographical situation on the ocean. Discuss
- ii. Britain wanted to Restrict France through co-operation with



3.5 SUMMARY

The 19th Century was decidedly marked by upheavals and major global conflicts, which profoundly affected British foreign policy. The major test to the principle of upholding balance of power in Europe was the rise of totalitarian regimes and the attendant conflicts that culminated in the two global wars.

This unit started with an examination of the fundamental principles of British foreign policy and how those principles were tested by the dynamics of the 19th Century. It was apparently clear that in the two global wars that arose principally in Europe, Britain took a leading role to confront dictatorship and restored freedom, liberty and most importantly, the disrupted balance of power. Unfortunately, the dynamics of the 19th century also saw the rapid decline of Britain as the greatest power at the beginning of the century. By the end of the second world war, the centre of power had moved out of Europe and with the onset of the cold war, the United States and Soviet Union were to dominate international politics for the next forty-five years.



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3.7 POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO SAE 3

- i. Britain is an island nation surrounded by Seas and Rivers. Therefore, its major foreign policy is to control the sea against external aggression and also to master international trade and relations via the major Seas and Oceans in the world. It is therefore against this major background that the framework of the British foreign policy.
- ii. Other powers

UNIT 4: THE DECLINE OF BRITISH POWER

CONTENTS

4.1 Introduction

4.2 Intended Learning Outcomes

4.3 Main Content

4.3.1 The Nature of the British Foreign Policy Before 1945

4.3.2 The Impacts of the Second World War

4.3.3 The Loss of Empire

4.3.4 The Rise of Soviet Union and the United States of America

4.3.5 European Integration

4.4 Self-Assessment Exercise (SAE) 4

4.5 Summary

4.6 References/Further Reading

4.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise 4



4.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous unit examined the traditional principles of British foreign policy that were in place from the Vienna Congress until the end of the Second World War. The fundamental principles of British foreign policy were sorely tested in the events leading to the First World War and the Second World War.

The end of the second war marked a turning point for Britain and her foreign relations. This unit will examine some of the changes that were brought by the impacts of the Second World War and how these changes affected Britain.



4.2 INTENDED LEARNING OUTCOMES

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the nature of the British foreign policy before 1945
- Analyze the factors responsible for the steady decline of Britain in the 19th Century
- Evaluate the impact of the second world war on the status of Britain as a great power



MAIN CONTENT

4.3.1 The Nature of The British Foreign Policy Before 1945

The British foreign policy was largely a colonial one prior to 1945. Colonial in the sense that from 15th century, the British foreign policy was mainly on the basis of trade throughout the globe and this interest was not a hidden one after the Berlin Conference in the 19th century, the colonial ambition of the British especially in Africa became more pronounced. Between 1900 - 1939 was undeniably colonial. Britain depended on other States to for raw materials and also as a market to sell the produced goods. And since most of her trips were done on the waterways, the British government strengthened their naval force. This colonial policy quickly changed after the Second World War due to a number of reasons. The idea that whites were superior to the blacks and other nations under the rule of the Britain was cancelled because the war proved the equality of man. Another reason was that the powers that emerged were against the powers of the British and were interested in other issues like liberalization. For example, the Soviet Union was against the issue of imperialism, the United State on the other hand was had the idea of freedom and therefore could not support colonialism. There was also the issue of the British internal politics with the emergence of the Labour Party. With all these oppositions, Britain had no other option but to change her foreign policy.

By 1945, the British Foreign Policy became that of propitiation and de-colonization with absolute counter-insurgency. This was in fact very evident in so many ways. The unfolding international political scenario of globalization has not caught the British state by surprise since it has positioned herself once again to benefit from the reigning unipolarism that is incontestably in vogue. Today Britain is now a promoter of a liberal democracy free from trade and human rightism

4.3.2 The Impacts Of The Second World War

By the turn of the 20th century, Britain's economic fortunes were in relative decline. Germany and the United States were becoming the biggest threats in terms of domestic economic production, having vastly superior natural resources compared to Britain. Furthermore, Germany had developed its own policy of imperialism which led to friction with other imperial powers in Europe up to the First World War. Even with the decline, in 1914 London was still the center of international payments, and a large creditor nation, owed money by others. The First World War (1914–1918) saw absolute losses for Britain's economy. It is estimated that she lost a quarter of her total wealth in fighting the war. Failure to appreciate the damage done to the British economy led to the pursuit of traditional liberal economic policies which plunged the country further into economic dislocation with high unemployment and sluggish growth. By 1926, a General Strike was called by trade unions but it failed, and many of those who had gone on strike were blacklisted, and thus were prevented from working for many years later. The growth of Germany and the United States had eroded Britain's economic lead by the end of the 19th century. Subsequent military and economic tensions between Britain and Germany were major causes of the world wars, during which Britain relied heavily upon its Empire. The conflict placed enormous financial strain on Britain, and although the Empire achieved its largest territorial extent immediately after the war, it was no longer a peerless industrial or military power.

The Second World War saw Britain's colonies in South-East Asia occupied by Japan, which damaged British prestige and accelerated the decline of the Empire, despite the eventual victory of Britain and its allies. India, Britain's most valuable and populous possession, was granted independence within two years of the end of the war.

Britain underwent enormous social change after the Second World War. The country was bankrupt after the war. The wartime Prime Minister, Churchill was voted out and a new labour government nationalized many industries, electricity, gas, water, health. Britain took a long time to recover from the cost of war. After a last abortive fling at being a world power - the Anglo-French invasion of the Suez Canal in 1956 - Britain began to dismantle her Empire.

After World War II, the British economy had again lost huge amounts of absolute wealth. Its economy was driven entirely for the needs of war and took some time to be reorganized for peaceful production. Anticipating the end of the conflict, the United States had negotiated throughout the war to liberalise post-war trade and the international flow of capital in order to break into markets which had previously been closed to it, including the British Empire's Pound Sterling bloc. This was to be realized through the Atlantic Charter of 1941, through the establishment of the Breton Woods system in 1944, and through the new economic power that the US was able to exert due to the weakened British economy.

4.3.3. The Loss of Empire

The British Empire comprised the dominions, colonies, protectorates, mandates, and other territories ruled or administered by the United Kingdom. It originated with the overseas colonies and trading posts established by England in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. At its height it was the largest empire in history and, for over a century, was the foremost global power. By 1922 the British Empire held sway over about 458 million people, one-quarter of the world's population at the time, and covered more than 33,700,000 km² (13,012,000 sq mi), almost a quarter of the Earth's total land area. As a result, its political, linguistic and cultural legacy is widespread. At the peak of its power, it was often said that "the sun never sets on the British Empire" because its span across the globe ensured that the sun was always shining on at least one of its numerous territories (Niall, 2004)

Though Britain and the Empire emerged victorious from the Second World War, the effects of the conflict were profound, both at home and abroad. Much of Europe, a continent that had dominated the world for several centuries, was in ruins, and host to the armies of the United States and the Soviet Union, to whom the balance of global power had now shifted. Britain was left virtually bankrupt, with insolvency only averted in 1946 after the negotiation of a \$3.5 billion loan from the United States (\$39 billion in 2011), the last instalment of which was repaid in 2006.

At the same time, anti-colonial movements were on the rise in the colonies of European Nations. The situation was complicated further by the increasing Cold War rivalry of the United States and the Soviet Union. In principle, both nations were opposed to European colonialism. In practice, however, American anti-Communism prevailed over anti-imperialism, and therefore the United States supported the continued existence of the British Empire where it kept Communist expansion in check.

The "wind of change" ultimately meant that the British Empire's days were numbered, and on the whole, Britain adopted a policy of peaceful disengagement from its colonies once stable, non-Communist governments were available to transfer power to. This was in contrast to other European powers such as France and Portugal, which waged costly and ultimately unsuccessful wars to keep their empires intact. Most former British colonies are members of the Commonwealth, a non-political, voluntary association of equal members. 15 members of the Commonwealth continue to share their head of state with the UK.

4.3.4 The Rise of Soviet Union and the United States of America

The end of World War II is seen by many as marking the end of the United Kingdom's position as a global superpower and the catalyst for the emergence of the United States and the Soviet Union as the dominant powers in the world. After the war, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States both became formidable forces. The U.S. suffered very little during the war and because of military and industrial exports became a formidable manufacturing power. This led to a period of wealth and prosperity for the U.S. in the fields of industry, agriculture and technology.

Because of the immense loss of life and the destruction of land and industrial capacity, the USSR was at an economic and (because of the American use of atomic weapons on Japan) strategic disadvantage relative to the United States. The USSR was, however, in a better economic and strategic position than any other continental European power. By the end of the war in 1945 the Red Army was very large, battle-tested and occupied all of Eastern and Central Europe as well as what was to become East Germany. In areas they occupied, the Red Army installed governments they felt would be friendly towards the USSR. Given the tremendous suffering of the Soviet people during the war, Soviet leadership wanted a "buffer zone" of friendly governments between Russia and Western European nations.

Friction had been building up between the two before the end of the war, and with the collapse of Nazi Germany relations spiraled downward. In the areas occupied by Western Allied troops, pre-war governments were re-established or new democratic governments were created; in the areas occupied by Soviet troops, including the territories of former Allies such as Poland, communist states were created. These became satellites of the Soviet Union.

Germany was partitioned into four zones of occupation. The American, British and French zones were grouped a few years later into West Germany and the Soviet zone became East Germany. Austria was once again separated from Germany and it, too, was divided into four zones of occupation, which eventually reunited and became the republic of Austria. The partitions were initially informal, but as the relationship between the victors deteriorated, the military lines of demarcation became the de facto country boundaries. The Cold War had begun, and soon two blocs emerged: NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

4.3.5 European Integration

The European Union grew out of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), which was founded in 1951 by the six founding members: Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg (the Benelux countries) and West Germany, France and Italy. Its purpose was to pool the steel and coal resources of the member states, and to support the economies of the participating countries. As a side effect, the ECSC helped defuse tensions between countries which had recently been enemies in the war. In time this economic merger grew, adding members and broadening in scope, to become the European Economic Community, and later the European Union.

4.4 SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 4

- i. After the fall of Britain as the global power, _____ and _____ emerged as the new world powers.
- ii. The founding members of the Coal and Steel Community were _____ in number



4.5 SUMMARY

The 19th Century began with the unparalleled power of Great Britain as an economic and military colossus. However, by the middle of the Century, the British Empire had collapsed and Britain itself displaced by the emergence of the USA and Soviet Union. The factors and events that led to the decline of British power were the focus of this unit. Among all the factors examined, there is no doubt about the impacts of the two global wars of the 19th Century and the attendant consequences for Britain.

The steady decline of Britain as the greatest world power which started from the end of the First World War was accelerated by the rise of the totalitarian regimes in Europe, the Second World War and the shifting in the balance of power at the end of the War. By the end of the Second World War, the balance of power had shifted out of Europe with the emergence of the United States of America and the ensuing Cold War that would last for another forty-five years.



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4.7 POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO SAE 4

- i. United States and the Soviet Union
- ii. Six

MODULE 3: FOREIGN POLICIES OF FRANCE AND THE EUROPEAN UNION

INTRODUCTION

Discussion in this module will focus on the foreign policies of France and the European Union. There are some similarities in the fundamental values of the United States, France and the Foreign Policies of the European Union. These similarities are due to both commitment to liberal values and a strong Christian tradition. There is a further synergy between France and European Union within the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the project of European integration. Discussions in this Module are organized along these units:

- Unit 1 Fundamental Principles of French Foreign Policy
- Unit 2 France's Policy in Africa after 1945
- Unit 3 Evolution of Common Foreign and Security Policy
- Unit 4 Component of the European Union's Foreign Policy

UNIT 1: FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF FRENCH FOREIGN POLICY

CONTENTS

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Intended Learning Outcomes
- 1.3 Main Content
 - 1.3.1 Fundamental Principles of French Foreign Policy
 - 1.3.2 French Foreign Policy after World War 1
- 1.4 Self-Assessment Exercise (SAE) 1
- 1.5 Summary
- 1.6 References/Further Reading
- 1.7. Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise 1



1.1 INTRODUCTION

France's foreign policy is founded on several centuries of diplomatic tradition and some fundamental principles: 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.

France has maintained its status as key power in Western Europe because of its size, location, strong economy, membership in European organizations, strong military posture and energetic diplomacy. France generally has worked to strengthen the global economic and political influence of the EU and its role in common European defense and collective security. France supports the development of a European Security and Defence Identity (ESDI) as the foundation of efforts to enhance security in the European Union. France cooperates closely with Germany and Spain in this endeavour. A charter member of the United Nations, France holds one of the permanent seats in the Security Council and is a member of most of its specialized and related agencies.



1.2 INTENDED LEARNING OUTCOMES

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the fundamental principles of French foreign policy
- Analyze French foreign policy after World War II
- Evaluate the role of France in European reconstruction



1.3 MAIN CONTENT

1.3.1 Fundamental Principles of French Foreign Policy

The factors that shape French foreign policy have changed since the end of the Cold War. France has embraced the opportunity to build stability in Europe through an expanded European Union and NATO. Several factors shape French foreign policy. France has a self-identity that calls for efforts to spread French values and views, many rooted in democracy and human rights. France prefers to engage international issues in a multilateral framework, above all through the European Union. European efforts to form an EU security policy potentially independent of NATO emerged in this context.

A Global Perspective

France believes that it has a special role in the world. The core of the perceptions of France's role in the world stems from the Revolution that began in 1789. The Revolution was an event of broad popular involvement: widespread bloodshed, expropriation of property, and execution of the king fed the notion that there could be no turning back to monarchical government. Not only was the monarchy overthrown and a powerful church structure forcibly dismantled, but French armies, and ultimately French administrators in their wake, transformed much of the continent into societies where more representative, democratic institutions and the rule of law could ultimately take root. The Revolution was therefore a central formative element in modern European history, notably in Europe's evolution from monarchical to democratic institutions.

The cultural achievements of France before and since the Revolution have added to French influence. French became the language of the élite in many European countries. By 1900, French political figures of the left and the right shared the opinion that France was and must continue to be a civilizing beacon for the rest of the world.

The view that France has a “civilizing mission” in the world endures today. For many years, the French government has emphasized the message of human rights and democracy, particularly in the developing world and in central Europe and Eurasia. France’s rank and influence in the world are important to French policymakers. Membership on the U.N. Security Council, close relations with parts of the Arab world and former worldwide colonies, aspects of power such as nuclear weapons, and evocation of human rights are central to France’s global perspective in international affairs.

Self Identity/Assertiveness

Traditional French assertiveness accounts in some ways for France punching above its weight on the international scene. France is a country of medium size with relatively modest resources. Yet it has consistently played leadership roles, for example, in forging a common European foreign, security, and defence policy (CFSP and CSDP), and in orchestrating opposition to the U.S.-led Iraq war. Most recently, in early 2011, France, along with the United Kingdom (UK), led the diplomatic effort at the United Nations to impose an arms embargo and economic sanctions on the regime of Muammar Gaddafi in Libya and to gain international approval of a military mission to protect Libyan civilians from the regime’s forces. France launched the first air strikes against the Gaddafi regime and France and the UK are by far the biggest contributors to the ongoing military operations.

French assertiveness is generally seen in a different light in Europe. In the past, France has been credited for driving the European integration project; Paris played a major role, for example, in the conception and implementation of the EU’s Economic Monetary Union (EMU). However, some in Europe, including Germany’s Chancellor Angela Merkel, have reportedly been frustrated by what they consider Sarkozy’s tendency to pursue EU-wide initiatives without first consulting other European leaders.

The European Union

France was one of the founding members of the European Union (initially known as the European Coal and Steel Community) in 1952. Improved trade and economic development were central objectives of member states in a Europe still struggling from the dislocation caused by the Second World War, but overarching objectives from the beginning were political rapprochement between Germany and its former enemies, and political stability on the continent. The EU was conceived in this context, with strong U.S. support. France has been a catalyst in achieving greater political unity and economic strength in the European Union. President Chirac has altered the traditional Gaullist view that France could act alone as a global power and be the Union’s most important member. Rather, today, the Gaullists believe that France can best exert its power through the EU, acting in tandem with Germany and occasionally with Britain.

Multilateralism

Multilateralism is important to all U.S. allies and in particular to all 25 members of the European Union, which is itself a multilateral entity painfully put together over a fifty-year period. For the Europeans, decision-making in international institutions can lend legitimacy to governmental policies. Member states of the EU share certain attributes of sovereignty and pursue joint policies intended to provide political and economic stability, goals that the United States has supported since the 1950s. Globally, Europeans perceive the U.N. as the locus for decision-making that can provide an international imprimatur for member states' actions in international security. The U.N. carries special significance for European governments that experienced two world wars. Europeans see the EU and the U.N. as belonging to a civilizing evolution towards cooperation rather than confrontation in world affairs. France is in a key position in the framework of multilateral institutions. It enjoys a permanent seat and holds a veto in the U.N. Security Council. Important EU policies are not possible without French support. French officials play central roles on the European Commission, in the European Central Bank, and the IMF, and are eligible to lead, and have led, each of these institutions. France wishes to confront the greatest threats to its security through international institutions. In the global war against terrorism, France believes that an anti-terror foreign policy must include a comprehensive multilateral effort to diminish the prevalence of poverty in the developing world and to encourage the spread of literacy, democracy, and human rights. While military action may also be a tool against terrorism, French leaders prefer to begin any effort to confront an international threat in a multilateral framework.

The Use of Force and the United Nations

France's foreign policy is conducted in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations, purposes and principles which in fact comply with the ideals underlying France's republican tradition. Thus, since 1945 France has constantly supported the UN, to which it is the fourth largest contributor. As a permanent member of the Security Council, France has participated directly in many UN peacekeeping operations (in the Middle East, Cambodia, the former Yugoslavia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Sierra Leone, Côte d'Ivoire, Haiti, etc.). France also supports the action of the UN in the area of development aid, in particular through contributions and technical assistance that it provides to the main programmes for fighting poverty (UNDP), child protection (UNICEF) or fighting drugs (UNDCP).

For the French government, the conflict in Iraq in 2003 raised questions about the legitimate use of force. France, together with several other European governments, has been critical of the Bush Administration's national security doctrine that endorses "pre-emptive action" in the face of imminent danger. While the French government does not reject the use of force, it maintains that certain criteria must be met for military action to acquire legitimacy. For France, the use of force is justifiable if collective security or a humanitarian crisis requires it. But it should only be a last recourse, when all other solutions have been exhausted and the international community, through the Security Council, decides upon the question." In a speech to the U.N. General Assembly in clear reference to the U.S. invasion of Iraq, President Chirac declared, "In today's world, no one can act alone in the name of all and no one can accept the anarchy of a society without rules. There is no alternative to the United Nations.... Multilateralism is essential.... It is the U.N. Security Council that must set the bounds for the use of force. No one can appropriate the right to use it unilaterally and preventively" (Chirac, 2003:4).

World Security

In the area of security, the Cold War years and the succeeding period of instability have placed heavy responsibilities on all the democratic nations, including France, who is a party to the North Atlantic Treaty (NATO). France also belongs to Western European Union (WEU), the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and the Eurocorps.

As one of the five nuclear powers - alongside the United Kingdom, the United States, Russia and China - France is ensuring the maintenance of its deterrent force and its adaptation to the new strategic realities, taking into account the European dimension of its defense, while working towards a total ban on nuclear testing and committing itself to arms control and disarmament.

Francophony

France is also keen to increase the use of the French language. Through Francophony, it intends to make the Francophone community (131 million people or 2.5% of the world's population) into a genuine forum for cooperation. Since 1986, there have been eight Francophone summits. The summit of Heads of State and Government of the countries having the French language in common, held in Hanoi (Vietnam) in November 1997, endorsed the Francophone community's political dimension with the appointment of a Secretary-General, a political spokesman for the community and coordinator of its economic, cultural and linguistic cooperation programmes.

Religion and the State: “Le Foulard”

France has a long history of religious violence. Political factions went to war in the 16th century over religious differences and dynastic claims; the conflict left many thousands dead and the society badly divided. One cause of the Revolution was a desire by many to end the Catholic Church's grip on elements of society and dismantle a church hierarchy widely viewed as corrupt and poorly educated. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the government sought to ensure that public schools did not become embroiled in religious controversies. Parliament passed a law in 1905 intended to ensure separation between religion and politics. The law enshrined “*laïcité*” as a principle of French life. “*Laïcité*” is not simply secularism, but rather an attempt to balance religious freedom and public order. The government protects freedom of religion, and there is no state church in France; at the same time, there is an effort to ensure that religious groups do not engage in political activism that would be disruptive of public life.

1.3.2. French Foreign Policy after World War II

A major goal of French foreign policy since World War II has been the preservation of France's status as a great power. Toward this end, France transformed itself from a colonial ruler to a leading advocate of European integration. During the Cold War, France attempted to arbitrate between the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR).

France has tried to retain a leadership role in Africa by building good relations with its former colonies. As one of five permanent members of the United Nations (UN) Security Council, France is a frequent volunteer for international peacekeeping operations; French troops have contributed to UN peacekeeping operations in Cambodia, Somalia, Central African Republic, and the former Yugoslavia.

France was compelled to dismantle its colonial empire in the years following the war. This was a particularly traumatic and drawn out process for the French, in Algeria and in Vietnam where they fought prolonged and bitter wars in an attempt to maintain their colonial control. England and France no longer held a status of power comparable either to the United States or the Soviet Union.

De Gaulle's foreign policy was centered around an attempt to limit the power and influence of both superpowers, and at the same time increase France's international prestige. De Gaulle hoped to move France from being a follower of the United States to becoming the leading nation of a large group of nonaligned countries. The nations de Gaulle looked at as potential participants in this group were those in France's traditional spheres of influence: Africa and the Middle East. The former French colonies in eastern and northern Africa were quite agreeable to these close relations with France. These nations had close economic and cultural ties to France, and they also had few other suitors amongst the major powers. This new orientation of French foreign policy also appealed strongly to the leaders of the Arab nations. None of them wanted to be dominated by either of the superpowers, and they supported France's policy of trying to balance the US and the USSR and to prevent either from becoming dominant in the region

France was a founding member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), a regional defense alliance, in 1949. Seeking a more independent military posture, France withdrew all of its forces from the integrated command of NATO in 1966 but remained a member of the alliance. France rejoined the military structure of NATO in 1995 and assumed a seat on NATO's Military Committee that year. However, France chose to remain outside the alliance's formal chain of command and to retain sole control of its nuclear weapons.

