COURSE GUIDE

POL 854 FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS AND NIGERIA'S EXTERNAL RELATIONS

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Introduction

POL854: Foreign policy analysis and Nigeria's external relations is a three-credit unit course for Masters students of Political Science programme. The course provides an opportunity for you to understand the processes, structures and actors involved in foreign policy making, approaches to foreign policy analysis, foreign policy, as well as Nigeria's external relations. At the end of this course, you should be able to understand and explain the determinants of foreign policy, instruments for conducting foreign policy and the linkage between foreign policy and national interest. You would also have a better understanding of the process of foreign policy making, actors of foreign policy, models of foreign policy decision making and the general constraints on foreign policy making. Also, you would have had a good grasp of the nature of analysis, theoretical approaches to foreign policy analysis and problems of foreign policy analysis, The course will enable you to understand the fundamental issues in Nigeria's external relations with emphasis on the nature and principles of Nigeria's foreign policy, Nigeria's African policy, as well as the specific actors involved in Nigeria's foreign policy making and implementation. Furthermore, this course guide provides you with necessary information about the materials you will need to be a proper understanding of the subject matter. It is designed to help you get the best of the course by enabling you to think productively about the principles underlining the issues you study and the projects you execute during your study.. It also provides some guidance on the way to approach your Tutor-Marked Assignment (TMA). You will receive on-the-spot guidance from your tutorial classes, which you are advised to approach with all seriousness. Overall, this module will help you to understand foreign policy analysis and Nigeria's external relations as a sub-field of International Relations, which is one of the latter additions to the broader discipline of Political Science. The course equips you to think more concretely about the factors that foster the decisions and interactions between or among global actors and the role of both the internal and external environments in shaping those decisions. The study is structured into four modules. Each module is structured into four units. A unit guide comprises instructional material. It gives you a brief of the course content, course guidelines and suggestions and steps to take while studying. You can also find self-assessment exercises for your study.

Course Description

The course examines the major theories of foreign policy. It explains the processes of foreign policy making and implementation, policy interests, actors and operations within the international system. The course also discusses foreign policy decision-making and evaluation. It also

evaluates the difficulties associated with the ideological approach, as well as principles of foreign policy, nationalism and national interest. In addition, determinants of foreign policy with emphasis on geography, history, domestic structures, national interest and national security are highlighted and discussed. The course equally treats tends, patterns and orientations of Nigeria's foreign policy since independence. In particular, the course deepens understanding of Africa as the centrepiece of Nigeria's foreign policy, and other aspects such as Nigeria's foreign policy towards the great powers, globalization, and non-alignment. At the end of this course, you will be able to understand the intricate relations between domestic and external factors and the dynamics of state and non-state actors' behaviours in the international system.

Course Aims And Objectives

The main aim of this course is to provide postgraduate students of Political Science who are specializing in International Relations with an in-dept knowledge of contents, dynamics and forces that shape the external relations of state and non-state actors. However, the specific objectives of the course include enabling you to:

- Understand foreign policy;
- Outline and discuss foreign policy making, including actors and constraints to foreign policy making;
- Discuss the nature and approaches to foreign policy analysis
- Explain the fundamental issues and the conduct of Nigeria's external relations

Meanwhile, the learning outcomes can be found at the beginning of each unit, and you can refer to them while studying. It is necessary and helpful to check at the end of the unit if your progress is consistent with the learning outcomes and if you can conveniently answer the self–assessment exercises.

Working Through The Course

It is advised that you carefully and thoroughly work through the course, studying each unit diligently to understand the contents and approaches to foreign analysis. This will enable you to apply the knowledge to explain the behaviour and the changing character of states and other international actors. Understanding the actors involved in foreign policy, their primary interest, and the totality of internal and external environment within which they exist and operate would also be very helpful for you to have a good grasp of the course. Note your questions and ask them regularly at the tutorial classes. It is recommended that students also engage and interrogate new ideas generated by unending

interactions between and among states and other non-state actors around the world. At the end of the course, you will be expected to write a final examination.