A strong advocate of European cooperation in defense, France supports strengthening the Western European Union (WEU), the security arm of the EU. In 1992 France and Germany created a 35,000-person joint defense force called the Eurocorps, to be placed under the WEU's command. To alleviate concerns within Europe and the United States that the Eurocorps could undermine NATO's security role in Europe, France and Germany agreed to establish formal ties between the corps and NATO's military command.

In the second half of the 20th century, France increased its expenditures in foreign aid greatly, to become second only to the United States in total aid amongst the Western powers and first on a per capita basis. By 1968 France was paying out \$855 million per year in aid far more than either West Germany or the United Kingdom. The vast majority of French aid was directed towards Africa and the Middle East, usually either as a lever to promote French interests or to help with the sale of French products (e.g. arms sales). France also increased its expenditures on other forms of aid sending out skilled individuals to developing countries to provide technical and cultural expertise.

The combination of aid money, arms sales, and diplomatic alignments helped to erase the memory of the Suez Crisis and the Algerian War in the Arab world and France successfully

developed amicable relationships with the governments of many of the Middle Eastern states. Nasser and de Gaulle, who shared many similarities, cooperated together on limiting American power in the region. Nasser proclaimed France as the only friend of Egypt in the West. France and Iraq also developed a close relationship with business ties, joint military training exercises, and French assistance in Iraq's nuclear program in the 1970s. France improved relations with its former colony Syria, and eroded cultural links were partially restored.

1.4 SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 1

Attempt the following exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than five minutes.

- i. What does the *laïcité* idea connote?
- ii. A major goal of French foreign policy since World War II has been the _____



1.5 SUMMARY

The underlying principles of French foreign policy as well as the impacts of the Second World War on French foreign relations were the focus of discussion in this unit. We have seen that like the United State of America, French foreign policy is fundamentally revolved around liberal values and commitment to enhance French's power and influence in international politics. The defeats suffered by France in the two world wars were to further reinforced France's determination to regain its position of pride as a global power after the end of the Second World War.

It should be noted that France like other western European powers lost her place of prestige as a major power after the end of the Second World War. For a country that had once been the centre of European diplomacy, this was a terrible blow with far reaching consequences and psychological impacts. The post Second World War foreign policy was focused on regaining the lost glory of France as a major European power. However, attempts to regain this glory brought further conflicts between France and her colonies, the United States of America and other European powers.



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1.6 POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO SAE 1

- i. Laïcité” is not simply secularism, but rather an attempt to balance religious freedom and public order.
- ii. Preservation of France’s status as a great power.

UNIT 2: FRANCE'S POLICY IN AFRICA AFTER 1945

CONTENTS

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Intended Learning outcomes
- 2.3 Main Content
 - 2.3.1 France and the Decolonization of Empire after 1945
 - 2.3.2 French Policy in Africa after Decolonization
 - 2.3.3 French Policy in Africa after the Cold War
- 2.4 Self Assessment Exercise 2
- 2.5 Summary
- 2.6 References/Further Reading

- 2.7 Possible answers to Self Assessment Exercise 2



2.1 INTRODUCTION

The two decades after World War II witnessed not only the dismantling of the British and French colonial empires, but the extinction of the very category of empire from the repertoire of legitimate state forms. Power would be exercised across distance, but it would call itself by other names and take other forms. France plays a significant role in Africa, especially in its former colonies, through extensive aid programs, commercial activities, military agreements, and cultural impact. In those former colonies where the French presence remains important, France contributes to political, military, and social stability.



2.1 INTENDED LEARNING OUTCOMES

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the process of decolonization of French Empire in Africa
- Evaluate the relationship between France and Africa after decolonization
- Analyze French policy in Africa after the end of the Cold War



2.3 MAIN CONTENT

2.3.1 France and the Decolonization of Empire after 1945

Following the defeat and occupation of France during the Second World War, France was much weakened. With the emergence of the two new superpowers, the USA and the USSR, France was also no longer the world power it had been before the war. Post-war French governments therefore attached central importance to maintaining the empire, as a means of reasserting France's world power status.

The French colonial empire began to fall during the Second World War, when various parts were occupied by foreign powers (Japan in Indochina, Britain in Syria, Lebanon, and Madagascar, the US and Britain in Morocco and Algeria, and Germany and Italy in Tunisia). However, control was gradually reestablished by Charles de Gaulle. The French Union, included in the 1946 Constitution of 1946, replaced the former colonial Empire.

France was immediately confronted with the beginnings of the decolonization movement. Paul Ramadier's (SFIO) cabinet repressed the Malagasy Uprising in 1947. In Asia, Ho Chi Minh's Vietminh declared Vietnam's independence, starting the First Indochina War. In Cameroun, the Union of the Peoples of Cameroon's insurrection, started in 1955 and headed by Ruben Um Nyobé, was violently repressed.

When the Indochina War ended with defeat and withdrawal in 1954, France became almost immediately involved in a new and even harsher conflict in Algeria, the oldest major colony. Ferhat Abbas and Messali Hadj's movements had marked the period between the two wars, but both sides radicalized after the Second World War. In 1945, the Sétif massacre was carried out by the French army. The Algerian War started in 1954. Algeria was particularly problematic, due to the large number of European settlers (or *pieds-noirs*) who had settled there in the 125 years of French rule. Charles de Gaulle's accession to power in 1958 in the middle of the crisis ultimately led to the independence of Algeria with the 1962 Evian Accords.

There was no war of decolonization in FWA. Instead, there was a generally smooth and peaceful political transition from colonial rule to national sovereignty for the eight new countries – from Mauritania in the north to former Dahomey (present-day Benin) in the south – that emerged from the former federation of FWA in 1960 (Guinea under its fiery leader Sekou Touré had actually taken its independence two years earlier and was promptly excluded from the French 'family'). This transition is often presented as having been carefully managed by well-intentioned French politicians and enlightened African leaders. However, the rapid unfurling of events after the Second World War was a complex, piecemeal and unpredictable process. In particular, it is important to realize that there was, before 1959, no deliberate French policy to grant independence to Black Africa. The peaceful transition was more the result of France's creation of loyal, French-speaking elite in FWA, than the product of any French plan.

2.3.2 French Policy in Africa after Decolonization

France has tried to retain political influence in all its former colonies in Africa. Underlying the concept of *La Francophonie* was the promotion of French culture and language. Some authors have seen France's traditional African policy as being equivalent to the American Monroe Doctrine. Although different in their purposes, both doctrines justify, mainly through historical and geographical arguments, the exclusive control by France and the United States of what they regard as their 'private backyard' (*arrière-cours*). This is reflected in a number of French expressions used to describe Francophone African countries, such as *domaine réservé* (private matter), *chasse-gardée* (exclusive hunting ground) or *précarré* (natural preserve), which prescribe the backyard as being 'off limits' to other great powers (Renou 2002).

There were three traditional objectives to French African policy: (i) the preservation of an international status threatened by the loss of the second largest colonial empire in the world; (ii) the need to secure access to strategic resources; and (iii) the huge profits made out of a monopolistic situation. Faced by the diminution of France's international position resulting from the loss of its colonial empire in the 1950s and 60s, the French political elite resolved upon a policy aimed at retaining the exclusiveness which France had enjoyed in Francophone Africa before African states obtained their independence. The system of close or special relationships was seen as an opportunity not only to remain influential on the African continent, but also to enhance the world status of France in the specific context of a permanent confrontation between two forms of imperialism, namely those of the United States and the Soviet Union. The special relationship also allowed France to break through the two blocs, enjoying the diplomatic support of its African allies in the UN General Assembly, one fourth of whose members are Francophone countries, many of them African. Furthermore, France was sometimes seen as a non-aligned power whose support could be played off against the two superpowers.

In terms of strategy, the presence of military bases in Djibouti as well as in the French Indian Ocean and in some West and Central African countries was also very useful for guaranteeing access to the Suez Canal, Middle-East countries, and both sides of the continent through the Cape route, and for containing the rival interests from the USA, USSR and Great Britain

In the early 1980s, France's rate of dependency on mineral imports from Africa ranged from 100 per cent for uranium (Gabon, Niger, South Africa, but the rate dropped to 40 per cent in 1986), to 90 per cent for bauxite (Guinea), 76 per cent for manganese (Gabon, South Africa); and 59 per cent for cobalt (Zaire, Zambia). Almost 70 per cent of the oil extracted world-wide by the French state-owned company Elf during the 1980s came from Africa (Gabon, Cameroon, Angola, Congo) (Martin 1995a).

Some sectors of the French economy have constantly benefited from the asymmetrical relations established between France and its former African colonies (Ravenhill 1985). In 1950, the colonial empire represented 60 per cent of French external trade. Through a system of preferences, French companies enjoyed a quasi-monopoly. They benefited from cheap labour costs, low prices for raw materials, and a captive market. The independence of Francophone African countries did not really change the rules. A significant share of their trade, marketing and shipping activities remained entirely controlled by the old colonial companies.

To attain these objectives and maintain its power over its former colonies, France had to pursue a global policy that would be economic, political and cultural. The concept of *La Francophonie* became the ideological and institutional framework for this policy. It encompassed a wide network of institutions and projects aimed at developing the political, economic and cultural links between France and its former colonies, through training support, academic and students' exchanges, promotion of the French language, cultural exhibitions, subsidies and so on. It was made possible because of the very specific type of colonization implemented in the French Empire, especially between 1880 and 1960, based on the principle of assimilation. African peoples were to be integrated into the French nation through a gradual process of acculturation.

This partial acculturation created the conditions for the emergence of *La Francophonie*. In 1995, 49 countries in the world with more than 450 million inhabitants had amongst them more than 200 million who were Frenchspeaking. Nowhere else in the world is *La Francophonie* so important, culturally and politically speaking, than on the African continent, where half the countries speak French. Even without mentioning the Northern African States, *La Francophonie* includes 23 countries in West Africa, Central Africa, East Africa, the Horn, and the Indian Ocean as well as Madagascar and several other islands. However, apart from its cultural dimension, the achievement of *La Francophonie* in sub-Saharan Africa implied: a negotiated transition to independence; Mafia-style relationships between heads of states; permanent military control; and the preservation of markets for French companies (Renou 2002: 4-5).

Between 1960 and 1993, eight defence agreements and 24 military technical assistance agreements were signed with those Francophone African countries considered to be the most important for France, plus one Anglophone country, Zimbabwe, in the 1980s. These agreements included defence, supply of weapons, training of army officers, technical and logistic-material support to court staffs, police forces, riot control units, presidential guards, secret services, intelligence agencies, and military interventions to ensure the maintenance of the status quo. At any time African dictators could require the help of France to keep power. There were at least 34 French military interventions in Africa during the period 1963-1997. Some of these required the use of mercenaries — to avoid public outrage. The cost of these interventions is not known for the whole period, but in 1997 it was equivalent to official development assistance. By 1997, officially, 47,000 African officers have been trained by France (Dumoulin 1997:13).

The Franc Zone was created in 1947 — long before the independence of African countries. Composed of 13 former French colonies and Equatorial Guinea and Guinea-Bissau, the zone is a financial system in which a common currency, the Franc CFA (*Communauté Financière Africaine*) was tied to the French franc and guaranteed by the French Treasury. French policy-makers provided emergency credits and offer tax cuts to French companies investing in the region.

The purpose of the zone was to preserve monetary stability in the region. But it also enabled France to control Francophone African countries' money supply, their monetary and financial regulations, their banking activities, their credit allocation and ultimately, their budgetary and economic policies. Indeed, France retained "a quasi veto-right in the decision-making process of African Central Banks" (Martin 1995b). In addition, the convertibility of CFA francs into French francs facilitated corruption and illegal diversion of public aid between French and African intermediaries.

2.3.3 French Policy in Africa after the Cold War

The end of the Cold War and the withdrawal of Soviet interests favoured the emergence of new African elites eager to contest the rule of their predecessors as well as the political and economic submission of their countries. In Francophone Africa, the intervention of French economic investors in the privatization of some public firms and industries, mostly West African, was described by many as a process of decolonization. Political hostility to French neo-colonialism increased rapidly after the Rwandan genocide. France was perceived as the accomplice of criminals, as a power ready to do anything to keep control of the Francophone part of the continent. Furthermore, the way France dealt at home with its migrants and refugees shocked Francophone African populations. This led to a greater awareness of the wide gap between the speeches about *La Francophonie* being a 'big family' and the reality of the discriminatory practices to which African refugees and migrants were subjected in France.

Demands for democratization, strongest amongst the urban classes, were facilitated by the death of important actors of the traditional African policy of France, such as Houphouët-Boigny and Mobutu Sese Seko. However, 'democracy' represented a direct threat to French interests in Francophone Africa as it was accompanied by growing sympathies for its main rival in Africa, the USA.

The end of the Soviet-American Cold War and the growing demand for democratization in Francophone Africa forced France to react quickly. It had to integrate the new context into its discourse to convey the idea that it was supporting it. The shift was announced at the 1990 La Baule Franco-African Summit by Mitterrand himself. The future level of French foreign aid would be contingent upon willingness of presidents of Francophone African countries to promote democratic change and to protect human rights effectively.

The democratization offered by France became a reference in political debates in West Africa and national conferences took place to design the new democracies. Some countries such as Benin, the Central African Republic, Mali and Niger seemed to turn to democracy. But in most Francophone African countries, dictators tried their best to resist the change, despite some temporary concessions. In several cases, dictators managed to get elected through corruption, fraud and the control of the press, as in Paul Biya's Cameroon, Konan Bédié's Côte d'Ivoire, Omar Bongo's Gabon, or, with important nuances (the term 'dictator' being questionable), in Abou Diouf's Senegal.

The first signal of the new policy and the first step towards the normalization/ liberalization of the Franc zone were given in January 1994, with the devaluation of the CFA franc for the first time by 50 per cent. This decision, approved by the IMF, took the Francophone African countries by surprise. None of them was prepared for such a drop in their currency's value. It was clearly understood as the evidence that France's commitment to *La Francophonie* in Africa would no longer take precedence over the pursuit of neo-liberal economic policy and the acceptance of the globalization of the world economy

The new French policy aims at convincing Francophone countries to submit to "good economic governance". The new framework was presented for the first time in January 1994 in Abidjan and constantly promoted since, being soon called the 'Abidjan doctrine'. French authorities explained that the biggest part of French aid, the financial support for public finances, would require in future "good economic governance" as a pre-requisite, the signature of structural adjustment agreements with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) being considered as the only evidence of efforts made to achieve this goal. Therefore, multilateral financial institutions would come first when it comes to loans, then France, if necessary.

In this context, multilateral organizations, most of which are actually inter-state organizations controlled by Western countries and multinationals, put permanent pressure on France to open West African markets rather than keeping them under French investors' control, especially with regard to oil, telecommunications and transport industries. At the same time, in order to remain attractive to international capital, France has undertaken a policy of reduction of state expenditures (and not only social ones as is generally the case). The reductions include the defence budget (hence the closing of military bases in Africa) and the co-operation budget, reduced each year since 1993. Less money is now made available to intervene in Africa.

France has also seemed to reduce its military involvement in Africa, focusing on the training of African soldiers and officers and the use of fewer French troops. Two of the six military bases on the African continent have been closed recently (Bangui and Bouar in Central Africa) with reductions of soldiers from 8 000 to 5 000 planned in the next five years. A more cost-efficient system of economic, scientific and cultural co-operation was necessary, as well as a decreasing of corruption. The integration of the Ministry of Co-operation into the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1998 is supposed to bring more coherence into French foreign policy in general and the African policy in particular. This unique supervision should bring some transparency and enable some parliamentary control over French policy in Africa.

2.4 SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 2

- i. The effect of the Second World War weakened France. How true is this assertion?
- ii. French companies enjoyed a quasi-monopoly. Discuss



2.5 SUMMARY

We have seen in this unit how France was forced by the anti-colonial forces that were fervent after the end of the Second World War to grant independence to her colonies in Africa. While decolonization evolved through peaceful means in sub-Saharan Africa, bitter and bloody struggles were involved in French Algeria. This unit has also examined the pattern of French relationship with her former African colonies after political independence were granted. Through economic and political collaborations, France exerted the greatest external influence over domestic affairs of these African states leading to a pattern of neo-colonialism and dependency. Despite the opportunities for reforms presented by the end of the super power rivalries in Africa, the changes observed in French policy have largely been cosmetics, rather than fundamental.

The end of the cold war sparked the emergence of a new competitive international market in which the United States and other industrialized nations like Germany and Japan competed for economic power and influence over African relations. The economic stakes were considerable and France's involvement in the continent was increasingly driven by economic self-interest. The United States posed the biggest threat to France, and tension between the two nations grew. The US publicly announced a rejection of its prior support for France's role in francophone Africa in favour of a more aggressive approach to promoting US trade and investment. Overall, the end of the cold war threatened to bring an end to French influence in Africa. This occurred via increased economic competition amongst the Great Powers, and as a result of the wave of democratization that swept the continent. France, with its economic, political, cultural and strategic interests in mind, engaged in a series of somewhat controversial interventions in its plight to maintain its position of control throughout francophone Africa. In Zaire, Togo, Gabon, Cameroon, Benin and other African countries, France has always taken the pragmatic, self interested line. Critics say it has turned a blind eye to rigged elections, been first to resume aid to pariah states, and tolerated human rights abuses for the sake of maintaining 'influence' with the countries concerned.

This blatantly self-interested approach could not last forever. Indeed, late in the 1990s France's foreign policies towards Africa saw the beginnings of reform. The new French policy in Africa appears to be based mostly on a few cosmetic changes aimed at rehabilitating the country in Africa as well as in the international community and its multilateral organizations, and France's attempt to maintain domination through other means, with few real reforms.



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- i. It is true because, the defeat and occupation of France during the Second World War, France was much weakened. With the emergence of the two new superpowers, the USA and the USSR, France was also no longer the world power it had been before the war. Post-war French governments therefore attached central importance to maintaining the empire, as a means of reasserting France's world power status.
- ii. France benefited from cheap labour costs, low prices for raw materials, and a captive market. The independence of Francophone African countries did not really change the rules. A significant share of their trade, marketing and shipping activities remained entirely controlled by the old colonial companies.

CONTENTS

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Intended Learning Outcomes
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 - 3.3.3 The Structure of the Common Security and Foreign Policy (CSFP)
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3.1 INTRODUCTION

The European Union is a geo-political entity covering a large portion of the European continent. It is founded upon numerous treaties and has undergone expansions that have taken it from 6 member states to 27. As distinct from ideas of federation, confederation or customs union, the main development in Europe depends on a supranational foundation to make war *unthinkable and materially impossible* and reinforce democracy.

The idea behind the European integration process was to create an institutional framework of shared sovereignty in different sectors of the economy. The ultimate goal of the process is the economic integration of the member states which will call for a political union in the final stage. While the immediate concern of the founders of the Union was to avoid another war in Europe but establishing an economically integrated space in Europe which was called European Economic Communities, the ultimate goal was to create a European Political Union. It was only in 1993 that the European Economic Communities (EEC) became the European Union by the Treaty of Maastricht.



3.2. INTENDED LEARNING OUTCOMES

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the historical developments of European Integration.
- Evaluate the objectives of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP)
- Analyze the structures of the CFSP



3.3 MAIN CONTENT

3.3.1 History of European Integration

The Second World War from 1939 to 1945 witnessed a human and economic cost which hit Europe hardest. It demonstrated the horrors of war and also of extremism, through the holocaust and the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, for example. After the war, there was a desire to prevent the outbreak of another global war, particularly with the introduction of nuclear weapons. The countries of Western Europe lost their great power status with the emergence of two rival ideologically opposed superpowers. To ensure Germany could never threaten the peace again, its heavy industry was partly dismantled and its main coal-producing regions were detached, or put under international control.

With statements such as Winston Churchill's 1946 call for a "United States of Europe" becoming louder, in 1949 the Council of Europe was established as the first pan-European organisation. On 9th May 1950, the French Foreign Minister Robert Schuman proposed a community to integrate the coal and steel industries of Europe - these being the two elements necessary to make weapons of war.

On the basis of Schuman's proposal, France, Italy, the Benelux countries (Belgium, Netherlands and Luxembourg) together with West Germany signed the Treaty of Paris (1951) creating the European Coal and Steel Community. This took over the role of the International Authority for the Ruhr and lifted some restrictions on German industrial productivity. It gave birth to the first institutions, such as the High Authority (now the European Commission) and the Common Assembly (now the European Parliament).

Building on the success of the Coal and Steel Treaty, the six countries expand cooperation to other economic sectors. They sign the Treaty of Rome, creating the European Economic Community (EEC), or 'common market' in 1957. The idea is for people, goods and services to move freely across borders.

In 1989, following upheavals in Eastern Europe, the Berlin Wall fell, along with the Iron curtain. Germany reunified and the door to enlargement to the former eastern bloc was opened. With a wave of new enlargements on the way, the Maastricht Treaty was signed on 7 February 1992 which established the European Union when it came into force officially in 1993.

The Maastricht Treaty of 1993 created what was commonly referred to as the pillar structure of the European Union. This conception of the Union divided it into the European Community (EC) pillar, the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) pillar, and the Justice and Home Affairs (JHA) pillar. The first pillar was where the EU's supra-national institutions — the Commission, the European Parliament and the European Court of Justice — had the most power and influence. The other two pillars were essentially more intergovernmental in nature with decisions being made by committees composed of national politicians and officials.

The creation of the pillar system was the result of the desire by many member states to extend the European Economic Community to the areas of foreign policy, military, criminal justice, judicial cooperation, and the misgiving of other member states, notably the United Kingdom, over adding areas which they considered to be too sensitive to be managed by the supra-national mechanisms of the European Economic Community.

3.3.2 The Objectives of the Common Security and Foreign Policy (CSFP)

The Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) was established as the second pillar of the European Union in the 1992 Treaty on European Union signed at Maastricht. A number of important changes were introduced in the 1999 Amsterdam Treaty.

The Treaty of Amsterdam amending the Treaty of the European Union, establishing the European Communities and certain related acts, was signed on 2 October 1997, and entered into force on 1 May 1999; it made substantial changes to the Treaty on European Union, which had been signed at Maastricht in 1992.

The Treaty lays down new principles and responsibilities in the field of the common foreign and security policy, with the emphasis on projecting the EU's values to the outside world, protecting its interests and reforming its modes of action. The treaty introduced a High Representative for EU Foreign Policy who, together with the Presidents of the Council and the European Commission, puts a "name and a face" on EU policy in the outside world. Although the Amsterdam Treaty did not provide for a common defence, it did increase the EU's responsibilities for peacekeeping and humanitarian work, in particular by forging closer links with Western European Union.

The Amsterdam Treaty spells out five fundamental objectives of the CFSP:

- to safeguard the common values, fundamental interests, independence and integrity of the EU in conformity with the principle of the United Nations Charter;
- to strengthen the security of the EU in all ways;
- to preserve peace and strengthen international security, in accordance with the principles of the UN Charter;
- to promote international co-operation; and
- to develop and consolidate democracy and the rule of law, and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

3.3.3 The Structure of the Common Security and Foreign Policy (CSFP)

There are a number of different actors involved in the elaboration and implementation of the CFSP:

- **The European Council** - Heads of State and Government and the European Commission's President meet at least once every half year Presidency to set priorities and give broad guidelines for EU policies, including the CFSP.

- **The Council of Ministers** - EU Foreign Ministers and the External Relations Commissioner meet as the General Affairs Council at least once a month to decide on external relations issues, including the CFSP. This consultation on external policy leads to joint actions and common positions, whose political implementation is mainly incumbent on the Presidency.
- **The Presidency of the European Council** plays a vital part in the organization of the work of the institution, notably as the driving force in the legislative and political decision-making process. The Presidency passes to a new Member State every 6 months.
- **The European Parliament** is informed and consulted on the broad orientation and choices in this area.
- **The High Representative**

The High Representative in conjunction with the President of the European Council, speaks on behalf of the EU in agreed foreign policy matters and can have the task of articulating ambiguous policy positions created by disagreements among member states. The High Representative also coordinates the work of the European Union Special Representatives. With the Lisbon Treaty taking effect, the position became distinct from the Secretary-General of the Council of Ministers. The High Representative serves as the head of the European Defence Agency and exercises the same functions over the Common Security and Defence Policy as the CFSP. On 1 December 2009, Catherine Ashton took over Javier Solana's post as the High Representative, who has held the post since 1999.

European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP)

The Treaty of Nice, which enters into force on 1 February 2003, provides the EU with a common European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) that covers all matters relating to its security. The ESDP does not, however, affect the specific nature of the security and defence policies of Member States, and is compatible with the policy conducted in the framework of NATO. The goal for the EU is to be able to deploy within sixty days a force of up to 60,000 persons capable of carrying out the full range of tasks. The achievement of this goal does not involve the establishment of a European army. The commitment and deployment of national troops will be based on sovereign decisions taken by Member States.

3.4 SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 3

Attempt the following exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than five minutes.

- i. _____ serves as the head of the European Defence Agency and exercises the same functions over the Common Security and Defence Policy as the CFSP
- ii. The European Council comprises of _____



3.5 SUMMARY

Foreign policy cooperation between member states dates from the establishment of the Community in 1957, when member states negotiated as a bloc in international trade negotiations under the Common Commercial Policy. Steps for a more wide ranging coordination in foreign relations began in 1970 with the establishment of European Political Cooperation which created an informal consultation process between member states with the aim of forming common foreign policies. It was not, however, until 1987 when European Political Cooperation was introduced on a formal basis by the Single European Act. EPC was renamed as the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) by the Maastricht Treaty.

The aims of the CFSP are to promote both the EU's own interests and those of the international community as a whole, including the furtherance of international co-operation, respect for human rights, democracy, and the rule of law. The CFSP requires unanimity among the member states on the appropriate policy to follow on any particular issue. The unanimity and difficult issues treated under the CFSP makes disagreements, such as those which occurred over the war in Iraq, not uncommon



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3.7 POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO SAE 3

- i. The High Representative
- ii. Heads of State and Government and the European Commission's President.

UNIT 4: COMPONENTS OF EUROPEAN UNION'S FOREIGN POLICY

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- 4.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises 4



4.1 INTRODUCTION

Since the signing of the Treaty on European Union (TEU), the European Union (EU) has undertaken a number of actions under the aegis of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). An important development has been the ability to move from declaratory statements to operational actions. The most notable developments here involve the introduction of the CFSP in the 1992 Maastricht Treaty, the establishment of the post of the High Representative for

CFSP in 1997, and not least the founding of the Political and Security Committee (PSC) in 2000/2001. Further deepening of the CFSP was achieved with the launch of the European Security Strategy (ESS) in 2003 which provided the first doctrinal platform of sorts for common external action by the EU and its member states. The process of deepening also involves an increasingly complex development of relations between the Council Secretariat and the elements of the Commission involved in the management of the EU's external relations (Spence, 2006:9; Cameron and Spence, 2004:8).

This unit specifically examines the four major components of the European Common Security and Foreign Policy.



4.2 INTENDED LEARNING OUTCOMES

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the major components of the CFSP
- Analyze the nature of European Union enlargement process
- Evaluate the nature of EU and Trans-Atlantic Partnership
- Describe the pattern of EU Neighbourhood Policy and Partnership and Cooperation Agreements



4.3 MAIN CONTENT

4.3.1 The European Union's Enlargement Policy

The Enlargement of the European Union is the process of expanding the European Union (EU) through the accession of new member states. The EU's Enlargement Policy has been one of the EU's most successful policies promoting peace and stability all throughout Europe. Starting over 50 years ago with 6 members, the European Union of today, after five enlargements later, is composed by 27 member states and a population of almost 500 million people. Further accession negotiations are in course with Croatia and Turkey, and other countries of the Western Balkans as prospective members.

With the enlargements of 2004 and 2007, the European Union has altered its dimension and faces new challenges. The biggest enlargement in the EU's history brought in ten new member states of Central and Eastern Europe as well as Malta and Cyprus, thereby contributing to the re-unification of Europe.

To join the European Union, a state needs to fulfill economic and political conditions called the Copenhagen criteria (after the Copenhagen summit in June 1993), which require a stable democratic government that respects the rule of law, and its corresponding freedoms and institutions. According to the Maastricht Treaty, each current member state and the European Parliament must also agree to any enlargement.

The Copenhagen Criteria states that any aspiring member must fulfill the following conditions:

- It must be a "European State"
- It must respect the principles of liberty, democracy, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and the rule of law. ○Stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights and respect for and protection of minorities. ○The existence of a functioning market economy as well as the capacity to cope with competitive pressure and market forces within the Union. ○The ability to take on the obligations of membership including adherence to the aims of political, economic and monetary union.

The Enlargement of the European Union is a historic opportunity to unite Europe peacefully after generations of division and conflict. Enlargement is expected to extend the EU's stability and prosperity to a wider group of countries, consolidating the political and economic transition that has taken place in Central and Eastern Europe since 1989.

By enhancing the stability and security of these countries, the EU as a whole can enjoy better chances for peace and prosperity. After the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, a strong and united Europe is more important than ever before to ensure peace, security and freedom. Enlargement is thus a continuation of the EU's original purpose of healing Europe's divisions and creating an ever-closer union of its peoples.

Enlargement is also expected to present significant economic opportunities in the form of a larger market. Enlargement of the EU will create the biggest economic area in the world and a market of this size is expected to give a boost to investment and job creation, raising levels of prosperity throughout Europe, in both old and new members. In joining Europe, new members will reinforce their economic integration with the existing members.

The six founding states of Belgium, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Italy, France and the Federal Republic of Germany were joined for the first time in 1973 by Denmark, Ireland and the United Kingdom in an enlarged European Economic Community (EEC). In 1981, Greece acceded to the EEC, followed by Spain and Portugal in 1986 and in 1995, Austria, Finland and Sweden joined the EU.

Following the end of the cold war, eight Central and Eastern European countries (Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia), plus two Mediterranean countries (Malta and Cyprus) were able to join on 1 May 2004. This was the largest single enlargement in terms of people, landmass and number of countries, though not in terms of GDP.

After the 2004 enlargement, Romania and Bulgaria, though were deemed initially as not fully ready by the Commission to join in 2004, acceded nevertheless on 1 January 2007. These, like the countries joining in 2004, faced a series of restrictions as to their citizens not fully enjoying working rights on the territory of some of the older EU members for a period up to seven years of their membership.

4.3.2 The EU/Trans-Atlantic Relations

The relationship between US and Europe constitutes the world's strongest, most comprehensive and strategically most important partnership especially in case of economy, they dominate world trade and they provide lion share of economic development. EU and the United States represent 40% of the world trade and they hold together 80% of the global capital markets. In general EU and US agree on some common objectives about the strategies on peace, stability and economic development in the world.

In the post second world war era, European powers came together and created a project for replacing failed system of national sovereignty with a community of nation states in which nation states pool their sovereignty through some rules and institutions to the community. This project was also highly supported by US. In the Cold War era, the most significant issue for US was the reconstruction and stabilization of Western Europe became the backbone of US doctrine of containment. In this period all US presidents had been influential in supporting the concept of an organized transatlantic relationship based on a military alliance which refers to NATO with US as the dominant member and also transatlantic relationship based on European Community and US partnership. For this purpose in 1947, Marshall Plan was applied for helping the devastated European economies to recover.

The fall of Berlin Wall and dissolution of Soviet Union could be considered as a turning point for Europe's future and it symbolized the greatest common achievement of US and Europe. Both parties were influential in this process. US was influential with its determination which was highly based on military power.

Europe was also influential with its model of European integration which had attracted the people living under communist regime. Hence, post 1989 'free' Europe would not be possible with the US or Europe acting alone.

In the post 1989 era, relationship between US and EC/EU is much stronger. They share common security threats; such as international terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, failed states, regional conflicts, the first Gulf war and the Balkan wars. These common threats led to more *rapprochements* between the parties.

In 1990, the Transatlantic Declaration signed between the US and EU which enabled regular political deliberations at all levels. The transatlantic declaration also strengthened their partnership in order to support democracy to promote the rule of law and respect for human rights, individual liberty, and international security also by cooperating other nations fight against aggression, coercion and prevent conflicts that could lead to war.

In 1995, EU and US went beyond transatlantic declaration and they signed the New Transatlantic Agenda (NTA). By this agenda there had been achieved more progress in transatlantic relations. NTA embodies the constitutional basis of US-EU relations and also regular meetings at presidential and ministerial levels. NTA mainly has four objectives as promoting peace, stability democracy and development; expanding world trade and economic growth, meeting global challenges and building ties between EU and US representatives from business, academic, consumer, labor, environment and government circles.

Relative to the adoption of NTA, a joint EU-US Action Plan was also prepared which directed the EU and US to large number of measures within the overall areas of cooperation. Furthermore, in 1998 London Summit parties reached an agreement which provided cooperation in the area of trade and it is called Transatlantic Economic Partnership (TEP). A great deal of economic cooperation takes place between EU and US in the forms of international multilateral economic forums such as G7/8, the WTO, IMF and World Bank.

The EU and the US are each other's main trading partners, accounting for about two fifths of world trade. Trade flows across the Atlantic are running at around € 1.7 billion a day. The much-publicized trade disputes in reality only concern some 2% of EU-US trade. The overall "transatlantic workforce" is estimated at up to 14 million, split about equally, illustrating the high degree of interdependency of the two economies. Total US investment in the EU is three times higher than in all of Asia and EU investment in the US is around eight times the amount of EU investment in India and China together. Investments are thus the real driver of the transatlantic relationship, contributing to growth and jobs on both sides of the Atlantic. It is estimated that a third of the trade across the Atlantic actually consists of intra-company transfers Transatlantic trade relations define the shape of the global economy as a whole since either the EU or the US is also the largest trade and investment partner for almost all other countries.

4.3.3 The European Neighbourhood Policy

The European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) was developed in 2004, with the objective of avoiding the emergence of new dividing lines between the enlarged EU and our neighbours and instead strengthening the prosperity, stability and security of all. The ENP framework was proposed to the 16 of EU's closest neighbours – Algeria, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Egypt, Georgia, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Moldova, Morocco, Occupied Palestinian Territory, Syria, Tunisia and Ukraine.

The ENP, which is chiefly a bilateral policy between the EU and each partner country, is further enriched with regional and multilateral co-operation initiatives: the Eastern Partnership (launched in Prague in May 2009), the Union for the Mediterranean (the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership, formerly known as the Barcelona Process, re-launched in Paris in July 2008), and the Black Sea Synergy (launched in Kiev in February 2008).

Within the ENP, the EU offers neighbours a privileged relationship, building upon a mutual commitment to common values (democracy and human rights, rule of law, good governance, market economy principles and sustainable development). The ENP goes beyond existing relationships to offer political association and deeper economic integration, increased mobility and more people-to-people contacts. The level of ambition of the relationship depends on the extent to which these values are shared.

The ENP remains distinct from the process of enlargement although it does not prejudge, for European neighbours, how their relationship with the EU may develop in future, in accordance with Treaty provisions. Central to the ENP are the bilateral Action Plans between the EU and each ENP partner (12 of them were agreed). These set out an agenda of political and economic reforms with short and medium-term priorities of 3 to 5 years. Following the expiration of the first Action Plans succession documents are being adopted. The ENP is not yet fully 'activated' for Algeria, Belarus, Libya and Syria since those have not agreed Action Plans.

The ENP builds upon existing agreements between the EU and the partner in question: Partnership and Cooperation Agreements (PCA) or Association Agreements (AA). Implementation of the ENP is jointly promoted and monitored through the Committees and sub-Committees established in the frame of these agreements. The European Commission under its own responsibility publishes each year the ENP Progress Reports.

The European Neighbourhood Policy's vision involves a ring of countries, sharing the EU's fundamental values and objectives, drawn into an increasingly close relationship, going beyond co-operation to involve a significant measure of economic and political integration. This will bring enormous gains to all involved in terms of increased stability, security and well being. The ENP should reinforce the EU's contribution to promoting the settlement of regional conflicts. The ENP can also help the Union's objectives in the area of Justice and Home Affairs, in particular in the fight against organised crime and corruption, money laundering and all forms of trafficking, as well as with regard to issues related to migration. It is important for the EU and its partners to aim for the highest degree of complementarities and synergy in the different areas of their cooperation.

4.3.4 Partnership and Cooperation Agreements (PCAs)

The European Union (EU) has concluded ten partnership and cooperation agreements (PCAs) with Russia, countries of Eastern Europe, the Southern Caucasus and Central Asia. The aim of these agreements is to strengthen their democracies and develop their economies through cooperation in a wide range of areas and through political dialogue. Cooperation Council has been set up to ensure implementation of the agreements.

Since the end of the 1990s, the European Union (EU) concluded ten similar partnership and cooperation agreements (PCAs) with: Russia and the New Independent States of Eastern Europe, the Southern Caucasus and Central Asia: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Ukraine, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan.

The aims of these partnerships are to:

- provide a suitable framework for political dialogue;
- to support the efforts made by the countries to strengthen their democracies and develop their economies; •accompany their transition to a market economy;
- encourage trade and investment.

The partnerships also aim to provide a basis for cooperation in the legislative, economic, social, financial, scientific, civil, technological and cultural fields. The PCA with Russia also provides for the creation of the necessary conditions for the future establishment of a free trade area.

With regard to trade in goods, the EU and the ten countries referred to will accord to one another Most Favoured Nation (MFN) treatment. They will also set up free transit of goods via or through their territory. For goods admitted temporarily, each party grants the other party exemption from import duties and taxes. Quantitative restrictions on imports may no longer apply between the parties and goods must be traded at their market price. In the event of injury or threat of injury caused by imports, the Cooperation Council must seek a solution acceptable to both parties. In the case of a party from the African, Caribbean and Pacific States, certain textile products and nuclear material are not affected by these provisions. However, they do apply to coal and steel.

Specifically, the following countries have been covered by the agreements:

Albania (2009); Algeria (2005) ; Andorra CU (1991) ; Bosnia and Herzegovina (signed 2008, entry into force pending);Chile (2003);Croatia (2005); Egypt (2004); Faroe Islands, autonomous entity of Denmark (1997); Iceland (1994) ; Israel (2000); Jordan (2002); Morocco (2000); Tunisia (1998); among others.

- i. The aim of the partnership and cooperation agreements (PCAs) was to _____
- ii. With regard to trade in goods, the EU and the ten countries set up free transit of goods via or through their territory. True or False



4.5 SUMMARY

The four basic components of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) examined in this study are the Enlargement Policy; the Trans-Atlantic Partnership; the European Neighbourhood Policy; and the Partnership and Cooperation Agreements (PCAs). The four major components of the CFSP all aimed at promoting liberal values such as democracy, free trade and market economy, human rights and the rule of law, strengthening of institutions, and sustainable development.

Respect for democracy, principles of international law and human rights as defined in particular in the United Nations Charter, the Helsinki Final Act and the Charter of Paris for a New Europe, as well as the principles of market economy, constitute essential elements of the Partnership and Cooperation Agreements (PCAs). The PCAs establish a bilateral political dialogue between the European Union (EU) and partner country. They aim to encourage the convergence of their positions on international issues of mutual concern, to cooperate for stability, security and respect for democracy and human rights. The dialogue will take place at ministerial level within the Cooperation Council, at parliamentary level within the Parliamentary Committee and at senior civil servant level. Diplomatic channels and meetings of experts will also be part of the political dialogue process. The partnerships also aim to provide a basis for cooperation in the legislative, economic, social, financial, scientific, civil, technological and cultural fields. The PCA with Russia also provides for the creation of the necessary conditions for the future establishment of a free trade area. The general principles concern respect for democracy, the principles of international law and human rights. The market economy is also an objective set out in all the PCAs



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4.7 POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO SAE 4

- i. Strengthen their democracies and develop their economies through cooperation in a wide range of areas and through political dialogue
- ii. True

MODULE 4: FOREIGN POLICIES OF SOVIET UNION AND CHINA

The foreign policies of France and the European Union were discussed in Module 3. This Module focuses on the foreign policies of the Soviet Union and China. After the founding of

the People's Republic, the Chinese leadership was concerned above all with ensuring national security, consolidating power, and developing the economy. The foreign policy course China chose in order to translate these goals into reality was to form an international united front with the Soviet Union and other socialist nations against the United States and Japan.

China unswervingly pursues an independent foreign policy of peace. The fundamental goals of this policy are to preserve China's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, create a favorable international environment for China's reform and opening up and modernization construction, maintain world peace and propel common development

At its founding, the Soviet Union was considered a pariah by most governments because of its communism, and as such was denied diplomatic recognition by most states. Less than a quarter century later, the Soviet Union not only had official relations with the majority of the nations of the world, but had actually progressed to the role of a superpower.

By 1945, the USSR — a founding member of the United Nations — was one of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council, giving it the right to veto any of the Security Council's resolutions. During the Cold War, the Soviet Union vied with the United States for geopolitical influence; this competition was manifested in the creation of numerous treaties and pacts dealing with military alliances and economic trade agreements, and proxy wars.

Discussions in this module are organized under the following units:

- Unit 1: Fundamental Goals of Soviet Union Foreign Policy
- Unit 2: Soviet Union Foreign Policy in Historical Perspectives
- Unit 3: Fundamental Principles of Chinese Foreign Policy
- Unit 4: China's Policy in Contemporary Order

UNIT 1: FUNDAMENTAL GOALS OF SOVIET UNION FOREIGN POLICY

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Intended Learning outcomes
- 1.3 Main Content
 - 1.3.1 Foreign Policy Making in the Soviet Union
 - 1.3.2 Fundamental Goals of Soviet Union Foreign Policy
- 1.4 Self-Assessment Exercises 1
- 1.5 Summary
- 1.6 References/Further Reading
- 1.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise 1



1.1 INTRODUCTION

The history of the Soviet Union has roots in the Russian Revolution of 1917. The Russian Revolution of 1917 brought about the downfall of the Russian Empire. Its successor, the Russian Provisional Government, was short-lived. After the Bolsheviks won the ensuing Russian Civil War, the Soviet Union was founded in December 1922 with the merger of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic, Transcaucasian Socialist Federative, Soviet Republic, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic. Following the death of the first Soviet leader, Vladimir Lenin, in 1924, Joseph Stalin eventually won a power struggle and led the country through a large scale industrialization with a command economy and political repression. In World War II, in June 1941, Germany and its allies invaded the Soviet Union, a country with which it had signed a non-aggression pact. After four years of brutal warfare, the Soviet Union emerged victorious as one of the world's two superpowers, the other being the United States.



1.2 INTENDED LEARNING OUTCOMES

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- Analyze the nature of Soviet foreign relations
- Discuss the underlying principles of Soviet Foreign Policy
 - Evaluate the influence of ideology on Soviet Foreign Policy



1.3 MAIN CONTENT

1.3.1 Foreign Policy Making in the Soviet Union

The Ministry of External Relations (MER) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), was one of the most important government offices in the Soviet Union. The Ministry was led by a Commissar prior to 1946, a Minister of Foreign Affairs prior to 1991, and a Minister of External Relations in 1991. Every leader of the Ministry was nominated by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers and confirmed by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and was a member of the Council of Ministers.

The Ministry of External Relations negotiated diplomatic treaties, handled Soviet foreign affairs abroad with the International Department of the Central Committee and led the creation of communism and "anti-imperialism", which were strong themes of Soviet policy. Before Mikhail Gorbachev became General Secretary, the organizational structure of the MER mostly stayed the same. As many other Soviet agencies, the MER had an inner-policy group known as the Collegium, made up of the minister, the two first deputy ministers and nine deputy ministers, among others. Each deputy minister usually headed his own department.