The Course Material

In this course, the major components you will find are as follows:

- 1. Course Guide
- 2. Study Units
- 3. Textbooks
- 4. Assignments

Study Units

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

Module 1	Understanding Foreign Policy
Unit 1	The Nature of Foreign Policy
Unit 2	Determinants of foreign policy
Unit 3	Instruments for Conducting Foreign Policy
Unit 4	Foreign Policy and National Interest
Module 2	An Overview of Foreign Policy Making
Unit 1	Process of Foreign Policy Decision Making
Unit 2	Actors of Foreign Policy
Unit 3	Models of Foreign Policy Decision Making
Unit 4	Constraints on Foreign Policy Making
Module 3	Nature and Approaches to Foreign Policy Analysis
Unit 1	The Nature of Foreign Policy Analysis
Unit 2	Levels of Analysis
Unit 3	Theoretical Approaches to Foreign Policy Analysis
Unit 4	Problems of Foreign Policy Analysis
Module 4	Fundamental Issues in Nigeria's External Relations
Unit 1	Nature of Nigeria's Foreign Policy
Unit 2	Principles of Nigeria's Foreign Policy
Unit 3	Nigeria's Africa Policy
Unit 4	Actors in Nigeria's Foreign Policy Making and
CIII I	Implementation
	implementation

Module 5 Nigeria's Multi-Lateral Global Relations

Unit 1	Nigeria Relations with Great Powers
Unit 2	Nigeria's Role in International Organizations
Unit 3	Nigeria and Non-alignment
Unit 4	Globalization and Nigerian foreign policy

As you can observe, the course begins with the basics and expands into a more elaborate, complex and detailed form. All you need to do is to follow the instructions as provided in each unit. In addition, some self-assessment exercises have been provided with which you can test your progress with the text and determine if your study is fulfilling the stated objectives. Self-Assessment Exercises have also been provided to aid your study. All these will assist you to fully comprehend foreign policy analysis and Nigeria's external relations.

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 efforts have been made to provide you with the most important information you need to know in this course. However, I would encourage you, as a postgraduate student to cultivate the habit of consulting as many relevant materials as you are able to. In particular, be sure to consult whatever materials 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 with ease. 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 with your form to your tutor for formal assessment on or before the deadline.

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	Four assignments, each mark out of
the assignments submitted for	10%, but highest scoring three
marking)	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	Assignment
		Activity	(End-of-
			Unit)
Course	Foreign Policy Analysis and		
Guide	Nigeria's External Relations		
Module 1	Understanding Foreign Policy		
Unit 1	The Nature of Foreign Policy	Week 1	Assignment 1
Unit 2	Determinants of foreign policy	Week 2	Assignment 1
Unit 3	Instruments for Conducting foreign policy	Week 3	Assignment
Unit 4	Foreign Policy and National	Week 4	Assignment
Omt 4	Interest	WCCK 4	1
Module 2	An Overview of Foreign Policy I	Making	
Unit 1	Process of Foreign Policy	Week 5	Assignment
	Decision Making		1
Unit 2	Actors of Foreign Policy	Week 5	Assignment
			1

Unit 3	Models of Foreign Policy Decision Making	Week 7	Assignment 1
Unit 4	Constraints on Foreign Policy Making	Week 8	Assignment 1
Module 3	Nature and Approaches to Fore	ign Policy A	nalysis
Unit 1	The Nature of Foreign Policy Analysis		Assignment 1
Unit 2	Levels of Analysis	Week 10	Assignment 1
Unit 3	Theoretical Approaches to Foreign Policy Analysis	Week 11	Assignment 1
Unit 4	Problems of Foreign Policy Analysis	Week 12	Assignment 1
Module 4	Fundamental Issues in Nigeria's	External D	alations
Unit 1	Fundamental Issues in Nigeria's Nature and Principles of	Week 13	Assignment
	Nigeria's foreign policy		1
Unit 2	An Overview of Nigeria's Foreign Policy	Week 14	Assignment 1
Unit 3	Nigeria's African Policy	Week 15	Assignment 1
Unit 4	Actors in Nigeria's foreign policy making and Implementation	Week 16	Assignment 1
Module 5	Nigeria's Multi-Lateral Global l	 Relations	
Unit 1	Nigeria Relations with Great Powers		Assignment 1
Unit 2	Nigeria's Role in International Organizations	Week 18	Assignment 1
Unit 3	Nigeria and Non-Alignment	Week 19	Assignment 1
Unit 4	Globalization and Nigerian foreign policy	Week 20	Assignment 1

What You Will Need for The Course

This course builds on what you have learnt in your undergraduate programmes. It will be helpful if you try to review your undergraduate notes. Second, you may need to purchase recommended texts to aid your understanding of the course content. You need quality time in a study-friendly environment every week. If you are computer—literate (which ideally you should be), you should be prepared to visit

recommended websites. You should also cultivate the habit of visiting reputable physical libraries accessible to you.