The primary duty of the foreign ministry was directing the general line of Soviet foreign policy. The MER represented the country abroad and participated in talks with foreign delegations on behalf of the Soviet government. It also appointed diplomatic officers, with the exception of Soviet ambassadors, who were appointed by the Council of Ministers. The MER was responsible for taking care of the USSR's economic and political interests abroad, although economic interests were also the joint responsibility of the Ministry of Foreign Trade. The State Committee of the Council of Ministers on Cultural Links with Foreign Nations and the Ministry of Culture worked jointly with the MER in regards to the protection of Soviet citizens abroad, the exercise of overall Soviet consular relations abroad and the promotion of Soviet culture abroad.

The dominant decision-making body has been the Politburo. Although the general secretary is only one of several members of the Politburo, his positions as head of the Secretariat and the Defense Council give him pre-eminence in the Politburo. Other members of the Politburo also have had major foreign policy-making responsibilities, most notably the ministers of foreign affairs and defense, the chairman of the Committee for State Security (KGB), and the chief of the CPSU's International Department. The minister of defense and the minister of foreign affairs had been full or candidate members of the Politburo intermittently since 1917. The chairman of the KGB became a candidate member of the Politburo in 1967 and has generally been a full member since then. The Chief of the International Department became a candidate member of the Politburo in 1972 but from 1986 to 1988 held only Secretariat membership. Since late 1988, he has been a candidate, then full member of the Central Committee. Even when foreign policy organizations were not directly represented on the Politburo, they were nonetheless supervised by Politburo members. The centralization of foreign policy decision

making in the Politburo and the longevity of its members (a major factor in the Politburo's lengthy institutional memory) both have contributed to the Soviet Union's ability to plan foreign policy and guide its long-term implementation with a relative singleness of purpose lacking in pluralistic political systems.

Ideology was a key component of Soviet foreign policy. While Soviet diplomacy was built on the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, even Vladimir Lenin believed that compromise was an important element in foreign diplomacy, claiming that compromise should only be used when "the new is not yet strong enough to overthrow the old". This policy was an important element in times of weakness, and therefore "certain agreements with the imperialist countries in the interest of socialism" could sometime be reached. The relationship between policy and ideology remained an active issue until the dissolution of the Soviet Union.

1.3.2 Fundamental Goals of Soviet Union Foreign Policy

Geopolitics has always been a fundamental element in Russian political thought. Historically, Soviet Union's core area was the Grand Duchy of Muscovy, Russia's history was one of invasion and dominance by outsiders. Russia has never had secure borders, there is no great river or desert, no huge mountain ranges to mark where Russia ends and abroad begins. Because of this, Russia has a history of expanding. As a territory was absorbed, it then became not a borderland but part of Russia, and Russia felt the need to expand to protect it. This cycle went on for about three centuries as Russia expanded to fill the void left by the collapse of the Mongol Hordes.

Another perennial Russian concern was the lack of a warm water port. All her ports froze over in winter preventing trade and military excursions. Because of this need, Russia traditionally expanded to find a port that did not freeze. Both these historic concerns played a factor in the Soviet Union's expansion into Eastern Europe after WWII.

The Great October Revolution of 1917 created a new type of state—the Soviet socialist state—and thereby initiated Soviet foreign policy, which is fundamentally different from the foreign policy of other states. Guided by the principles of Soviet foreign policy established by V. I. Lenin, the Communist Party took into account specific international circumstances and established, primarily at its congresses, the basic outlines of foreign policy. The foreign policy of the workers' state sets as its goal the establishment of favourable, peaceful conditions for socialist and communist construction. As head of the Soviet state, Lenin was the first to apply, in unusually difficult international circumstances, the basic propositions of Soviet foreign policy.

After the October revolution, the confrontation between the socialist and capitalist systems was the main determinant of the international situation. The Soviet people were interested in maintaining peace throughout the world; a peaceful Soviet policy, which is inherent in the socialist system, ruled out aggression of any sort, the seizure of foreign territory, or the enslavement of peoples.

The distinguishing features of Soviet foreign policy include genuine democracy; recognition of the equality of all states, large or small, and of all races and nationalities; recognition of the rights of peoples to form independent states; and determination to struggle resolutely for peace, progress, and the freedom of peoples.¹⁴ Soviet foreign policy is also distinguished by a commitment to honesty and truth and an unequivocal rejection of secret diplomacy.

After the October Revolution, the principle of internationalism meant the solidarity of the Soviet working people with the working people of other countries in the mutual struggle to end the imperialist war, achieve a just, democratic peace, and preserve and strengthen the achievements of the socialist revolution. After World War II and the formation of the world socialist system, the principle of internationalism became the foundation for relations between the countries of the socialist community, as well as for relations with the working people of the capitalist countries and with the peoples of newly independent developing states that were struggling against imperialism and colonial oppression.

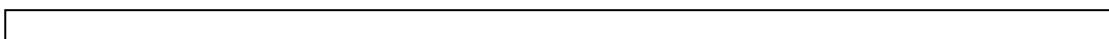
Soviet Union's desire to develop mutually beneficial relations with the capitalist countries derived from the Leninist theory of socialist revolution (worked out before 1917), which held that the victory of socialism could take place initially in a few countries or even just one country; such a view presupposes a long historical period during which the coexistence of the two different socio-political systems is inevitable.

Lenin noted that peaceful coexistence means not only the absence of war but also the possibility of cooperation. Peaceful coexistence is founded on renunciation of war as a means of settling international disputes, which must be settled through negotiation; on equality, mutual understanding, and trust between states, as well as recognition of their respective interests; on noninterference in internal affairs, recognition of the right of every people to resolve independently all questions pertaining to its country, and strict observance of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries; and on the development of economic and cultural cooperation on the basis of full equality and mutual benefit.

Cooperation between countries with different social systems does not mean ideological peace; on the contrary, it creates favourable conditions in the international arena for the struggle of the proletariat and all working people against capitalist oppression and for the national liberation movement of the peoples of the developing countries. The contradiction between socialism and capitalism is the primary contradiction of many decades.

One of major preoccupations for Russian diplomacy – is to create a zone of good neighbourly relations around itself, to maintain universal stability and security. The foreign policy is to secure national interests of the Russians and develop optimally favourable external conditions for its consolidation. This is not an easy question in the conditions of increasing problems and challenges, facing the world community under the pressures of globalization. Distinctive feature of the Russian foreign policy is its balanced character. This is determined by the geopolitical location of Russia as the largest Euro-Asian power, requiring an optimum correlation of efforts in all directions.

Such approach predetermines the responsibility of Russia for maintenance of security in the world both on global, and regional level, presupposes development and complementation of foreign-policy activity bilaterally and multilaterally.





1.5 SUMMARY

This unit has examined the underlying principles as well as the structures for foreign policy making in the defunct Soviet Union. Two basic factors were the determinants of Soviet Union's foreign policy. These were geo-strategic considerations and ideological factors. Geo-strategic considerations influenced the continuous expansion to secure access to sea for trade while ideological considerations underpinned the principle of peaceful co-existence and proletarian internationalism. Soviet foreign policy also aimed to enhance national security and maintain hegemony over Eastern Europe. The Soviet Union maintained its dominance over the Warsaw Pact through crushing the 1956 Hungarian Revolution, suppressing the Prague Spring in Czechoslovakia in 1968, and supporting the suppression of the Solidarity movement in Poland in the early 1980s. The Soviet Union opposed the United States in a number of proxy conflicts all over the world, including Korean War and Vietnam War.

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.

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 *raison d'état* 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.



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1.7 POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO SAE 1

- i. The possibility of cooperation.
- ii. Is to create a zone of good neighbourly relations around itself, to maintain universal stability and security.

UNIT 2: SOVIET UNION FOREIGN POLICY IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

CONTENTS

- 2.3. Main Content
 - 2.3.1 Soviet Union Foreign Policy before World War 11
 - 2.3.2 Soviet Union Foreign Policy after World War 11
 - 2.3.3 Russian Foreign Policy in the post Cold War Order
- 2.4 Self-Assessment Exercise 2
- 2.5 Summary
- 2.7 References/Further Readings
- 2.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise 2



2.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous unit has examined the general underlying principles of Soviet Union's foreign policies as well as structures for making foreign policy in the Soviet Union. This unit will examine how these principles were applied to Soviet Union foreign policy in specific periods. It is important to note that at inception, Soviet Union was considered a pariah by most governments because of its communism, and as such was denied diplomatic recognition by most states. Less than a quarter century later, the Soviet Union not only had official relations with the majority of the nations of the world, but had actually progressed to the role of a superpower. After the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, Russia claimed to be the legal successor to the Soviet Union on the international stage despite its loss of superpower status. Russian foreign policy repudiated Marxism-Leninism as a guide to action, soliciting Western support for capitalist reforms in post-Soviet Russia



2.2 INTENDED LEARNING OUTCOMES

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the nature of Soviet foreign relations
- Analyze the historical developments of Soviet foreign policy
- Evaluate the Russian foreign policy after the dissolution of Soviet Union.



2.3 MAIN CONTENT

2.3.1 SOVIET UNION FOREIGN POLICY BEFORE WORLD WAR 11

Vladimir Lenin and the Bolsheviks, once in power, believed their October Revolution would ignite the world's socialists and lead to a "World evolution." Lenin set up the Communist International (Comintern) to export revolution to the rest of Europe and Asia. Indeed, Lenin set out to "liberate" all of Asia from imperialist and capitalist control. Lenin and the Bolsheviks advocated world revolution through workers' "internal revolutions" within their own nations, but they had never advocated its spread by intra-national warfare, such as invasion by Red Army troops from a neighboring socialist nation into a capitalist one. Indeed, short of such

"internal revolutions" by workers themselves, Lenin had talked about "peaceful cohabitation" with capitalist countries.

The first priority for Soviet foreign policy was Europe and Lenin was most disappointed when, following the October Revolution, a similar revolution did not break out in Germany as he had expected and hoped for, forcing him to sign the *Treaty of Brest-Litovsk* in March 1918 to take Russia out of the First World War. Afterwards, a new policy emerged of both seeking pragmatic cooperation with the Western powers when it suited Soviet interests while at the same time trying to promote a Communist revolution whenever possible.

As Europe's revolutions were crushed and revolutionary zeal dwindled, the Bolsheviks shifted their ideological focus from the World Revolution and building socialism around the globe to building socialism inside the Soviet Union, while keeping some of the rhetoric and operations of the Comintern continuing. In the mid-1920s, a policy of peaceful co-existence began to emerge, with Soviet diplomats attempting to end the country's isolation, and concluding bilateral arrangements with 'capitalist' governments. Agreement was reached with German, Europe's other 'pariah' of the day, in the Treaty of Rapallo in 1922.

There were, however, still those in the Soviet government, most notably Leon Trotsky, who argued for the continuation of the revolutionary process, in terms of his theory of permanent revolution. After Lenin's death in 1924 Trotsky and the internationalists were opposed by Joseph Stalin and Nikolai Bukharin, who developed the notion of *Socialism in One Country*. The foreign policy counterpart of *Socialism in One Country* was that of the United Front, with foreign Communists urged to enter into alliances with reformist left-wing parties and national liberation movements of all kinds. The high point of this strategy was the partnership between the Chinese Communist Party and the nationalist Kuomintang, a policy favoured by Stalin in particular, and a source of bitter dispute between him and Trotsky. The Popular Front policy in China effectively crashed to ruin in 1927, when Chiang Kai-shek massacred the native Communists and expelled all of his Soviet advisors, notably Mikhail Borodin.

Hand-in-hand with the promotion of Popular Fronts, Maxim Litvinov, and Commissar for Foreign Affairs between 1930 and 1939, aimed at closer alliances with western governments, and placed ever greater emphasis on collective security. The new policy led to the Soviet Union joining the League of Nations in 1934, and the subsequent conclusion of alliances with France and Czechoslovakia. In the League the Soviets were active in demanding action against imperialist aggression, a particular danger to them after the Japanese invasion of Manchuria, which eventually resulted in the Soviet-Japanese Battle of Khalkhin Gol.

But against the rise of militant fascism the League was unlikely to accomplish very much. Litvinov and others in the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs continued to conduct quiet diplomatic initiatives with Germany, even as the USSR took a stand in trying to preserve the Second Spanish Republic, and its Popular Front government, from the Fascist rebellion of 1936. The Munich Agreement of 1938, the first stage in the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, gave rise to Soviet fears that they were likely to be abandoned in a possible war with Germany. In the face of continually dragging and seemingly hopeless negotiations with Great Britain and France, a new cynicism and hardness entered Soviet foreign relations when Litvinov was replaced by Vyacheslav Molotov in May 1939. The Soviets no longer sought collective but individual security, and the Pact with Hitler was signed, giving Soviets protection from the most aggressive European power and increasing Soviet sphere of influence.

2.3.2 Soviet Union Foreign Policy after World War II

The Soviet Union emerged from World War II as one of the two major world powers, a position maintained for four decades through its hegemony in Eastern Europe (see Eastern Bloc), military strength, aid to developing countries and scientific research especially into space technology and weaponry. The Union's effort to extend its influence or control over many states and peoples resulted in the formation of a world socialist system of states.

Established in 1949 as an economic bloc of communist countries led by Moscow, the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON) served as a framework for cooperation among the planned economies of the Soviet Union, its allies in Eastern Europe and, later, Soviet allies in the Third World. The military counterpart to the Comecon was the Warsaw Pact.

In the 1970s, the Soviet Union achieved rough nuclear parity with the United States, and surpassed it by the end of that decade with the deployment of the SS-18 missile. It perceived its own involvement as essential to the solution of any major international problem. Meanwhile, the Cold War gave way to *Détente* and a more complicated pattern of international relations in which the world was no longer clearly split into two clearly opposed blocs. Less powerful countries had more room to assert their independence, and the two superpowers were partially able to recognize their common interest in trying to check the further spread and proliferation of nuclear weapons.

The final round of the Soviet Union's collapse took place following the Ukrainian popular referendum on December 1, 1991, wherein 90% of voters opted for independence. The leaders of the three principal Slavic republics (the Russian, Ukrainian and Byelorussian SSRs) agreed to meet for a discussion of possible forms of relationship, alternative to Gorbachev's struggle for a union. On December 8, 1991, the leaders of the Russian, Ukrainian, and Byelorussian Republics met in Belavezhskaya Pushcha and signed the Belavezha Accords declaring the Soviet Union dissolved and replacing it with the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS).

2.3.3 Russian Foreign Policy in the post Cold War Order

The process of search by Russia of its place and role in international affairs, in the relations with external world was complex and difficult. The illusions and errors of the early 1990-s, probably, were unavoidable. Great geopolitical, social and economic changes have been taking place inside Russia and around. The world and its perception were changing very rapidly indeed, and not only Russia needed hard efforts to correctly understand the main and latent trends of developing events.

The paramount priority of Russia after the collapse of Soviet Union is the protection of interests of individual, society and state. Thus the main efforts are directed on maintenance of

reliable security of the country, preservation and strengthening of its sovereignty and territorial integrity, strong and respectful positions in world community, which in optimally respond to interests of Russian Federation as a great power, as one of the contemporary world influential centers and which are necessary for growth of its political, economic, intellectual and spiritual potential.

Russia aspires to achieve formation of multi-polar system of the international relations, realistically reflecting multi-diversity of the modern world, having such a variety of its interests. The world order in 21st century, for Russia, should be based on mechanisms of collective key problems decision-making, on priority of law and on broad democratization of international relations. Russia is striving to play an active role in such democratization of international relations, to develop partnership and search of mutually acceptable solutions, even for the most complex problems.

One of major preoccupations for Russian diplomacy – is to create a zone of good neighbourly relations around of our country, to maintain universal stability and security. The foreign policy is called to secure national interests of the Russians and develop optimally favourable external conditions for expanding our country consolidation. This is not an easy question in the conditions of increasing problems and challenges, facing the world community under the pressures of globalization.

The national interests of Russia are defined as "set of the balanced interests of personality, society and state in economic, internal policy, social, international, information, military, border-guard, ecological and other spheres. They are of a long-term character and determine the basic purposes, strategic and current problems of internal and external state policy. The interests of multinational Russia are directly connected to such tendencies, as globalization of world economy, increasing role of international institutes and mechanisms in global economics and politics. Comprehensive and equal participation in development of main principles of operation of world financial and economic system under contemporary situation fully corresponds to the interests of Russia. Besides the development of regional and sub-regional integration in Europe, Asia-Pacific region, Africa and Latin America becomes an important factor too. Russia can not ignore political-military rivalry of the regional powers, growth of separatism, ethno-national and religious extremism.

Vladimir Putin became Russia's president on Dec 1999. He has pursued a policy by which Russia becomes strong and independent. He has frequently criticized US dominance and hegemony. He has called the US dominance characterized by unrestrained use of force. He has also proposed a fair and democratic world where every nation is secure and prosperous. Under Putin, Russia has been at the same time pursuing positive and constructive relations with the US and Europe. Russia became a full fledged member of the G8. Russia has also sought to increase its influence in ex Soviet client states like Cuba and Syria

Foreign policy in the post-Soviet space is being increasingly split into a Western and a Central Asian policy, which are quite separate and, therefore, more realistic. There is the restoration of lost positions in traditional zones of influence (Vietnam, the Middle East, India, and China) and development of ties with new partners (Latin American countries). In the 1990s, Russia's foreign policy lost its global reach. Partner relations established in the Soviet era were broken and foreign trade shrank, while pro-market reforms in Russia put trade in the hands of private business, for the first time in decades. The Russian authorities in the 1990s did not have a clearly defined view of economic and political goals in different parts of the world. The

situation changed under Putin, with state-controlled and private businesses establishing ties in nearly all countries, supported by a special policy of promoting their interests.

2.4 SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

- i. Foreign policy in the post-Soviet space can be split into two namely _____ and _____
- ii. Russia became a fully fledged member of the G8 under the reign of _____



2.5 SUMMARY

This unit has examined the changing trends of Soviet Union Foreign Policy from the inception of the Bolsheviks revolution to the post Cold War Order. The principles underlying the Soviet Union Foreign Policy has significantly changed from the principle of *proletarian internationalism* that underpinned the post revolution foreign policy to a more peaceful co-existence with the capitalist states. While the Cold War witnessed conflicts and tensions in the relationship between the Soviet Union and the Western powers, mutual peaceful co-existence was attained toward the end of the cold war. The collapse of the Soviet Union has seen the resurgence of Russia as a dominant and respectable power with assertive foreign policy that focussed on the preservation of Russian security and national interest as a cardinal point of Vladimir Putin's foreign policy.

Russia regained its status as a leading world power with the election of Vladimir Putin as President in 1999, in the immediate post Cold War Order. Economic revival and stable economic growth have increased Russia's international prestige. Its views now carry far more weight in the international arena than they did in the 1990s, when Moscow's opinion on international crises was generally ignored. This goal has been achieved without a substantial increase in nuclear or other capacities. Russia's increased importance as an exporter of oil and gas also played a role, along with the inclusion of Russia in the group of the most rapidly developing emerging economies (the BRIC, comprising Brazil, Russia, India and China). One more important factor was the rehabilitation of the "sick man of Europe," which many people did not expect to see. A nation's well-being¹²² is a key element of its coexistence with other nations and a crucial goal of its foreign policy. Today all Russians, whether at home or abroad,

from ambassadors to tourists, feel that they are citizens of a large, strong, growing and respected state.



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2.7 POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO SAE 2

- i. Western and Central Asian policy,
- ii. Vladimir Putin

UNIT 3: FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF CHINESE FOREIGN POLICY

CONTENTS

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3.3. Main Content

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3.1 INTRODUCTION

Since its establishment, the People's Republic of China has worked vigorously to win international support for its position that it is the sole legitimate government of all China, including Hong Kong, Macau, and Taiwan. Until the early 1970s, the Republic of China government in Taipei was recognized diplomatically by most world powers and the UN. After the Beijing government assumed the China seat in the United Nations in 1971 (and the ROC government was expelled) and became increasingly more significant as a global player, most nations switched diplomatic relations from the Republic of China to the People's Republic of China. Japan established diplomatic relations with China in 1972, following the Joint Communique of the Government of Japan and the Government of the People's Republic of China, and the United States did so in 1979. The number of countries that have established diplomatic relations with Beijing has risen to 171, while 23 maintain diplomatic relations with the Republic of China (or Taiwan).

After its founding, China's foreign policy initially focused on its solidarity with the Soviet Union, the Eastern Bloc nations, and other communist countries, sealed with, among other agreements, the China-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance, and Mutual Assistance signed in 1950 to oppose China's chief antagonists, the West and in particular the United States. The 1950–53 Korean War waged by China and its North Korea ally against the United States, South Korea, and United Nations (UN) forces has long been a reason for bitter feelings. After the conclusion of the Korean War, China sought to balance its identification as a member of the Soviet bloc by establishing friendly relations with Pakistan and other Third World countries, particularly in Southeast Asia.

China's foreign policy and strategic thinking is highly influential. China officially states it "unswervingly pursues an independent foreign policy of peace". The fundamental goals of this policy are to preserve China's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, create a favorable international environment for China's reform and opening up and modernization construction, maintain world peace and propel common development." An example of a foreign policy decision guided by China's "sovereignty and territorial integrity" is its not engaging in diplomatic relations with any country that recognizes the Republic of China.



3.2 INTENDED LEARNING OUTCOMES

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- Analyze the nature of Chinese foreign relations
- Discuss the fundamental principles of Chinese Foreign Policy
- Evaluate the historical developments of China's foreign policy



3.3. MAIN CONTENT

3.3.1 Fundamental Principles of Chinese Foreign Policy

The Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) served as a provisional constitution after it was adopted in September 1949. The document clearly stipulated that the basic principle of China's foreign policy was to guarantee independence, freedom and territorial integrity of the state, support protracted world peace and friendly cooperation among peoples of all countries in the world, and oppose imperialist policies of aggression and war.

The Constitution of the People's Republic of China revised during the First Plenary Session of the Eighth National People's Congress has the explicit stipulations concerning China's foreign policy: "China adheres to an independent foreign policy as well as to the five principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, noninterference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence in developing diplomatic relations and economic and cultural exchanges with other countries"

China portrays itself as a Third World country that pursues "an independent foreign policy of peace." Third World means that China is a poor, developing country and not part of any power bloc. "Independence" means that China does not align itself with any other major power. Today, the Five Principles still serve a useful purpose. They offer an alternative to the American conception of a new kind of world order — one in which international regimes and institutions, often reflecting U.S. interests and values, limit the rights of sovereign states to develop and sell weapons of mass destruction, repress opposition and violate human rights, pursue mercantilist economic policies that interfere with free trade, and damage the environment.

China's alternative design for the world stresses the equal, unfringeable sovereignty of all states large and small, Western and non-Western, rich and poor, democratic and authoritarian, each to run its own system as it sees fit, whether its methods suit Western standards or not. Another Chinese term for such a system is "multi-polarity." Thus the core idea behind the Five Principles as interpreted by China today is sovereignty – that one state has no right to interfere in the internal affairs of another state. The underlying principles of Chinese foreign policy are enunciated below:

1. Maintaining Independence and Safeguarding National Sovereignty

China had suffered imperialist aggression and oppression for over 100 years before the founding of the People's Republic in 1949. Therefore, China regards the hard-earned right of independence as the basic principle of foreign policy. China maintains independence, does not allow any country to infringe upon its national sovereignty and interfere in its internal affairs. As to international affairs, China decides on its stand and policy according to whether the matter is right and wrong and in consideration of the basic interests of the Chinese people and the people of the world. China maintains independence, cherishes its own right and also respects for the right of independence of other countries. China upholds that any country, big or small, rich or poor, and strong or weak, should be equal. China maintains independence and will not enter into alliance with any big power or group of countries, nor establish any military bloc, join in the arms race or seek military expansion.

2. Opposing Hegemonism and Safeguarding World Peace

China opposes hegemonism and preserves world peace. China believes that all countries, big or small, strong or weak, rich or poor, are equal members of the international community. Countries should resolve their disputes and conflicts peacefully through consultations and not resort to the use or threat of force. Nor should they interfere in others' internal affairs under any pretext. China never imposes its social system and ideology on others, nor allows other countries to impose theirs on it.

3. Upholding the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence

After the World War II, the United States and the Soviet Union desperately engaged in arm races and regional domination in order to contend for world hegemonism. As a result, they caused severe threat to world peace. The Chinese government has constantly opposed arm races and regional domination, and actively stood for the complete prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons and great reduction of conventional weapons and military troops. China decided in 1985 to reduce one million troops within two years and signed the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons in 1992. All these received favourable international comments. China actively facilitates the establishment of a new international political and economic order that is fair and rational. China holds that the new order should give expression to the demands of the development of history and progress of the times and reflect the universal aspirations and common interests of the peoples of all the countries in the world. The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the universally recognized norms governing international relations should serve as the basis for setting up the new international political and economic order.

4. Strengthening Solidarity of the Developing Countries, and Together Opposing Imperialism and Colonialism

China has constantly held that supporting the just demands of the developing countries and safeguarding solidarity and cooperation among the developing countries is its international duty. Whenever the developing countries suffer external aggression and interference, China is ready to give its support. Many leaders of the developing countries regard China as a "tested friend" and a "reliable friend". China has become a formal observer of the nonalignment movement, and its cooperative relations with the Seventy-Seven Group and the South Pacific Forum has been steadily strengthened. It is the fundamental standing point of China's foreign policy to strengthen its solidarity and cooperation with numerous developing countries. China and these countries share common historic experiences and are faced with the common tasks

of preserving national independence and achieving economic development. Therefore, their cooperation has a solid foundation and a broad prospect.

5. Improving Relations with Developed Countries to Promote Common Progress

On the basis of the principle of peaceful coexistence, China has constantly stood for establishing and developing relations with developed countries, and regarded improving the relations with developed countries and promoting development with them as an important task of China's foreign affairs. The establishment of the diplomatic relations with France in 1964 broke the policy of Western countries to isolate China. In the 1970s the world situation experienced a great change, the United States had to readjust its policy on China, and China also readjusted its policy on the United States. This resulted in a breakthrough of the long antagonism between China and the United State, and the normalization of diplomatic relations between the two countries through common efforts. Meanwhile, China established diplomatic relations and strengthened friendly cooperative ties with other Western countries successively. This further brought about a new situation in China's foreign affairs.

6. Removing External Interference, Promoting China's Reunification

Hong Kong and Macao have been inseparable parts of China since ancient times. China does not recognize unequal treaties imposed by imperialist powers. Regarding the issue of Hong Kong and Macao left over by history, China has constantly held the position of peaceful settlement through negotiations at a proper opportunity. In order to accomplish China's reunification, China resolutely opposes the "independence of Taiwan"; the attempt to create "two Chinas" or "one China, one Taiwan". Chinese leaders call on Taiwan authorities to enter into political negotiations with the mainland at an early date. On the premise that there is only one China, the two sides of the Straits should end the state of hostility, and improve the relations between the two sides to accomplish the reunification of the motherland.

7. Multilateral Diplomatic Activities and World Peace

As a permanent member of the Security Council of the United Nations, China actively participates in the political solution of the problems of regional hot spots. China's peace-keepers have joined United Nations peace-keeping operations. China supports the reform of the United Nations and a continued important role of the United Nations and other multilateral organs in international affairs. China is firmly opposed to all forms of terrorism and has made important contributions to international anti-terrorism cooperation. China devotes itself actively to pushing forward the cause of international arms control, disarmament and non-proliferation. To date, China has joined all the treaties related to international arms control and non-proliferation.

Chinese officials' position on most disputes around the world is that they should be solved by peaceful negotiations. This has been their view on the war between Iran and Iraq, the struggle between Israel and the Arabs, the rivalry between North and South Korea, and the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia. At the U.N., China often abstains or refrains from voting on resolutions that mandate sanctions or interventions to reverse invasions, end civil wars, or stop terrorism. As a permanent Security Council member, China's negative vote would constitute a veto, angering countries who favour intervention. By not voting or casting an abstention, China has allowed several interventions to go ahead without reversing its commitment to non-intervention.

These articulated moral principles do not mean that Chinese foreign policy is not realistic or strategic. In many cases, the principles actually fit the needs of Chinese strategy. Especially in places relatively far from China, such as the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America, a few simple principles actually reflect Chinese interests most of the time. To oppose great-power intervention and defend sovereignty and equality among states is not only high-minded but represents China's national interest in regions where China cannot intervene itself. The farther one gets from China's borders, the easier it is for China to match rhetoric with interests. Even when there are inconsistencies and tradeoffs in Chinese policy, the rhetoric is flexible enough to accommodate them

3.3.2 China's Foreign Policy in Historical Perspectives

After its founding, China's foreign policy initially focused on its solidarity with the Soviet Union, the Eastern Bloc nations, and other communist countries, sealed with, among other agreements, the China-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance, and Mutual Assistance signed in 1950 to oppose China's chief antagonists, the West and in particular the United States.

The 1950–53 Korean War waged by China and its North Korea ally against the United States, South Korea, and United Nations (UN) forces has long been a reason for bitter feelings. After the conclusion of the Korean War, China sought to balance its identification as a member of the Soviet bloc by establishing friendly relations with Pakistan and other Third World countries, particularly in Southeast Asia.

By the late 1950s, relations between China and the Soviet Union had become so divisive that in 1960 the Soviets unilaterally withdrew their advisers from China. The two then began to vie for allegiances among the developing world nations, for China saw itself as a natural champion through its role in the NonAligned Movement and its numerous bilateral and bi-party ties. In the 1960s, Beijing competed with Moscow for political influence among communist parties and in the developing world generally. In 1962, China had a brief war with India over a border dispute. By 1969 relations with Moscow were so tense that fighting erupted along their common border. Following the 1968 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia and clashes in 1969 on the Sino-Soviet border, Chinese competition with the Soviet Union increasingly reflected concern over China's own strategic position. China then lessened its anti-Western rhetoric and began developing formal diplomatic relations with West European nations.

In the 1970s and 1980s China sought to create a secure regional and global environment for itself and to foster good relations with countries that could aid its economic development. To this end, China looked to the West for assistance with its modernization drive and for help in countering Soviet expansionism, which it characterized as the greatest threat to its national security and to world peace.

China maintained its consistent opposition to "superpower hegemonism," focusing almost exclusively on the expansionist actions of the Soviet Union and Soviet proxies such as Vietnam and Cuba, but it also placed growing emphasis on a foreign policy independent of both the U.S. and the Soviet Union. While improving ties with the West, China continued to closely follow the political and economic positions of the Third World Non-Aligned Movement, although China was not a formal member.

In the immediate aftermath of Tiananmen crackdown in June 1989, many countries reduced their diplomatic contacts with China as well as their economic assistance programs. In response, China worked vigorously to expand its relations with foreign countries, and by late 1990, had reestablished normal relations with almost all nations. Following the dissolution of the Soviet Union in late 1991, China also opened diplomatic relations with the Republics of the former Soviet Union.

Like most other nations, China's foreign policy is carried out by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. However, the Foreign Affairs Ministry is subordinate to the Foreign Affairs Leading Small Group of the Communist Party of China, which decides on policy-making. Unlike most other nations, much of Chinese foreign policy is formulated in think tanks sponsored and supervised by, but formally outside of the government. Because these discussions are unofficial, they are generally freer and less restricted than discussions between government officials. China is also distinctive for having a separate body of Chinese strategic thought and theory of international relations which is distinct from Western theory.

Recent Chinese foreign policy makers may be seen to adhere to the realist rather than the liberal school of international relations theory. Thus, in sharp contrast to the Soviet Union and the United States, China has not been devoted to advancing any higher international ideological interests such as world communism or world democracy since the Cold War; that is, ideology appears to be secondary to advancing its national interest. China is a member of many international organizations; holding key positions such as a permanent member on the UN Security Council and is a leader in many areas such as nonproliferation, peacekeeping and resolving regional conflicts.

3.4 SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

- i. Enumerate the underlying principles of Chinese foreign policy
- ii. What caused the brief war between China and India in 1962?



3.5 SUMMARY

China's foreign policy is driven by a domestic agenda. The Chinese leadership continues to focus on the economic and political transformation of the country. All Chinese foreign policy aims in securing the country's economic development and territorial integrity. In addition, the Chinese Communist Party hopes to strengthen its legitimacy through a sophisticated foreign policy, putting on the world China as an influential player and creating stability for the nation.

This unit has examined the underlying principles of the foreign policy of China as well as an historical overview of Chinese foreign policy. Adherence to the five principles has allowed China to normalize and maintain relations with a variety of states, regardless of size, strategic importance, regime type, or level of development. Moreover, it has also helped the country establish positive working relations within diplomatic organizations such as the United Nations.

The five principles originally developed by the Chinese Communist Party and articulated by Mao Zedong are a guide to action that explains why China forges and maintains relationship with all matter of states, why the world's largest per capita recipient of foreign aid continues to give money away, and the circumstances under which it will respond aggressively. China claims never to seek hegemony. In the 1960s hegemony was a code word for Soviet expansionism. Today Chinese officials use the term to refer to what they see as a one-sided American effort to enforce America's will on other countries in such matters as trade practices, weapons proliferation, and human rights. By saying it will not seek hegemony, China tells its smaller neighbours that China's economic development and growing military might, will not turn the country into a regional bully.



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3.7 POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO SAE 3

- i.
 - a) Maintaining Independence and Safeguarding National Sovereignty
 - b) Opposing Hegemonism and Safeguarding World Peace
 - c) Upholding the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence
 - d) Strengthening Solidarity of the Developing Countries, and Together Opposing Imperialism and Colonialism
 - e) Improving Relations with Developed Countries to Promote Common Progress
 - f) Removing External Interference, Promoting China's Reunification
 - g) Multilateral Diplomatic Activities and World Peace
- ii. Border dispute.

UNIT 4: CHINA IN CONTEMPORARY WORLD POLITICS

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4.1 INTRODUCTION

China plays an increasingly important role in the international community, one that holds growing responsibility. President Hu Jintao and Prime Minister Wen Jiabao have initiated change in their country's foreign- and security policy in order to aid China's development into an active and confident actor in the international arena. The main themes of Chinese foreign policy are peace and development, which also secure China's own development. A peaceful and stable environment is necessary for China in order to reach its goal as a "modestly well-off society"; the Chinese foreign ministry therefore strives to build up productive multi- or bilateral relations with countries in the region. Reform-oriented Chinese politicians and their advisors support advanced economic integration and the development of new forms of cooperative security.

Following China's rapprochement with the United States in the early 1970s, China established diplomatic relations with most countries in the world and joined most important international governmental organizations. Meanwhile, especially after 1979, China's economic relations with the outside world became ever more intense. The increasing political and economic linkages have given China normal channels to express its views, defend its legitimate interests, and promote reforms of the existing international order. This development has reduced the distrust and hostility China used to harbour toward that order as a result of its bitter experience in the first two decades of the People's Republic and has given China a sense of being part of the existing international order. As time wore on, China also developed the expertise and experience to take advantage of the opportunities offered by the existing international institutions to defend and promote China's interests and aspirations - including the reform of existing rules.



4.2 INTENDED LEARNING OUTCOMES

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the nature of Contemporary Chinese foreign relations
- Analyze Contemporary Chinese policy in Africa
- Evaluate the relationship between China and the United States of America



4.3 MAIN CONTENT

4.3.1 China in Contemporary World Politics

China's foreign policy is driven by a domestic agenda. The Chinese leadership continues to focus on the economic and political transformation of the country. Chinese foreign policy aims at securing the country's economic development and territorial integrity. In addition, the Chinese Communist Party hopes to strengthen its legitimacy through a sophisticated foreign policy, putting on the world stage China as an influential player and creating stability for the nation. Political developments contradicting or hampering these goals are perceived as threats.

Since the end of the Cold War, China has made important adjustments in its foreign policy. China's foreign policy has been evolving from one of an inward-looking, reactive and system-challenging nature to one of an increasingly outward-looking, pro-active and system-identifying character. While the change is far from being complete and it may be still too early to preclude a slowdown and even a reversal under the influence of a whole array of factors, the process is continuing and deepening. Undoubtedly, the direction of change is in the interest of Asia and the world as well as in China's interest.

The Adjustments

Like foreign policies in other countries, China's foreign policy has been under the influence of domestic and international developments and the evolution of official views of them. Such developments do not necessarily get reflected in changes of basic principles. For example, China has upheld the five principles of peaceful coexistence for the last forty years, but in practice patterns of change in Chinese foreign policy have emerged. Broadly speaking, the year 1979 was a historical watershed in the history of China's foreign policy. During this year, China assigned priority to economic development and adopted a policy of reforms and openness. This adjustment of strategic priority had broad and far-reaching implications for China's foreign policy.

- It demanded that Chinese diplomacy serve economic development rather than just focusing on military security and international status.
- It generated a need for China to learn and understand the rest of the world objectively so that it could make the best use of the developmental opportunities the outside world has to offer.
- It initiated a process of conceptual change. From then on, China gradually earned to view its relations with the outside world as a non zero-sum game and became increasingly interested in international participation and cooperation.
- Finally, it expressed China's hope to cooperate with the international society in building a stable, just and mutually beneficial international order.

To begin with, China has made a deliberate decision not to allow communist ideology to determine its foreign policy and influence its foreign relations. Before 1979, the Chinese Government basically took a realist approach in dealing with China's foreign relations. That is to say that it attached primary importance to national interests such as territorial and sovereign integrity, international status and national security in its diplomatic behaviour.

By the late 1970s, the Chinese leaders decided that if they wanted to develop a stable and peaceful international environment for China, they could not afford to let ideology shape their foreign policy agenda and should take a¹³⁴ pragmatic approach to its foreign relations. Accordingly, China gradually dropped ideological slogans such as "revolutionary struggle", "American imperialism", "Soviet social imperialism", "revisionism" etc., from its diplomatic rhetoric. China did not only give up the ideological language, but also ideological affinity as a

criterion for shaping her relations with other countries. As long as a country observes the five principles of peaceful coexistence, China became willing to develop good relations with it, irrespective of ideological differences. It is largely along this line that China has managed its foreign relations since the 1980s.

Since the early 1980s, some important changes began to take place in China's approach toward national interests. Firstly, the term "national interests" began to appear in diplomatic rhetoric. Chinese international relations specialists also started analyzing China's foreign relations with regard to them. In addition, as China adopted the term "national interests", it also became more inclusive in its repertoire of national interests. National interests were no longer restricted to traditional items such as international prestige, national sovereignty, military security, economic growth and political stability, but came to include new elements such as environmental protection, fighting international crime, advancement of human rights etc.

Foreign Economic Relations

The changes in China's foreign economic policy are probably the most obvious ones. The traditional policy of "independence and self-reliance" adhered to prior to the 1980s has since been replaced by a policy of openness to and integration with the outside world. Promotion of exports, introduction of advanced foreign technologies, solicitation of foreign investments, enhancement of international economic and trade cooperation etc. have become important objectives of China's development strategy. In order to achieve these objectives, China has reformed its foreign economic and trade system, decentralized powers in the administration of foreign economic relations, formulated a whole range of laws and regulations to facilitate and protect foreign economic and trade activities, and improved the quality of law enforcement.

In recent years, the Chinese Government further stepped up its efforts to liberalize its foreign economic relations and trade. Between 1993 and 1997, for example, it reduced China's overall import tariffs by 60%. And more recently it announced its commitment to reducing the current tariff level even further so that the overall tariffs on imported goods would be lowered to 15% by the year 2000 and 10% by 2005.

Measures adopted in recent years to open China's financial, insurance and other service sectors gradually to the outside world have further deepened China's integration with the outside world. Thus, the promotion of economic and trade relations between China and other countries have assumed increasing importance in China's foreign policy (Don, 2009:8).

As China becomes economically stronger and more integrated with the rest of the world, China has also found more leverage in using its economic influence to defend its perceived national interests. In particular, China has used its influence to discourage those countries which attempted to meddle with the Taiwan question.

Ever closer economic relations with the outside world have given China an ever larger stake in international stability and prosperity. In 1997, China became the world's 10th largest trading partner with a foreign trade volume of US\$ 325 billion. It also attracted US\$ 45 billion in foreign direct investment, next only to the United States. At the end of 1997, China's foreign reserves stood at US\$ 140 billion, second only to those of Japan. By the end of 2010, China has displaced Japan to become the world's second largest economy after the United States of America.

The rise of China has attracted much international attention since 1993. Some have propagated the Chinese threat thesis. However, the immediate impact has been a harmonization of the interests of China and the rest of the world. To begin with, the rise of China is part and parcel of the process of China's integration into the international order. This process has given China an increasing stake in international stability and prosperity. In addition, the notion that the existing international system poses an obstacle to China's development and prosperity has lost appeal. On the contrary, the experience of the last decade has demonstrated that international stability is a precondition for China's further development. The maintenance of international stability is now seen as essential to China's own interests. Although the existing international system is still being considered as unequal and unfair in several respects and hence in need of reform, China is inclined to make greater efforts to maintain the stability of that system.

4.3.2 China's Policy in Africa

With China's growing influence around the world, Beijing has now set its efforts on Africa. China's focus in Africa is not a recent occurrence. In the 1960s and 1970s, Beijing's interest centered on building ideological solidarity with other underdeveloped nations to advance Chinese-style communism and repelling Western "colonialism/imperialism." Following the Cold War, Chinese interests evolved into more pragmatic pursuits such as trade, investment, and energy. Sino-African trade quadrupled between 2000 and 2006. China is Africa's third largest commercial partner after the US and France, and second largest exporter to Africa after France. It is notably ahead of former colonial power Britain in both categories. The western nations' hesitance to become closely involved with countries they believe to be poor in the human rights field, such as Sudan, Zimbabwe, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, etc have allowed China an opportunity for economic cooperation (Taylor, 2009).

The quest for natural resources in Africa targets key areas rich in oil, minerals, timber, and cotton, such as Sudan, Angola, Nigeria, and South Africa. Many African countries are viewed as fast-growing markets, profitable outlets for the export of cheap Chinese goods, followed one day by more expensive services and products.

Large scale structural projects, often accompanied by desirable soft loans, are proposed to African countries rich in natural resources. Infrastructure construction, such as roads and railroads, dams, ports, and airports, are also commonly funded by China in exchange for future mineral rights. While relations are mainly conducted through diplomacy and trade, military support is also a component, as with the provision of arms and weapon systems to African countries.

In 1999, the total Sino-African trade volume was US\$6.5 billion. However, by 2005, the total Sino-African trade had reached US\$39.7 billion before it jumped to US\$55 billion in 2006, making China the second largest trading partner of Africa after the United States, which had trade worth US\$91 billion with African nations. The PRC also passed the traditional African economic partner and former colonial power France, which had trade worth US\$47 billion (Chris, 2007:6)

There are an estimated 800 Chinese corporations doing business in Africa, most of which are private companies investing in the infrastructure, energy and banking sectors. Unconditional and low-rate credit lines (rates at 1.5% over 15 years to 20 years) have taken the place of the more restricted and conditional Western loans. Since 2000, more than \$10bn in debt owed by African nations to the PRC has been cancelled.

One-third of China's oil supplies come from the African continent, mainly from Angola. Investments of Chinese companies in the energy sector have reached high levels in recent years. In some cases, like in Nigeria and Angola, oil and gas exploration and production deals reached more than \$2 billion. Many of those investments are mixed packages of aid and loan in exchange for infrastructure building and trade deals.

Launched in 2000, the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation has become an effective mechanism for the collective dialogue and multilateral cooperation between China and Africa and put in place an important framework and platform for a new type of China-Africa partnership featuring long-term stability, equality and mutual benefit.

China attaches importance to the positive role of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation in strengthening political consultation and pragmatic cooperation between China and Africa, and stands ready to work with African countries to conscientiously implement the Beijing Declaration of the Forum on China Africa Cooperation, the Program for China-Africa Cooperation in Economic and Social Development and the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation-Addis Ababa Action Plan (2004-2006) and its follow-up action plans. China will work with African countries within the framework of the Forum to explore new ways to enhance mutual political trust, promote the comprehensive development of pragmatic cooperation, further improve the mechanism of the forum, and try to find the best way for furthering cooperation between the Forum and the NEPAD (Taylor, 2006)

Africa currently has a lower industrial capacity, creating the need for imports from China, which has a strong manufacturing base. In the past three years, the structure of China's exports to Africa has shifted to electromechanical and high-tech products, accounting for 53.8 percent of total exports to Africa, reflected by China's own rising level of technology manufacturing. This complementarity between China and Africa is important to the sustainable development of both the Chinese and African economies.