Tutors And Tutorials

There are 15 hours of tutorials provided in support of the course. You will be notified of the dates and location of these tutorials, together with the name and phone number of your tutor as soon as you are allocated a tutorial group. Your tutor will mark and comment on your assignments and keep a close watch on your progress. Be sure to send in your tutor marked assignments promptly, and feel free to contact your tutor in case of any difficulty with your self–assessment exercise, tutor–marked assignment or the grading of an assignment. In any case, you are advised to attend the tutorials regularly and punctually. Always take a list of such prepared questions to the tutorials and participate actively in the discussions.

Tutor–Marked Assignments (TMAS)

Usually, there are four online tutor—marked assignments in this course. Each assignment will be marked over ten percent. 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 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 **POL 854: Foreign Policy Analysis and Nigeria's External Relations** will be of two hours duration and have a value of 70% of the total course grade. The examination will consist of six essay questions out of which you will be required to answer four. The questions 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 Most from This Course

1. There are 20 units in this course. You are to spend one week on 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 with 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, then put a call through 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 you necessary assistance.
- 5. Read this course guide thoroughly. It is your first assignment.
- 6. Organise 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.
- 7. Important information; e.g., details of your tutorials and the date of the first day of the semester is available at the study centre.
- 8. 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.
- 9. Once you have created your own study schedule, do everything to stay faithful to it.
- 10. 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.
- 11. Turn to Unit 1, and read the introduction and the objectives for the unit.
- 12. Assemble the study materials. You will need your references for the unit you are studying at any point in time.

13. As you work through the unit, you will know what sources to consult for further information.

- 14. Visit your study centre whenever you need up-to-date information.
- 15. 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.
- 16. 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.
- 17. 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 interactions and relations between and among states and non-state actors, and get familiar with events across the globe. You will also get to know the theoretical approaches to foreign policy analysis and be able to apply the knowledge to comprehend the internal and external forces that drive and shape the behaviour of actors at the international arena and how the totality of environmental factors and the structure of international system foster and shape relations between and among foreign policy actors across time and space.

Summary

This Course Guide has been designed to furnish you with the information you need for a fruitful experience in the course. In the final analysis, how much you get from it depends on how much you put into it in terms of learning time, effort and planning.

I wish you all the best in POL 854 and in the entire programme!

- Provide an overview of the nature, determinants and instruments for conducting foreign policy;
- Identify and discuss the actors, models and constraints on foreign

- policy making;
- Discuss the nature and theoretical approaches to foreign policy analysis;
- Highlight and explain the pertinent issues in Nigeria's external relations; and
- Identify and discuss Nigeria's roles and challenges in bi-lateral and multi-lateral global relations

List Of Acronyms

AGOAAfrican Growth and Opportunity Act
ANCAfrican National Congress
AUAfrican Union
ECOWASEconomic Community of West African States
ECOMOGECOWAS Monitoring Group
FEC Federal Executive Council
GWOTGlobal War on Terrorism
IAEAInternational Atomic Energy Agency
ICPOInternational Criminal Police Organization
IMFInternational Monetary Fund
IOCInternational Olympics Committee
MCIAMinistry of Cooperation and Integration in Africa
MFAMinistry of Foreign Affairs
MPLAMovement for the Liberation of Angola
MNCsMultinational Corporations
NAFDACNational Administration of Food and Drugs Control
NACFPNational Advisory Committee on Foreign Affairs or
Policy
NACAPNational Committee Against Apartheid
NDLEANational Drug Law Enforcement Agency
FNLA National Front for the Liberation of Angola
NIPSSNational Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies
NASRDANational Space Research and Development Agency
UNITANational Union for the Total Independence of Angola
NIEONew International Economic Order
NEPADNew Partnership for African Development
NIIANigeria Institute of International Affairs
NNRA Nigerian Nuclear Regulatory Authority
NGOs Non-Governmental Organizations
NATO North Atlantic Organization
OAU Organization of African Unity
PAC Pan African Congress
RAMRational Actor Model
RSAC Russian State Atomic Corporation
SWAPO South West African Peoples' Organization
SAP Structural Adjustment Programme
TACTechnical Aid Corps
TSCTITrans-Saharan Counterterrorism Initiative
UNO United Nations Organization
UNSCUnited Nations Security Council
WEFWorld Economic Forum
WTO World Trade Organization

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Module 1 Understanding Foreign Policy

Unit 1	The Nature of Foreign Policy
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Unit 3	Instruments for Conducting foreign policy
Unit 4	Foreign Policy and National Interest