4.3.3 China and the United States of America

As of 2011, the United States has the world's largest economy and China the second largest. China has the world's largest population and the United States has the third largest. The two

countries are the two largest consumers of motor vehicles and oil, and the two greatest emitters of greenhouse gases.

While there are some tensions in Sino-American relations, there are also many stabilizing factors. The PRC and the United States are major trade partners and have common interests in the prevention and suppression of terrorism and nuclear proliferation. China and the US are the largest mutual trading partners, excluding the European Union. China is also the largest foreign creditor for the United States. China's challenges and difficulties are mainly internal, and there is a desire to maintain stable relations with the United States. The Sino American relationship has been described by top leaders and academics as the world's most important bilateral relationship of the 21st century.

A matter of growing U.S. concern is China's increasing global "reach" and the consequences that PRC expanding economic and political influence have for U.S. interests. To feed its appetite for resources, China is steadily signing trade agreements, oil and gas contracts, scientific and technological cooperation, and multilateral security arrangements with countries around the world, some of which are key U.S. allies. Some U.S. observers view these activities as a threat to the United States. Even if these trends are simply the results of China's benign economic development and growth, they may pose critical future challenges for U.S. economic and political interests.

Taiwan, which the People Republic of China (PRC) considers a "renegade province," remains the most sensitive issue the two countries face and the one many observers fear could lead to potential Sino-U.S. conflict. Late in 2004 PRC officials created more tension in the relationship by passing an "antiseccession" law (adopted in March 2005) aimed at curbing Taiwan independence. U.S. officials regarded the action as provocative and unconstructive. In February 2006, Taiwan President Chen Shui-bian suspended the activities of the National Unification Council, a symbol of Taiwan's commitment to unification with China, citing in part the 2005 anti-secession law as a reason for his action. Both the PRC and Taiwan moves have raised U.S. concerns about cross-strait stability.

The PRC is now the third-largest U.S. trading partner, with total U.S.-China trade in 2005 estimated at \$285 billion. Ongoing issues in U.S.-China economic relations include the substantial and growing U.S. trade deficit with China (\$202 billion in 2005), repeated PRC failures to protect U.S. intellectual property rights, and the PRC's continuing restrictive trade practices, such as its refusal to date to float its currency. In addition, some policymakers have focused recent attention on efforts by PRC companies to buy American assets.

Another ongoing U.S. concern has been the PRC's decision to keep the value of its currency low with respect to the dollar, and indirectly with the yen and euro. Until 2005, the PRC pegged its currency, the renminbi (RMB), to the U.S. dollar at a rate of about 8.3 RMB to the dollar — a valuation that many U.S. policymakers concluded kept the PRC's currency artificially undervalued, making PRC exports artificially cheap and making it harder for U.S.

producers to compete. U.S. critics of the PRC's currency peg charged that the PRC unfairly manipulated its currency, and they urged Beijing either to raise the RMB's value or to make it freely convertible subject to market forces. On July 1, 2005, the PRC changed this valuation method, instead announcing it would peg the RMB to a basket of currencies. The resulting small appreciation in the RMB from this action has not been sufficient to assuage U.S. congressional concerns

4.3.4 China and the corona virus

The corona virus pandemic came as a shock which shook the Chinese economy and later spread to other parts of the world. The advent of the corona virus which was first discovered in China affected the Chinese foreign policies in a number of ways. China tried to manage the relations with the U.S while deploying its expanded economic and military strength around the world. The corona virus has strained china's ties with the United States and raised questions about Beijing's global leadership. The spread of the corona virus that caused huge catastrophe in the U.S and even in India has caused mistrust between the United States and china which has hampered the global coordination such as crises requires. Beijing's lack of transparency about the true extent of the corona virus outbreak due to political imperatives and economic concerns fueled suspicions from the onset. The acceleration of the spread of the virus in America led Senator Tom Cotton to make claims that the virus originated from the Chinese lab and should be considered as bio weapon against the U.S and the world. In response to this claims, the Chinese Ministry of foreign affairs claimed that the virus did not originate from their lab. The corona virus pandemic also affected the phase one trade deal that took off in February 2020. With the advent of the highly transmissible "delta" variant which has spread across at least 17 provinces in china, it has become a reality that china and other parts of the world will have to deal with the virus for a very long period of time just as Britain and Singapore where officials have explicitly encouraged to learn to leave with the virus. The implication of this is that China will have to make use of variety of foreign policies that will enable them deal with the current reality and still relate well with other nations of the world.

4.4 SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

- i. How did the Corona Virus pandemic affect the relationship between China and the US?
- ii. What implication does the Corona Virus and the Delta variant have on the Chinese Foreign Policy?
- iii. How will you describe the trend of the Sino-African trade from 1999 to 2006
- iv. What drives the Chinese Foreign Policy?



4.5 SUMMARY

This unit has examined the patterns of relationship between China and the global society. The principles of peaceful co-existence as well as economic factors were the underlying motivations for Chinese engagement with the outside world. The quests for valuable resources for her growing industries as well as markets for finished products were the pillars of Chinese engagements with African countries. With the end of the cold war and the introduction of more liberal reforms, opportunities were created for closer cooperation between the United State of America and China. To feed its appetite for resources, China is steadily signing trade agreements, oil and gas contracts, scientific and technological cooperation, and multilateral security arrangements with countries around the world, some of which are key U.S. allies. Some U.S. observers view these activities as a threat to the United States. Even if these trends are simply the results of China's benign economic development and growth, they may pose critical future challenges for U.S. economic and political interests.

Some U.S. observers have become increasingly concerned about China's growing economic and political reach in the world — often referred to as “China's rise” — and what it means for global U.S. economic and political interests, U.S.-China relations, and concerns for Taiwan's security. Some in this debate believe China's rise is a malign threat that needs to be thwarted; others believe that it is an inevitable phenomenon that needs to be managed. The United State is increasingly faced with issues involving this emerging debate and whether U.S. interests would best be served by accommodating China's rise or containing it. According to one school of thought, China's economic and political rise in the world is inevitable and needs to be accommodated and managed. In this view, as China becomes more economically interdependent with the international community, it will have a greater stake in pursuing stable international economic relationships. Growing wealth in the PRC is likely to encourage Chinese society to move in directions that will develop a materially better-off, more educated, and cosmopolitan populace. Over time, this population could be expected to press its government for greater political pluralism and democracy — two key U.S. objectives. Therefore, from this perspective, U.S. policy should seek to work more closely with the PRC, not only to encourage these positive long-term trends, but to seek ways to mutually benefit by cooperating on important global issues such as alternative energy sources, climate change, and scientific and medical advancements. Ultimately, the United States simply will have to make room for the economic and political appetites of the superpower that China is likely to become. Viewing the PRC as a “threat” or attempting to contain, could produce disastrous policy consequences for U.S. interests. In addition to possible military conflict with the PRC, these consequences could include a breakdown in PRC governance, a fragmentation of the country itself, the creation of greater Chinese nationalism with a strong anti-American bias, and an increasingly isolated United States that the international community may see as out of step with global trends.



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4.7 POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO SAE 4

- i. The spread of the corona virus that caused huge catastrophe in the U.S and even in India has caused mistrust between the United States and china which has hampered the global coordination
- ii. The implication of this is that China will have to make use of variety of foreign policies that will enable them deal with the current reality and still relate well with other nations of the world.
- iii. In 1999, the total Sino-African trade volume was US\$6.5 billion. However, by 2005, the total Sino-African trade had reached US\$39.7 billion before it jumped to US\$55 billion in 2006, making China the second largest trading partner of Africa after the United States, which had trade worth US\$91 billion with African nations. The PRC also passed the traditional African economic partner and former colonial power France, which had trade worth US\$47 billion (Chris, 2007:6). It can be concluded the trade has an upward trend
- iv. Domestic Agenda

MODULE 5: FOREIGN POLICIES OF JAPAN AND GERMANY

German–Japanese relations were established in 1860 with the first ambassadorial visit to Japan by Prussia (which formed the German Empire in 1871). After a time of intense educational exchange in the late 19th century, the imperialistic politics of Japan and Germany caused a cooling of their relation due to conflicting aspirations in China. Japan allied itself with Britain, and declared war on Germany in 1914 as part of the First World War thereby seizing key German colonies and possessions.

In the 1930s, both countries rejected democracy, and turned to militaristic aggression. This led to a rapprochement and a political and military alliance, the "Axis" (along with Italy). During the Second World War the Axis was, however, a friendship of convenience and was limited by

the great geographic distance between East Asia and Europe. For the most part, Japan and Germany fought separate wars, and eventually had to surrender separately.

After the Second World War, the economies of both nations experienced rapid recoveries and bilateral relations, now focused on economic issues, were swiftly re-established. Today, Japan and Germany are the third and fourth largest economies in the world (after the U.S. and China), respectively, and as such greatly profit from a wide field of political, educational, scientific and economic cooperation.

Discussions in this module are organized under the following units:

- Unit 1: Principles of Japanese Foreign Policy
- Unit 2: Japan in World Politics
- Unit 3: German Foreign Policy in Historical Perspectives
- Unit 4: Germany in Cotemporary World Politics

UNIT 1: PRINCIPLES OF JAPANESE FOREIGN POLICY

CONTENTS

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Intended Learning Outcomes
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 - 1.3.1 Principles of Japanese Foreign Policy
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- 1.4 Self-Assessment Exercise 1
- 1.5 Summary
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1.1 INTRODUCTION

Despite its current slow economic growth, Japan remains a major economic power both in the region and globally. Japan has diplomatic relations with nearly all independent nations and has been an active member of the United Nations since 1956. Japanese foreign policy has aimed to promote peace and prosperity for the Japanese people by working closely with the West and supporting the United Nations.

In the early sixteenth century, a feudally organized Japan came into contact with Western missionaries and traders for the first time. Westerners introduced important cultural innovations into Japanese society during more than a century of relations with various feudal rulers. But when the country was unified at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Tokugawa government decided to expel the foreign missionaries and strictly limit intercourse with the outside world. National seclusion--except for contacts with the Chinese and Dutch--was Japan's foreign policy for more than two centuries.

Although a military role for Japan in international affairs is precluded by its constitution and government policy, Japanese cooperation with the United States through the 1960 U.S.-Japan Security Treaty has been important to the peace and stability of East Asia. All post-war Japanese governments have relied on a close relationship with the United States as the foundation of their foreign policy and have depended on the mutual security treaty for strategic protection.

While maintaining its relationship with the United States, Japan has diversified and expanded its ties with other nations. Good relations with its neighbours continue to be of vital interest. After the signing of a peace and friendship treaty with the People's Republic of China in 1978, ties between the two countries developed rapidly.

The Japanese extend significant economic assistance to the Chinese in various modernization projects. At the same time, Japan has maintained economic but not diplomatic relations with the Taiwan, where a strong bilateral trade relationship thrives.

Japanese diplomacy is increasingly aimed at maintaining peace, while maintaining healthy economic competition among developed and developing countries. Prominent in the implementation of the national security, authorities of Japan created a peaceful image of their country. The Japanese system of national security was focused solely on defence in accordance with the principle of minimum defensive sufficiency. The peace of foreign policy and the commitment of Japan to the three non-nuclear principles, directly derive from its experience during the period between the first and second world wars. Now, Japan is trying to achieve recognition in the eyes of the world as a major political power, remaining at the same time, average power in a military sense.



1.2 INTENDED LEARNING OUTCOMES

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the basic principles of Japanese Foreign Policy
- Analyze the structures for foreign policy making in Japan



1.3. MAIN CONTENT

1.3.1 Principles of Japanese Foreign Policy

In the mid-19th century, Japan reappeared on the international stage after a two-century long seclusion during the Tokugawa period. Due to its victory in the Russo-Japanese War (1905), it was recognized as a great power, and has been an important international actor ever since. The only exception is a brief period following its defeat in the Second World War, which ended its status as a great power in military terms. Already at the end of the 1960s, it had regained its status as a great power economically, but not militarily, as it had been in the pre-war era.

Japan's geography--particularly its insular character, its limited endowment of natural resources, and its exposed location near potentially hostile giant neighbours--has played an important role in the development of its foreign policy. In pre-modern times, Japan's semi-isolated position on the periphery of the Asian mainland was an asset. It permitted the Japanese to exist as a self sufficient society in a secure environment. It also allowed them to borrow selectively from the rich civilization of China while maintaining their own cultural identity. Insularity promoted a strong cultural and ethnic unity, which underlay the early development of a national consciousness that has influenced Japan's relations with outside peoples and cultures throughout its history.

Modern Japan's foreign policy was shaped at the outset by its need to reconcile its Asian identity with its desire for status and security in an international order dominated by the West. The principal foreign policy goals of the Meiji period (1868-1912) were to protect the integrity and independence of the nation against Western domination and to win equality of status with the leading nations of the West by reversing the unequal treaties. Because fear of Western military power was the chief concern of the Meiji leaders, their highest priority was building up the basic requirements for national defence, under the slogan "wealth and arms". They saw that a modern military establishment required national conscription drawing manpower from an adequately educated population, a trained officer corps, a sophisticated chain of command, and strategy and tactics adapted to contemporary conditions. Finally, it required modern arms together with the factories to make them, sufficient wealth to purchase them, and a transportation system to deliver them.

An important objective of the military build-up was to gain the respect of the Western powers and achieve equal status for Japan in the international community. Inequality of status was symbolized by the treaties imposed on Japan when the country was first opened to foreign intercourse. The treaties were objectionable to the Japanese not only because they imposed low fixed tariffs on foreign imports and thus handicapped domestic industries, but also because their provisions gave a virtual monopoly of external trade to foreigners and granted extraterritorial status to foreign nationals in Japan, exempting them from Japanese jurisdiction and placing Japan in the inferior category of uncivilized nations. Many of the social and institutional reforms of the Meiji period were designed to remove the stigma of backwardness and inferiority represented by the "unequal treaties," and a major task of Meiji diplomacy was to press for early treaty revision

1.3.2 Foreign Policy Making in Japan

The primary responsibility for the Japanese foreign policy, as determined by the 1947 constitution, is exercised by the cabinet and subject to the overall supervision of the National Diet. The prime minister is required to make periodic reports on foreign relations to the Diet, whose upper and lower houses each have a foreign affairs committee. Each committee reports on its deliberations to plenary sessions of the chamber to which it belongs. Diet members have the right to raise pertinent policy questions—officially termed interpellations—to the minister of foreign affairs and the prime minister. Treaties with foreign countries require ratification by the Diet. As head of state, the emperor performs the ceremonial function of receiving foreign envoys and attesting to foreign treaties ratified by the Diet.

Constitutionally the dominant figure in the political system, the prime minister has the final word in major foreign policy decisions. The minister of foreign affairs, a senior member of the cabinet, acts as the prime minister's chief adviser in matters of planning and implementation. The minister is assisted by two vice ministers: one in charge of administration, who was at the apex of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs structure as its senior career official, and the other in charge of political liaison with the Diet. Other key positions in the ministry include members of the ministry's Secretariat, which has divisions handling consular, emigration, communications, and cultural exchange functions, and the directors of the various regional and functional bureaus in the ministry.

Political groups opposing the government's foreign policy presented their views freely through political parties and the mass media, which took vocal and independent positions on wide-ranging external issues. Some of the opposing elements included were leftists who sought to exert influence through their representatives in the Diet, through mass organizations, and sometimes through rallies and street demonstrations. In contrast, special interest groups supporting the government—including the business community and agricultural interests—brought pressure to bear on the prime minister, cabinet members, and members of the Diet, usually through behind-the-scenes negotiations and compromises.

Except for security-related matters, most foreign affairs issues involved economic interests and mainly attracted the attention of the specific groups affected. The role of interest groups in formulating foreign policy varied with the issue at hand. Because trade and capital investment issues were involved, for example, in relations with the People's Republic of China and with

South Korea, the business community increasingly became an interested party in the conduct of foreign affairs. Similarly, when fishing rights or agricultural imports were being negotiated, representatives of the industries affected worked with political leaders and the foreign affairs bureaucracies in shaping policy

The role of public opinion in the formulation of foreign policy throughout the postwar period has been difficult to determine. Japan continued to be extremely concerned with public opinion, and opinion polling became a conspicuous feature of national life. The large number of polls on public policy issues, including foreign policy matters, conducted by the Office of the Prime Minister, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, other government organizations, and the media led to the presumption by analysts that the collective opinions of voters do exert significant influence on policymakers. The public attitudes toward foreign policy that had held throughout much of the postwar period appeared to have shifted in the 1980s. Opinion polls reflected a marked increase in national pride and self-esteem. Moreover, public discussion of security matters by government officials, political party leaders, press commentators, and academics had become markedly less volatile and doctrinaire and more open and pragmatic, suggesting indirectly that public attitudes on this subject had evolved as well. The mass media, and particularly the press, as the champion of the public interest and critic of the government, continues to mold public attitudes strongly.

Japanese thinking on foreign policy was also influenced by the rise of a new postwar generation to leadership and policy-making positions. The differences in outlook between the older leaders still in positions of power and influence and the younger generation that was replacing them complicated formulation of foreign policy. Under Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone, a more hawkish stance on foreign policy was introduced. Japan built up a close political military relationship with the United States as part of a de facto international front of a number of developed and developing countries intent on checking Soviet expansion. Japan's defense spending continued to grow steadily despite overall budgetary restraint. Japan became increasingly active in granting foreign assistance to countries of strategic importance in East-West competition.

The end of the Cold War obviously had an immense impact on the foreign policies of many countries across the continents, forcing them to reposition themselves in regional and international relations. Sweeping changes in the political landscape have compelled a rethink of their foreign policy goals, the instruments needed to achieve them and national identities. Furthermore, such a political transformation on this scale cannot be regarded as a one-off event; over the past two decades, many countries—including small states like Mongolia and Benin and current hot spots like Afghanistan—have struggled with its consequences and domestic adjustments, though to varying degrees. Japan is no exception.

1.4 SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

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i List some of the factors that play important roles in the Japanese



1.5 SUMMARY

Until the Meiji period (1868-1912) Japan's relationship with the rest of the world was defined mostly in terms of an East Asian world order traditionally dominated by China. Japan was part of trade routes that included much of Southeast and East Asia, and this trade resulted in much cultural exchange as well as material exchange. In the sixteenth century Japan began trading with Western countries, but soon found it disruptive both because of the connections with Christianity and because of the demand it created for precious metals. The government therefore officially limited foreign trade to that with Dutch and Chinese traders. In the 1850s and 60s Japan signed various treaties with Western nations.

At the time, imperialism and colonization were the main institutions that defined international relations and Japan soon became a colonizing power of its own, governing both Taiwan and Korea. At the beginning of the 20th century, Japan was recognized by Western powers as a force to be reckoned with, and Japan became a member of the League of Nations.

In the 19th century, Asia became more and more attractive to expansionist Europeans and many countries were colonized. China itself was greatly weakened and the old East Asia world order no longer functioned. Western countries aggressively demanded that Japan begin to participate in trade with them, and eventually Japan had no choice but to agree.

The end of the Cold War obviously had an immense impact on the foreign policies of many countries across the continents, forcing them to reposition themselves in regional and international relations. Sweeping changes in the political landscape have compelled a rethink of their foreign policy goals, the instruments needed to achieve them and national identities. Many countries—including small states like Mongolia and Benin and current hot spots like Afghanistan—have struggled with its consequences and domestic adjustments, though to varying degrees and Japan is also no exception.



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4.7 POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO SAE 1

- i. Japan's geography--particularly its insular character, its limited endowment of natural resources, and its exposed location near potentially hostile giant neighbours--has played an important role in the development of its foreign policy.
- ii. The stigma of backwardness and inferiority represented by the "unequal treaties," and a major task of Meiji diplomacy was to press for early treaty revision

UNIT 2: JAPAN IN WORLD POLITICS

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2.1 INTRODUCTION

Japan is a member state of the United Nations and a non-permanent member of the Security Council; it is currently one of the "G4 nations" seeking permanent membership. Japan plays an important role in East Asia. Japanese Constitution prohibits the use of military forces to wage war against other countries. However, the government maintains "self-defence forces" which include air, land and sea components. Japan's deployment of non-combat troops to Iraq marked the first overseas use of its military since World War II.

As an economic power, Japan is a member of the G8 and Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), and has developed relations with ASEAN as a member of "ASEAN plus three" and the East Asia Summit. It is a major donor in international aid and development efforts, particularly to the developing states.

Japan's rapid industrialization and militarization under the Meiji Emperors, led to its emergence as a world power eventually culminating in its membership of the Axis alliance and the conquest of a large part of the Asia-Pacific region. At the height of its power in 1942, the Japanese Empire ruled over a land area spanning 7,400,000 square kilometres (2,857,000 sq mi), making it one of the largest maritime empires in history (Marius, 1989).

After several large scale military successes during the first half of the Pacific War, the Empire of Japan also gained notoriety for its war crimes against the conquered people within their Empire. After suffering many defeats and the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the Empire of Japan surrendered to the Allies in 1945. A period of occupation by the Allies followed the surrender and dissolution of the Empire, and a new constitution was created with American involvement. American occupation and reconstruction of the country continued well into the 1950s, eventually forming modern Japan.



2.2 INTENDED LEARNING OUTCOMES

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the nature of Japan foreign relations before World War 11
- Analyze Japan's involvement in World War 11
- Evaluate Japan's foreign policy after World War 11



MAIN CONTENT

2.3.1 Japan's Foreign Relations before World War 11

Historically, Japan's main foreign preoccupation has been China. The Korean Peninsula, a strategically located feature critical to the defence of the Japanese archipelago, greatly occupied Japan's attention in the nineteenth century. Earlier tension over Korea had been settled temporarily through the Treaty of Kanghwa in 1876, which opened Korean ports to Japan and through the Tianjin Convention in 1885, which provided for the removal from Korea of both Chinese and Japanese troops sent to support contending factions in the Korean court. In effect, the convention had made Korea a co-protectorate of Beijing and Tokyo at a time when Russian, British, and United States interests in the peninsula also were on the increase.

A crisis was precipitated in 1894 when a leading pro-Japanese Korean political figure was assassinated in Shanghai with Chinese complicity. Pro-war elements in Japan called for a punitive expedition, which the cabinet resisted. With assistance from several Japanese nationalistic societies, the illegal Tonghak (Eastern Learning) nationalistic religious movement in Korea staged a rebellion that was crushed by Chinese troops. Japan responded with force and quickly defeated China in the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-95).

After nine months of fighting, a cease-fire was called and peace talks were held. The Treaty of Shimonoseki accomplished several things: recognition of Korean independence; cessation of Korean tribute to China; indemnity to Korea from China; cession of Taiwan, the Penghu Islands, and the Liaodong Peninsula (the southern part of Manchuria) to Japan; and opening of Chang Jiang (Yangtze River) ports to Japanese trade. It also assured Japanese rights to engage in industrial enterprises in China.

Having their own imperialist designs on China and fearing China's impending disintegration, Russia, Germany, and France jointly objected to Japanese control of Liaodong. Threatened with a tripartite naval maneuver in Korean waters, Japan decided to give back Liaodong in return for a larger indemnity from China.

Japan and Britain, both of whom wanted to keep Russia out of Manchuria, signed the Treaty of Alliance in 1902, which was in effect until in 1921 when the two signed the Four Power Treaty on Insular Possessions, which took effect in 1923. The British recognized Japanese interests in Korea and assured Japan they would remain neutral in case of a Russo-Japanese war but would become more actively involved if another power (probably an allusion to France) entered the war as a Russian ally. In the face of this joint threat, Russia became more conciliatory toward Japan and agreed to withdraw its troops from Manchuria in 1903.

The new balance of power in Korea favoured Japan and allowed Britain to concentrate its interests elsewhere in Asia. Hence, Tokyo moved to gain influence over Korean banks, opened its own financial institutions in Korea, and began constructing railroads and obstructing Russian and French undertakings on the peninsula.

When Russia failed to withdraw its troops from Manchuria by an appointed date, Japan issued a protest. Russia replied that it would agree to a partition of Korea at the thirty-ninth parallel, with a Japanese sphere to the south and a neutral zone to the north. War broke out in February 1904 with Japanese surprise attacks on Russian warships at Dalian and Chemulpo (in Korea, now called Inch'on). Despite tremendous loss of life on both sides, the Japanese won a series of land battles and then decisively defeated Russia's Baltic Sea Fleet (renamed the Second Pacific Squadron) at the Battle of Tsushima in May 1905.

Japanese nationalism intensified after the Russo-Japanese War, and a new phase of continental expansion began after 1905. Politically and economically, Korea became a protectorate of Japan and in 1910 was formally annexed as a part of the empire. By means of the South Manchurian Railway, Japanese entrepreneurs vigorously exploited Manchuria. By 1907 Russia had entered into a treaty arrangement with Japan whereby both sides recognized the other's sphere of influence in Manchuria.

Japan entered World War I in 1914, seizing the opportunity of Germany's distraction with the European War to expand its sphere of influence in China and the Pacific. Japan declared war on Germany on August 23, 1914. Japanese and allied British Empire forces soon moved to occupy Tsingtao fortress, the German East Asia Squadron base, German-leased territories in China's Shandong Province as well as the Marianas, Caroline, and Marshall Islands in the Pacific, which were part of German New Guinea.

In 1919, Japan proposed a clause on racial equality to be included in the League of Nations covenant at the Paris Peace Conference. The clause was rejected by several Western countries and was not forwarded for larger discussion at the full meeting of the conference. The rejection was an important factor in the coming years in turning Japan away from cooperation with West and towards nationalistic policies. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance was ended in 1923.

During the 1930s, the military established almost complete control over the government. Many political enemies were assassinated, and communists persecuted. Indoctrination and censorship in education and media were further intensified. Navy and army officers soon occupied most of the important offices, including the one of the prime minister.

In 1933, Japan withdrew from the League of Nations since she was heavily criticized for her actions in China. In July 1937, the second Sino-Japanese War broke out. A small incident was soon made into a full scale war by the Kwantung army which acted rather independently from a more moderate government. The Japanese forces succeeded in occupying almost the whole coast of China and committed severe war atrocities on the Chinese population, especially during the fall of the capital Nanking. However, the Chinese government never surrendered completely, and the war continued on a lower scale until 1945

2.3.2 Japan in World War II

In 1931, Japanese armies annexed the mineral-rich Chinese province of Manchuria, and created a puppet regime under Pu Yi, China's last emperor. The initiative came from commanders in the field who wanted to commit civilian politicians at home to a bolder imperial policy. In July 1937, a skirmish between Chinese and Japanese troops near Beijing was escalated by the Japanese into a war of conquest of the north-east and Maritime Provinces

of China. When the capital Nanjing fell in December 1937, a huge number of civilians, probably more than 300,000, were massacred. This brutal campaign overshadows Sino-Japanese relations to this day.

On 27 September 1940, Japan entered into a tripartite pact with Germany and Italy. For Japan, Wilhelmina Germany had been a model for a modernising, martial monarchy. As Japanese politics lurched to the right, fascism too seemed a "kindred spirit". Both Germany and Japan spoke of shattering and remoulding the international order.

In 1940, Japan occupied French Indochina (Vietnam) upon agreement with the French Vichy government, and joined the Axis powers Germany and Italy. These actions intensified Japan's conflict with the United States and Great Britain which reacted with an oil boycott. The resulting oil shortage and failures to solve the conflict diplomatically made Japan decide to capture the oil rich Dutch East Indies (Indonesia) and to start a war with the US and Great Britain.

In December 1941, Japan attacked the Allied powers at Pearl Harbour and several other points throughout the Pacific. Japan was able to expand her control over a large territory that expanded to the border of India in the West and New Guinea in the South within the following six months.

The turning point in the Pacific War was the battle of Midway in June 1942.

From then on, the Allied forces slowly won back the territories occupied by Japan. In 1944, intensive air raids started over Japan. In spring 1945, US forces invaded Okinawa in one of the war's bloodiest battles.

On July 27, 1945, the Allied powers requested Japan in the Potsdam Declaration to surrender unconditionally, or destruction would continue. When Japan continued to ignore the Potsdam terms, the United States dropped atomic bombs on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in early August. Between the two bombs, the Soviets, invaded Japanese-held Manchuria, and quickly defeated the Kwantung Army, which was the primary Japanese fighting force. The Red Army also captured Sakhalin Island and the

Kuril Islands. On 15 August 1945 Japan surrendered, and with the surrender documents finally signed aboard the deck of the American battleship USS Missouri on 2 September 1945, the Second World War finally ended.

2.3.3 Japan's Post War Foreign Relations

After Japan's devastating defeat in World War II, the nation came under an Allied occupation in which the United States, as the principal occupying power, was charged with the demilitarization and democratization of the state. Major changes were made in political, social, and economic institutions and practices. During the seven-year occupation, the country had no control over its foreign affairs and became in effect the ward of the United States on the international scene. It adopted a new constitution whereby, in Article 9, the "Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as a means of settling international disputes".

When Japan regained its sovereignty in 1952 and re-entered the international community as an independent nation, it found itself in a world preoccupied by the Cold War between East and West, in which the Soviet Union and the United States headed opposing camps. By virtue of the Treaty of Peace with Japan signed in San Francisco on September 8, 1951 (effective April 28, 1952), ending the state of war between Japan and most of the Allied powers except the Soviet Union and China, and the Mutual Security Assistance Pact between Japan and the United States, signed in San Francisco the same day, Japan essentially became a dependent ally of the United States, which continued to maintain bases and troops on Japanese soil.

Japan's foreign policy goals during most of the early post-war period were essentially to regain economic viability and establish its credibility as a peaceful member of the world community. National security was entrusted to the protective shield and nuclear umbrella of the United States, which was permitted under the security pact that came into effect in April 1952 to deploy its forces in and about Japan. A special diplomatic task was to assuage the suspicions and alleviate the resentments of Asian neighbours who had suffered from Japanese colonial rule and imperialist aggression in the past. Japan's diplomacy toward its Asian neighbours, therefore, tended to be extremely lowkey, conciliatory, and non-assertive. With respect to the world at large, the nation avoided political issues and concentrated on economic goals. Under its omni directional diplomacy, it sought to cultivate friendly ties with all nations, proclaimed a policy of "separation of politics and economics," and adhered to a neutral position on some East-West issues.

During the 1950s and 1960s, foreign policy actions were guided by three basic principles: close cooperation with the United States for both security and economic reasons; promotion of a free-trade system congenial to Japan's own economic needs; and international cooperation through the United Nations (UN)--to which it was admitted in 1956--and other multilateral bodies. Adherence to these principles worked well and contributed to phenomenal economic recovery and growth during the first two decades after the end of the occupation. In the 1970s, the basic post-war principles remained unchanged but were approached from a new perspective, owing to the pressure of practical politics at home and abroad.

There was growing domestic pressure on the government to exercise more foreign policy initiatives independent of the United States, without, however, compromising vital security and economic ties. The so called Nixon "shock," involving the surprise United States opening to China and other regional issues, also argued for a more independent Japanese foreign policy. The nation's phenomenal economic growth had made it a ranking world economic power by the early 1970s and had generated a sense of pride and self-esteem, especially among the younger generation. The demand for a more independent foreign policy reflected this enhanced self-image.

Changes in world economic relations during the 1970s also encouraged a more independent stance. Japan had become less dependent on the Western powers for resources. Oil, for example, was obtained directly from the producing countries and not from the Western-controlled multinational companies. Other important materials also came increasingly from sources other than the United States and its allies, while trade with the United States as a share of total trade dropped significantly during the decade of the 1970s. Thus, political leaders began to argue that in the interests of economic self-preservation, more attention should be

paid to the financial and development needs of other countries, especially those that provided Japan with vital energy and raw material supplies.

2.4 SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

- i. Japan's foreign policy goals during most of the early post-war period were essentially to _____
- ii. Japan country had no control over its foreign affairs and became in effect the ward of the United States on the international scene. Explain.



2.5 SUMMARY

This unit has examined the growth of Japan from its humble beginning to recognition as a world power after the defeat of Russia in 1904. Various reforms undertaken by the Meiji Emperors as well as the territorial gains obtained during the Paris Peace Conference further cemented Japan's place in the committee of big powers. However, an unrestrained imperialist ambition, particularly toward China was a major factor in the outbreak of the Second World War. The alliance of Japan, Germany and Italy as the Axis powers during the war proved disastrous for Japan leading to an almost total destruction of the country. The immediate post war Japanese foreign relations were focused on economic reconstruction and peaceful co-existence with Asian neighbours.



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2.7 POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO SAE 2

- i. Regain economic viability and establish its credibility as a peaceful member of the world community.
- ii. After Japan's devastating defeat in World War II, the nation came under an Allied occupation in which the United States, as the principal occupying power, was charged with the demilitarization and democratization of the state. Major changes were made in political, social, and economic institutions and practices. During the seven-year occupation, the country had no control over its foreign affairs and became in effect the ward of the United States on the international scene. It adopted a new constitution whereby, in Article 9, the "Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as a means of settling international disputes".

UNIT 3: FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF GERMANY FOREIGN POLICY

CONTENTS

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Intended Learning Outcomes
- 3.3 Main Content
 - 3.3.1 Structures of Foreign Policy Making in Germany
 - 3.3.2 Fundamental Principles of Germany Foreign Policy
- 3.4 Self-Assessment Exercise 3
- 3.5 Summary
- 3.6 References/Further Readings
- 3.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises



3.1 INTRODUCTION

Germany is Europe's most industrialized and populous country. Famed for its technological achievements, it has also produced some of Europe's most celebrated composers, philosophers and poets. Achieving national unity later than other European nations, Germany quickly caught up economically and militarily, before defeats in World War I and II left the country shattered, facing the difficult legacy of Nazism, and divided between Europe's Cold War blocs. Germany rebounded to become the continent's economic giant, and a prime mover of European cooperation. With the end of the Cold War, the two parts of the country were once again united, but at an economic price that is still being felt.

Germany was a founding member of the European Community in 1957, which became the EU in 1993. It is part of the Schengen Area and since 1999 a member of the Euro zone. Germany is a member of the United Nations, NATO, the G8, the G20, the OECD and the Council of Europe, and took a nonpermanent seat on the UN Security Council for the 2011–2012 term.

Germany has the world's fourth largest economy by nominal GDP and the fifth largest by purchasing power parity. It is the second largest exporter and third largest importer of goods. In absolute terms, Germany spends the third biggest annual development aid budget in the world, while its military expenditure ranks seventh. The country has developed a very high standard of living and a comprehensive system of social security. Germany has been the home of many influential scientists and inventors, and is known for its cultural and political history.

The development policy of the Federal Republic of Germany is an independent area of German foreign policy. It is formulated by the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) and carried out by the implementing organisations. The German

government sees development policy as a joint responsibility of the international community. It is the world's third biggest aid donor after the United States and France.

The German Government seeks to strengthen European policies within multilateral bodies, to promote transatlantic relations and shape relations with its neighbours, allies and partners with balance and good judgment. Cooperation based on partnership and a balance of interests are features of German foreign policy.



3.2 INTENDED LEARNING OUTCOMES

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the structures for foreign policy making in Germany
- Analyze the fundamental principles of German Foreign Policy



3.3 MAIN CONTENT

3.3.1 Structures of Foreign Policy Making in Germany

Structural weaknesses of the German central government were deliberately crafted during the years of Allied occupation (1945-49) to preclude the possibility that extremists could once again return to government. The Chancellor, the Cabinet, and the Legislature all contribute to the policy-making process. Moreover, power is divided between the Federal and *Land* governments. Foreign policy is the prerogative of the federal government, but *Länder* are permitted to conclude agreements with foreign countries; such agreements in turn are subject to approval by the Federal government.

Article 65 of the Basic Law stipulates that the Federal Chancellor is responsible for general policy, and the Federal Chancellery (the chancellor's office) serves as the centre for policy review and coordination. The Chancellor's direct executive role is limited, however. Although he or she has wide powers to name political appointees in government, the chancellor does not enjoy complete freedom in making appointments to cabinet posts. Political necessity demands, for instance, the guarantee of a number of cabinet posts to coalition partners. In 1995, for example, important portfolios, such as economics and foreign affairs, were controlled by the FDP, Helmut Kohl's junior coalition partner. The resulting diversity of views at the highest level of government accounts for sustained policy splits and a process in which it is at times difficult to resolve particularly contentious issues.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is the central department for planning and implementing foreign policy. Like the United States, Germany has a corps of professional diplomats. Those wishing to join Germany's Foreign Service may file their application once a year. Successful candidates undergo a two-year training program. About one-third of Germany's diplomats are lawyers.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs shares responsibility for foreign economic policy with the Ministry for Economics and the Ministry of Finance; security policy is coordinated with the Ministry of Defence. Although the executive branch generally takes the initiative in foreign affairs, the Bundestag (the lower house of parliament) and the Bundesrat (the upper house of parliament) are involved in the policy-making process. These bodies ratify foreign treaties and approve most legislation and budgetary provisions. Parliamentary groups in the Bundestag and various committees pertaining to foreign affairs provide organizational structure for the policy-making process.

The conduct of foreign policy continues to belong to the domain of the executive branch of government in Germany. But the highly controversial and emotional debate concerning German participation in peacekeeping and peacemaking missions abroad has meant that the Bundestag will continue to be directly involved in the actual decision-making process.

Over time, the ministries of Foreign Affairs and Defence played a more independent role and took charge of foreign relations and defence policy. As a result, diplomacy shifted from high-level policy-making to standard operating procedures, long-term policy-planning and incremental change in cooperation with international organizations. Bureaucratic planning and

policy-making became a major source of foreign policy continuity. Furthermore, small coalition parties demanded some participation in foreign policymaking and gained control of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Taken together, the diffusion of control processes broke the chancellor's monopoly of diplomatic information and consultation. The Chancellor Democracy was replaced by the party state in which coalition politics determined the guidelines of policymaking. Over time, political parties serving in a coalition government became important players. Moreover, political parties started establishing independent networks of foreign relations and engaged in trans-national relations.

In addition to the diffusion of power from the chancellor's office to coalition parties, the role and influence of legislative bodies changed dramatically, mainly as a response to processes of European integration. As the locus of policymaking shifted from the national to the European level, the role of national parliaments diminished to ratification of treaties the government had negotiated with other European states. Over time, these European treaties dealt increasingly with policy matters usually considered to be domestic issues. National parliaments were not extensively consulted during the negotiation of new treaties, even though their legislative power diminished. They were no longer able to discuss and change the details of policies but could only choose whether or not to ratify the entire package. This loss of control of the lower house of parliament, the *Bundestag*, led to initiatives ranging from the founding of a new committee of European affairs to oversee governmental policies.

The upper house, the Federal Council or *Bundesrat*, was more successful in defending its legislative powers against the encroachment by European integration. In exchange for its support for the Maastricht Treaty, it received information, consultation, and co-determination rights on European policymaking. In addition to this sharing of authority, regional governments may represent the Federal Republic in the European Council of Ministers if an issue concerns their jurisdiction. Also, all regional governments opened independent representations to the European Union in Brussels. The *Bundesrat* reinvented itself to become a powerful veto player in matters of foreign policy particularly European integration.

The *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik e. V.* (DGAP) (German Council on Foreign Relations) is Germany's national foreign policy network. As an independent, private, non-partisan and non-profit organization, the Council actively takes part in political decision-making and promotes the understanding of German foreign policy and international relations. It serves as forum for foreign policy and facilitates a comprehensive network of political, economic and academic decision makers. The institution aims at linking foreign politicians to the German public.

3.3.2 Fundamental Principles of Germany Foreign Policy

Imperial Germany's foreign policy, from Otto von Bismarck's founding of the empire in 1871 until the empire's collapse at the end of World War I, was influenced by the country's exposed geographical situation. Looking abroad, German policy makers were often obsessed with the threat of encirclement (*Einkreisung*) by hostile neighbour states. Thus, after 1871, German foreign policy objectives cantered on two principal tasks: to keep France, Germany's historical rival and enemy, isolated; and to balance the other major powers of the day in order to ensure that no single power would be able to exert pressure or militarily confront the newly united German state.

Indeed, German leaders of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century's were often concerned with their country's vulnerability. They were preoccupied with national frontiers and responded to this preoccupation with a heavy emphasis on military power. Yet the international policy, or *Weltpolitik*, of Bismarck (1862-90) and Kaiser Wilhelm II (r. 1888-1918) differed little from that of other major European powers of the day, such as Britain or France. But Germany would come to fight and lose two world wars in the first half of the twentieth century. And the disastrous consequences of German militarism and the barbaric actions of Nazi Germany, in particular, had a profound impact on the development of West Germany's foreign policy between 1949 and 1989.

At first glance, the situation facing united Germany in the 1990s resembles the situation faced by imperial Germany, insofar as Germany has returned geographically to the heart of the continent. Peaceful relations exist between Germany and bordering states. Like Germany, the country's neighbours are democratic. Relations between Germany and these neighbours are characterized not by confrontation but by economic cooperation and interdependence. In the first years following unification, there was no dispute about continued German membership in NATO. And Germany remains a faithful member of the EU--even as German policy makers have begun to reexamine their country's foreign policy and to search for a new hierarchy of German interests in Europe.

The bedrock of German foreign policy, as steadily created by all the different Federal Governments, has been the country's comprehensive integration into multilateral cooperation. This was fostered after the experience of two world wars by the unequivocal will of the country's neighbours to include and control it, and thus deter the Germans from breaking out or going it alone; and it was also fostered by the Germans' elementary need for peace, security, prosperity and democracy, as well as the recognition that the integration of their country formed the basis for its unification.

Post-World War II Germany has always been reluctant to conduct foreign policy-making by means of a domestic driven definition of "national interest." Instead, it engaged in processes of multilateral negotiations that allowed it to co-determine common solutions. A hierarchy of preferences, national interest, and foreign policy behaviour never existed; rather, it was a horizontal structure of simultaneous processes of interest definition and foreign policy-making

Furthermore, Germany is extremely reluctant to act alone. It always seeks to act as part of an international community such as the United Nations, the European Union, the World Trade Organization, the Organization of Cooperation and Security in Europe, or the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and according to its norms. Also, Germany seeks to build long-term partnerships rather than short-term coalitions. Long-term partnerships are characterized by a certain regularity of communication and a resistance against backlashes. Germany absorbs costs by institutional mechanism of social distribution. Germany also relies more heavily on political and economic tools rather than military tools. As such, it champions long-term peaceful change even when that means sacrificing short-term problem-solving.

Germany has a very broad-based security policy. It takes political, economic, ecological, social and cultural conditions and developments into account. International security cannot primarily

be achieved by military means. Nevertheless, an effective security policy requires the political will and the ability to protect peace and human rights by military means if need be. Crises and conflicts need to be prevented - in co-operation with NATO and EU allies and partners. The transatlantic partnership remains the foundation on which Germany's security is based. A broad-based, co-operative and effective EU security and defence policy strengthens the European area.

German foreign policy is guided by the interests and values of the country. Compliance with international law and respect for human rights form the basis of its foreign policy. Justice is the prerequisite for internal peace the world over. The adoption of the Statute of the International Criminal Court in the Hague represented a quantum leap in the development of international law.

The protection of human rights is a basic condition for peace, democracy and development in the world of tomorrow. Human rights policy is an important element of German peace and security policy. Systematic human rights violations can even pose a threat to peace and international security. Human rights are indivisible. Foreign and development policy will not remain silent where democracies, freedom, the rule of law and minority rights are under threat.

Germany's cultural relations and education policy is part and parcel of foreign policy. It strengthens dialogue between cultures and aims to awaken long-term interest in Germany and Europe abroad. Among other things, Germany's cultural relations and education policy aims to promote the country abroad. Grants for top young researchers all over the world aim to strengthen Germany's position as a location for education and training. German institutions abroad, such as the Goethe Institute, teach German and thus also an understanding for its culture.