Unit 1 The Nature of Foreign Policy

Unit Structure

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Learning Outcomes
- 1.3 Meaning of Foreign Policy
- 1.4 Objectives of Foreign Policy
 - 1.4.1 Core Objectives
 - 1.4.2 Middle-Range Objectives
 - 1.4.3 Long-Range Objectives
- 1.5 Summary
- 1.6 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 1.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

1.1 Introduction

In international arena, sovereign states seek the attainment of distinct objectives in the process of governing their entities. Some of these objectives - political, social, economic, and numerous others - they can attain on their own, while others they can only attain in active cooperation with other states and international actors. All the decisions, actions and inactions of states involving the cooperation and/or support of entities that exist outside their borders fall within the scope of foreign policy. The actions of a state in the international arena are collection of individual choices emanating from its citizenry, its political leaders, its diplomats and bureaucrats. These choices are aggregated through the internal structures of the state. Therefore, in this unit our discussion focuses on the meaning and objectives of foreign policy.

1.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- explain the meaning of foreign policy
- outline the basic features of foreign policy
- discuss the classification of foreign policy objectives.

1.3 Meaning of Foreign Policy

Scholars have defined the term foreign policy in various ways. These scholars all agree that the concept is concerned with behaviour of a state towards other state and other actors. Jones (1970), for instance, defined foreign policy as a set of practical measures, sometimes coherent, but often by no means instinctually consistent, utilized to meet practical problems that arise as states interact with one another. Hermann (cited in Bojang, 2018) defined foreign policy as "the discrete purposeful action that results from the political level decision of an individual or group of individuals. In the same vein, Modelski (1962) defined it as "the system of activities evolved by communities for changing the behaviour of other states and for adjusting their own activities to the international environment. Foreign policy must throw light on the ways states attempt to change and succeed in changing the behaviour of other states." Modelski's definition highlights, as the primary objectives of foreign policy, those aspects of policy that are primarily concerned with changing the existing behaviour of states. However, in addition to changing state behaviour, foreign policy is also projected to sustain the status quo, that is, to continue state behaviour at different times, provided that national interest is not undermined (Laura, 2008). Thus, both Jones, Hermann and Modelski see foreign policy as the behaviour of states towards external actors. States interact with each other on the one hand, and with other nonstate actors on the other through their foreign policies. Therefore, in international politics, foreign policies are like a charter containing national interests showing the areas of agreement and disagreement. It explains the ideas with which the state would exert its influence in a very effective way. Foreign policy of a state is bilaterally and multilaterally formulated primarily to safeguard and promote its national interests. It is a direct reflection of a country's traditional values and overall national policies, her aspirations and self-perception (Ahmed, 2020).

In the same vein, foreign policy comprises of decisions, actions and inactions as evident in state interaction with external actors. As aptly captured by Frankel (1975), foreign policy involves decisions and actions, which includes to some appreciable extent relations between one state and others. In another major work, Frankel (1963) sees foreign policy as a "dynamic process of interaction between the changing domestic demands and support and the changing external circumstances. By this, foreign policy involves set of actions or inactions that are made within state's borders, intended towards forces existing outside the country's borders. It comprises the formulation and implementation of a set of ideas that govern the behaviour of states while interacting with state and non-state actors to defend and enhance their national interests. Through it, every state decides what course it will pursue in world affairs within the limits of its strength and the realities of the external environment. Foreign

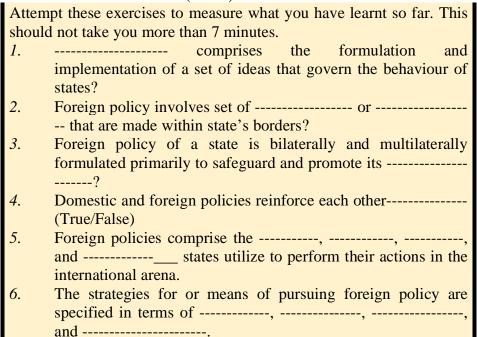
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policy, therefore, confers a sense of direction to a state. It provides adequate instruments for the convenient journey towards this direction. It creates a sense of purpose as well as a confidence to achieve that purpose. In that context, it acts as an indispensable equipment of every state in world affairs (Bojang, 2018).