German development policy aims to change that and is therefore committed to more justice, equal opportunities and fair trade. Foreign and development policy can only be credible where they simultaneously openly address deficits and promote Germany's interests. Germany has gained trust in this respect over the past decades. German development policy is fighting for a more just world; it is doing all in its power to permanently combat poverty worldwide.

The cornerstones of Germany's foreign policy are and will continue to be European integration and the Atlantic partnership. The two form the foundation of her bilateral and international relations, and most especially of its close friendship and co-operation with France.

3.4 SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

- i. Foreign and development policy can only be credible where they simultaneously openly address deficits and promote Germany's interests. True or false?
- ii. German foreign policy is guided by the interests and values of the country. How do you justify this?



3.5 SUMMARY

This unit has examined the structures of foreign policy making in Germany as well as the fundamental principles of German foreign policy. German foreign policy has been marked by continuity during the last few decades. At the same time it reflects the changing world around us. Today's German foreign policy is geared to three key guiding principles: Strengthening Europe as a model for cooperation and integration, advocating peace and disarmament and seizing the opportunities offered by globalization for the benefit of all. However, the main aim of German foreign policy is still to maintain peace and security in the world. That encompasses issues such as conflict prevention, defence, disarmament and arms control, as well as human rights, ecological, socio cultural and development policy aspects. On account of the new regional and global challenges, Germany is being expected to do more to strengthen peace and security in the world. The cornerstones of Germany's foreign policy will continue to be European integration and the Atlantic partnership. The two form the foundation of her bilateral and international relations, and most especially of Germany's close friendship and co-operation with France.

German unification in 1990 and the end of the Cold War represented monumental shifts in the geopolitical realities that had defined German foreign policy. Germany was once again Europe's largest country, and the Soviet threat, which had served to unite West Germany with its pro-western neighbours and the United States, was no longer. Since the early 1990s, German leaders have been challenged to exercise a foreign policy grounded in a long-standing commitment to multilateralism and an aversion to military force while simultaneously seeking to assume the more proactive global role many argue is necessary to confront emerging security threats. Germany has a very broadbased security policy. It takes political, economic, ecological, social and cultural conditions and developments into account. International security cannot primarily be achieved by military means. Nevertheless, an effective security policy requires the political will and the ability to protect peace and human rights by military means if need be.



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3.7 POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO SAE 3

- i. True
- ii. Compliance with international law and respect for human rights form the basis of its foreign policy. Justice is the prerequisite for internal peace the world over. The adoption of the Statute of the International Criminal Court in the Hague represented a quantum leap in the development of international law.

UNIT 4: GERMANY FOREIGN POLICY IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

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As the most populous country and largest economy in Europe, Germany has always played a central role in European and international politics. Legacies of World War II, the Third Reich and especially the Holocaust heavily influenced Germany's foreign policy during the second half of the twentieth century. The identity of Germany's foreign policy for much of the last decades has been characterized by multilateralism (EU, NATO, UN and other international organizations), diplomacy and civic power strategies within European, transatlantic and global institutional frameworks.

However, geostrategic transformations in the last 15-20 years such as the end of the Cold War, new challenges such as international terrorism, and the shift from the second to the third postwar generation in Germany's political elite have resulted in a markedly new dynamic in German foreign and security policies that could lead to a “normalization” of these policies in the future. Germany has increasingly assumed leadership in international multilateral efforts and is solidifying itself as a major international political player.

Germany's return to the centre of Europe entailed for the country's foreign policy establishment, the beginnings of a subtle recalculation of the country's national interests and a gradual re-examination of its relationship to a number of international bodies. Those bodies included NATO, the EU, the Western European Union; and the UN. In the early post-Cold War years, Germany had assumed a leading role in advocating the expansion of NATO and the EU to include emerging democracies of Central and Eastern Europe

This unit focuses on a major international system change that has had an impact on German politics and self-perception: post World War II Europe, the post Cold War world and German unification, and the twenty-first century and its new challenges.



4.2 INTENDED LEARNING OUTCOMES

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the nature of German foreign policy under Bismarck
- Analyze German's roles in the World Wars
- Evaluate German foreign relations in contemporary politics



MAIN CONTENT

4.3.1 German Foreign Policy under Von Bismarck

Imperial Germany's foreign policy, from Otto von Bismarck's founding of the empire in 1871 until the empire's collapse at the end of World War I, was influenced by the country's exposed geographical situation, Germany's *Mittellage*, as well as by domestic difficulties. Looking abroad, German policy makers were often obsessed with the threat of encirclement (*Einkreisung*) by hostile neighbor states.

Eventual unification of Germany was essentially the result of Prussian expansionism rather than the victory of nationalist sentiment. Prussia's economic growth outstripped Austria's

during the latter half of the 19th Century and Prussia-controlled Germany became one of Europe's industrial powerhouses. Under Chancellor Otto von Bismarck, Prussia defeated Austria (1866) and France (1870) in wars that paved the way for the formation of the German Empire under Emperor Wilhelm I in 1871. Germany became a federal state, with foreign and military policy determined at the national level, but most other policies remained the purview of the states.

Internally, Bismarck waged a struggle against Catholicism, which he viewed as an agent of Austria (ironically, this anti-Catholic move--which eventually failed--actually ended up consolidating a lasting political role for Germany's Catholics), and tried to both co-opt and repress the emerging socialist movement by passing the age's most progressive social insurance and worker protection legislation while clamping down on Socialist activities. Externally, Bismarck then moved to consolidate the stability of the new Empire, launching a string of diplomatic initiatives to form a complex web of alliances with other European powers to ensure that Germany did not become surrounded by hostile powers and avoid Germany's involvement in further wars.

Bismarck's post-1871 foreign policy was conservative and sought to preserve the balance of power in Europe. His biggest concern was France, which was left defeated and resentful after the Franco-Prussian War. As the French lacked the strength to defeat Germany by themselves, they sought an alliance with Russia, which would trap Germany between the two in a war (as would ultimately happen in 1914). Bismarck wanted to prevent this at all costs and maintain friendly relations with the Russians, and thereby formed an alliance with them and Austria-Hungary (which by the 1880s was being slowly reduced to a German satellite), the *Dreikaiserbund* (League of Three Emperors).

During this period, individuals within the German military were advocating a preemptive strike against Russia, but Bismarck knew that such ideas were foolhardy. Meanwhile, the chancellor remained wary of any foreign policy developments that looked even remotely warlike. In 1886, he moved to stop an attempted sale of horses to France on the grounds that they might be used for cavalry and also ordered an investigation into large Russian purchases of medicine from a German chemical works. Bismarck stubbornly refused to listen to Georg Herbert zu Munster (ambassador to France), who reported back that the French were not seeking a revanchist war, and in fact were desperate for peace at all costs.

Bismarck secured a number of German colonial possessions during the 1880s in Africa and the Pacific, but he never saw much value in an overseas colonial empire; Germany's colonies remained badly undeveloped. However they excited the interest of the religious-minded, who supported an extensive network of missionaries.

Germans had dreamed of colonial imperialism since 1848. Bismarck began the process, and by 1884 had acquired German New Guinea. By the 1890s, German colonial expansion in Asia and the Pacific (Kiauchau in China, the Marianas, the Caroline Islands, Samoa) led to frictions with Britain, Russia, Japan and the U.S. The largest colonial enterprises were in Africa, where the harsh treatment of the Nama and Herero in what is now Namibia in 1906-07 led to charges of genocide against the Germans.

4.3.2 GERMANY IN WORLD WAR I

Under the reign of William II, Germany's foreign policy transitioned to a more aggressive state, while maintaining the goals enacted by Otto Van Bismarck. German foreign policy from 1890-1913 became a problem for Germany because of its increased threat and involvement in conflicts. These decisions led to a hatred and fear of Germany that Bismarck had fought to prevent during his time.

The first major political move for Wilhelm II was his decision to force Bismarck to resign in 1890; the Chancellor was 79 years old at this time, while Wilhelm II was only 29. Their political ideologies were in direct conflict, Bismarck's conservatism contrasting with 'the brashly self-assertive young Kaiser'. Wilhelm II was convinced of his divine right to rule, and was not prepared to play a passive role alongside Bismarck as his grandfather Wilhelm I had done. Once rid of Bismarck, Wilhelm II was able to implement the policies that he personally desired, including naval armament and a colonial empire for Germany. Both these policies, while uplifting German national pride, were in direct conflict with the interests of Germany's European neighbours and undermined the precarious alliance system that Bismarck had created during the 1870s and 1880s in order to isolate France and ensure German security.

While both Bismarck and William II ruled Germany, both tried to keep the Nightmare Coalition from forming, but the two regimes attempted to prevent this in different manners. Under Bismarck, Germany tried to prevent the Nightmare Coalition of France, England, and Russia by turning nearly all the countries in Europe against France by making Napoleon III

look like the aggressor in the Austro-Prussian War. However, under William II this policy changed to a more aggressive manner of separating the Nightmare Coalition. To do this William II tried to break up the Entente Cordial by intervening in the Crisis in Morocco. William II, to test this new policy of peace, went to Morocco the year after the Entente Cordial proclaiming the French governed

people of Morocco should be free. This instigated a feeling throughout Europe of fear in the new German choice of intervention in matters unrelated to them. Instead of breaking up the Entente Cordial the agreement tightened and even brought in Russia as a means of protection. Therefore, the foreign policy of William II attempted to prevent the Nightmare Coalition, but in doing so brought the other powers of Europe together.

William II decided to make Germany into the world's greatest power. William II decided Germany needed to build a navy as large as the one controlled by his family in England. Germany declared their reasons for this new navy as being needed for protection of their colonies, securing foreign trade, and the "general purpose of their greatness. In actuality the colonies were to be used to allow this huge navy to be refuelled around the world. This navy was viewed as a threat to the other countries of the world, especially England. With a powerful Germany on both land and sea, who would be strong enough to oppose them? This fear added to the hatred for the aggressive threat of Germany.

The direction of German policy during the July crisis in 1914, following the assassination of the Austrian archduke Franz Ferdinand undoubtedly escalated the crisis, by providing Austria-Hungary with a 'blank cheque'. Moreover, ensuring that any attempts at mediation would

prove fruitless does present a strong argument that Germany viewed a war as desirable. Wilhelm II stated publicly that it was 'now or never for Austria to deal the Serbs', which led to Austria-Hungary being pressured into declaring war on Russia on August 6, thus escalating a localised conflict between Austria-Hungary and Serbia into a European war.

Germany began the war by targeting its major rival, France. Germany saw France as its principal danger on the European continent as it could mobilize much faster than Russia and bordered Germany's industrial core in the Rhineland. Unlike Britain and Russia, the French were principally involved in the war for revenge against Germany, in particular, for France's loss of Alsace-Lorraine to Germany in 1871. The German high command knew that France would muster its forces to go into Alsace-Lorraine.

Despite initial successes, Germany's strategy failed, and its troops became tied down in trench warfare in France. For the next four years, there would be little progress in the west, where advances were usually measured in meters rather than in kilometers. Under the command of Paul von Hindenburg and Erich Ludendorff, the army scored a number of significant victories against Russia. But it was only in early 1918 that Russia was defeated. Even after this victory in the east, however, Germany remained mired in a long war for which it had not prepared.

After the Bolshevik Revolution of November 1917, Russia and Germany began peace negotiations. In March 1918, the two countries signed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. The defeat of Russia enabled Germany to transfer troops from the eastern to the western front.

Two large offensives in the west were met by an Allied counter-offensive that began in July. German troops were pressed back, and it became evident to many officers that Germany could not win the war.

The end of October 1918, in Kiel, in northern Germany, saw the beginning of the German Revolution of 1918–19. Units of the German Navy refused to set sail for a last, large-scale operation in a war which they saw as good as lost, initiating the uprising. On 3 November, the revolt spread to other cities and states of the country, in many of which workers' and soldiers' councils were established. Meanwhile, Hindenburg and the senior generals lost confidence in the Kaiser and his government.

In November 1918, with internal revolution, a stalemated war, Austria Hungary falling apart from multiple ethnic tensions, and pressure from the German high command, the Kaiser and all German ruling princes abdicated. On 9 November, the Social Democrat Philipp Scheidemann proclaimed a Republic. The new government led by the German Social Democrats called for and received an armistice on 11 November.

4.3.3 Germany in World War II

The post-war Weimar Republic (1919-33) was established as a broadly democratic state, but the government was severely handicapped and eventually doomed by economic problems and the rise of the political extremes. The dozens of political parties represented in the federal parliament never allowed stable government¹⁷⁰ formation, creating political chaos. The hyperinflation of 1923, the world depression that began in 1929, and the social unrest stemming from resentment toward the conditions of the Versailles Treaty worked to destroy the Weimar Republic.

The National Socialist (Nazi) Party, led by Adolf Hitler, stressed nationalist and racist themes while promising to put the unemployed back to work. The party blamed many of Germany's ills on the alleged influence of Jewish and non-German ethnic groups. The party also gained support in response to fears of growing communist strength. In the 1932 elections, the Nazis won a third of the vote. In a fragmented party structure, this gave the Nazis a powerful parliamentary caucus, and Hitler was asked to form a government. He quickly declined. The Republic eroded and Hitler had himself nominated as Reich Chancellor in January 1933. After President Paul von Hindenburg died in 1934, Hitler assumed that office as well.

Once in power, Hitler and his party first undermined and then abolished democratic institutions and opposition parties. The Nazi leadership immediately jailed many Jewish citizens and opposition figures and withdrew their political rights. Hitler's Nuremberg Laws subsequently deprived all of Germany's Jews of their political rights and also of their economic assets and professional licenses, foreshadowing the systematic plundering of Jewish assets throughout Nazi-occupied territory. The Nazis implemented a program of genocide, at first through incarceration and forced labour and then by establishing death camps. In a catastrophe generally known as the Holocaust, roughly six million European Jews from Germany and Nazi-occupied countries were murdered in these death camps and in the killing fields set up behind military lines on the Eastern Front.

Adolf Hitler wanted more land, especially in the east, to expand Germany according to the Nazi policy of lebensraum. Hitler used the harsh limitations that were set against Germany in the Versailles Treaty as a pretext for Germany's right to acquire land where German-speaking people lived. Germany successfully used this reasoning to envelop two entire countries without starting a war.

On March 13, 1938, Germany took over Austria (termed the Anschluss) - a contingency specifically disallowed in the Versailles Treaty. At the Munich Conference on September 28-29, 1938, the French and the British handed Germany a large portion of Czechoslovakia. Hitler then took the rest of Czechoslovakia by March 1939.

Many people have wondered why Germany was allowed to take over both Austria and Czechoslovakia without a fight. The simple reason is that Great Britain and France did not want to repeat the bloodshed of World War I. They believed, wrongly as it turned out, they could avoid another world war by appeasing Hitler with a few concessions (such as Austria and Czechoslovakia). At this time, Great Britain and France did not understand that Hitler's goal of land acquisition was much, much larger than any one country. In March 1939, Germany invaded Czechoslovakia. In August 1939, Germany and the USSR signed a secret non-aggression pact dividing up Poland. On September 1, Germany invaded Poland. On September 3, 1939, Britain, France, Australia and New Zealand declared war on Germany. World War II had begun.

From late 1939 to early 1941, in a series of campaigns and treaties, Germany conquered or subdued much of continental Europe; amid Nazi-Soviet agreements, the nominally neutral

Soviet Union fully or partially occupied and annexed territories of its six European neighbours. Britain and the Commonwealth remained the only major force continuing the fight against the Axis in North Africa and in extensive naval warfare. In June 1941, the European Axis launched an invasion of the Soviet Union, giving a start to the largest land theatre of war in history, which, from this moment on, was tying down the major part of the Axis military power. In December 1941, Japan, which had been at war with China since 1937 and aimed to dominate Asia, attacked the United States and European possessions in the Pacific Ocean, quickly conquering much of the region.

The Axis advance was stopped in 1942 after the defeat of Japan in a series of naval battles and after defeats of European Axis troops in North Africa and, decisively, at Stalingrad. In 1943, with a series of German defeats in Eastern Europe, the Allied invasion of Fascist Italy, and American victories in the Pacific, the Axis lost the initiative and undertook strategic retreat on all fronts. In 1944, the Western Allies invaded France, while the Soviet Union regained all territorial losses and invaded Germany and its allies.

The war in Europe ended with the capture of Berlin by Soviet and Polish troops and the subsequent German unconditional surrender on 8 May 1945. The Japanese Navy was defeated by the United States, and invasion of the Japanese Archipelago ("Home Islands") became imminent. The war in Asia ended on 15 August 1945 when Japan agreed to surrender.

The war ended with the total victory of the Allies over Germany and Japan in 1945. World War II altered the political alignment and social structure of the world. The United Nations (UN) was established to foster international cooperation and prevent future conflicts. The Soviet Union and the United States emerged as rival superpowers, setting the stage for the Cold War, which lasted for the next 46 years. Meanwhile, the influence of European great powers started to decline, while the decolonisation of Asia and Africa began. Most countries whose industries had been damaged moved towards economic recovery. Political integration, especially in Europe, emerged as an effort to stabilise post-war relations.

4.3.4 Germany in Contemporary Politics

Legacies of World War II, the Third Reich and especially the Holocaust heavily influenced Germany's foreign policy during the second half of the twentieth century. The identity of Germany's foreign policy for much of the last decades has been characterized by multilateralism (EU, NATO, UN and other international organizations), diplomacy and civic power strategies within European, transatlantic and global institutional frameworks. However, geostrategic transformation such as the end of the Cold War, new challenges such as international terrorism, and the shift from the second to the third post-war generation in Germany's political elite have resulted in a markedly new dynamic in German foreign and security policies that could lead to a "normalization" of these policies in the future. Germany has increasingly assumed leadership in international multilateral efforts and is solidifying itself as a major international political player.

The major goal of German foreign policy after World War II was the successful integration into (Western) international institutions in order to facilitate a normalization of its international

affairs. However, this goal couldn't be pursued too zealously due to the break-up of Germany into Eastern and Western halves in 1949.

German unification in 1990 and the end of the Cold War represented monumental shifts in the geopolitical realities that had defined German foreign policy. Germany was once again Europe's largest country, and the Soviet threat, which had served to unite West Germany with its pro-western neighbours and the United States, was no longer. Since the early 1990s, German leaders have been challenged to exercise a foreign policy grounded in a long-standing commitment to multi-lateralism and an aversion to military force while simultaneously seeking to assume the more proactive global role many argue is necessary to confront emerging security threats.

Now as the most populous country and largest economy in Europe, Germany has an important role in European and world politics; it is already a dominant player in the region and is expanding its role internationally. Germany has slowly been asserting itself more and more on the world stage, both bilaterally and through its NATO and UN missions. Until 1994, Germany was constitutionally barred from deploying its armed forces abroad. Today, approximately 7,400 German troops are deployed in peacekeeping, stabilization, and reconstruction missions worldwide.

Since the end of the Cold War, Germany's relations with the United States have been shaped by several key factors. These include Germany's growing support for a stronger, more capable European Union, and its continued allegiance to NATO as the primary guarantor of European security; Germany's ability and willingness to undertake the defence reforms many argue are necessary for it to meet its commitments within NATO and a burgeoning European Security and Defence Policy.

The EU and NATO are the focal points of German foreign and security policy.

Since unification, Germany has asserted itself as a driving force behind the EU's enlargement eastward, deeper European integration, increased European foreign policy coordination, and the development of a European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP). As Germany's role within the European Union evolves, its foreign policy is marked by a desire to balance its support for a stronger, more capable Europe, with a traditional allegiance to NATO as the foundation for European security.

Since joining the United Nations as a full member in 1973, Germany has supported its development as a cornerstone of a German foreign policy grounded in a commitment to international legitimacy. Today, Germany contributes just nine percent of the regular U.N. budget, making it the third largest financial contributor to the U.N. after the United States and Japan. For Germany, the U.N. offers a vital framework to determine and implement international law, and a necessary mechanism through which to sanction international peacekeeping and peacemaking efforts, and efforts to reduce world hunger and poverty, and increase sustainable development

4.4 SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

Attempt the following exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than five minutes.

- i. The _____ and _____ are the focal points of German foreign and security policy.
- ii. Political integration, especially in Europe, emerged as an effort to stabilize _____



4.5 SUMMARY

Perhaps the most profound change in German foreign and security policy since the end of the Cold War is Germany's deployment of troops outside NATO territory for the first time since World War II. Since a 1994 Constitutional Court ruling enabled German leaders to deploy troops abroad, Germany has participated in a number of U.N. and NATO-sanctioned combat, peacekeeping, reconstruction and stabilization missions. Today, Germany's global threat

assessments mirror those of many of its EU and NATO partners, including the United States. The government identifies terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD), regional conflicts and failed states, transnational crime, energy security, migration, and epidemics and pandemics as the primary security threats facing Germany and its EU and NATO allies. However, Germany's approach to countering these threats has at times been perceived to be at odds with U.S. policy. Germany highlights the importance of a multilateral approach within the confines of a strengthened system of international law.

In general, it can be said that multilateralism is still the first option in Germany's foreign policy conduct in contemporary order. Over the decades, Germany has perfected the art of negotiation and multilateral bargaining and, at the same time, carrying out national gains. In terms of allegiance however, it can be observed that Germany has become less dependent on the United States, but has instead, chosen the European Union as its major focus of attention; this is valid for its economy, and increasingly for security affairs. Multilateralism has almost become synonymous with bargaining and policy making in the E.U. It has been particularly at the insistence of Germany that majority voting in the decision making institutions of the E.U. has gained greater prominence, especially after the Maastricht and Amsterdam Treaties. Thus, Germany has ensured itself that it will not be able to dominate, institutional wise, smaller member-states within the E.U.

Germany was one of the first nations to recognize Croatia and Slovenia as independent nations, rejecting the concept of Yugoslavia as the only legitimate political order in the Balkans (unlike other European powers, who first proposed a pro-Belgrade policy). German troops participate in the multinational efforts to bring peace and stability to the Balkans. Germany continues to be active economically in the states of central and eastern Europe, and to actively support the

development of democratic institutions. In the 2000s, Germany has been arguably the centerpiece of the European Union (though the importance of France cannot be overlooked in this connection).



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4.7 POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO SAEs

- i. EU and NATO
- ii. Post-war relations.