Foreign policy of a nation is not static but dynamic based on present realities. Therefore, continuity in foreign policy is not a matter of choice but a necessity. Foreign policies thus comprise the strategies, methods, guidelines and agreements states utilize to perform their actions in the international arena. A pragmatic view of foreign policy, as advanced by Asobie (1980: 60), which may be said to be reflected more in the behaviour of the more developed states than of the less developed nations, holds that foreign policy consists of "coherent and for the most part, fairly rational goals formulated in the light of realistically assessed means for their achievement." Such goals or ends are usually represented by the generic term 'national interests', and the strategies for or means of pursuing them are specified in terms of threats, punishments, promises, and rewards the use of which enables the state to exercise power and influence in the international system. In this sense, foreign policy defines the goals of national interest and seeks to achieve these through the exercise of national power. It is through the foreign policy that a nation tries to fulfil its national goals in the international arena. In a nutshell, foreign policy is the framework used by the government of a state in fostering and advancing its national interests.

Policy is a definite course or method of action selected from among alternatives and in the light of given conditions to guide and usually determine present and future decisions (Okolie, 2015). It is a decision of a long-term perspectives, as well as a conscious choice between or among alternatives which guide organizational behaviour. As the biggest organization, states, through its relevant organs/apparatuses, make domestic and foreign policies. Domestic and foreign policies reinforce each other. Through foreign policy, domestic issues are project to the international arena and related to dominant global principles, practices and expectations, taking into cognisance competing domestic choices, demands and constraints. In sum, foreign policies imply decisions of long-term perspectives that guide the government of a state in its external relations, and which is reflected in the consistent behavioural action of that government towards external environment.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 1



1.4 Objectives of Foreign Policy

The objectives of any state determines the direction of its foreign policies. Such objectives may vary greatly but all states seek to preserve themselves, maintain their independence, and security. Thus, foreign policy is defined as a synthesis of ends and means. The end is the national interest of a state and the means are the power and capabilities of a state. The objectives of foreign policy are generally classified into three, namely core objectives, middle-range objectives, and long-range objectives.

1.4.1 Core Objectives

Core objectives refer to the central values and interests pursued by a state. They must be preserved or extended at all times. Usually, they are stated in the form of basic "principles" of foreign policy and must be accepted without question. For example, the core objectives of Nigeria's foreign policy, according to section 19 of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, include:

- a) Promotion and protection of national interest;
- b) Promotion of African integration and support for African unity;
- c) Promotion of International cooperation for the consolidation of universal peace and mutual respect among all nations and elimination of discrimination in all its manifestations;
- d) Respect for international law and treaty obligations as well as the seeking of settlement of international disputes by negotiation, mediation, conciliation, arbitration and adjudication;

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e) And promotion of just world economic order

Core objectives are related to self-preservation and territorial integrity of nation states. Thus, states deal with threats and potential threats to their core objectives.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

- 1. The objectives of foreign policy are generally classified into three-----(True/False)
- 2. Middle-range objectives refer to the central values and interests pursued by a state -----(True/False)
- 3. Core objectives are stated in the form of basic "principles" of foreign policy and must be accepted without question ------(True/False)
- 4. Promotion and protection of national interest is one of the core objectives of Nigeria's foreign policy ----- (True/False)
- 5. States deal with threats and potential threats to their long-range objectives -----(True/False)
- 6. Core objectives are related to self-preservation and territorial integrity of nation states ----- (True/False)

1.4.2 Middle-Range Objectives

Middle-range objectives are pursued by states through active interaction with state and non-state actors. They cannot be pursued through self-help alone. Examples of these include: trade, foreign aid, communication, among others. They equally include ideological expansion through the propagation of ideas, systems, cultures and values (Ahmed, 2020). Middle-range objectives also include a state's desire to increase its international prestige through a number of policies and actions. This could be done through different forms of self-extension or imperialism; diplomatic ceremonies and display of military capabilities; and acquisition of scientific and technological skills. Instances of political actions driven by the goal of increasing prestige or achieving selfextension abound. For example, European imperialism in Africa between 1870 and 1900 was a mixture of political, economic and ideological purposes. More recently, Stalin's Russia, Mussolini's Italy, and Communist China have served as good examples of states practising regional self-extension for economic and other strategic purposes. Italian expansion into Ethiopia and Albania between 1936 and 1941 was undertaken primarily for reasons of prestige (Morse, 1973). Middle range objectives are not as urgent as the core objectives (Mbah and Ojukwu, 2019).

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 3

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 4 minutes.

- 1. Middle range objectives are not as urgent as the core objectives-----(True/False)
- 2. Middle range objectives cannot be pursued through self-help alone -----(True/False)
- 3. Middle range objectives could be done through different forms of self-extension or imperialism; diplomatic ceremonies ------(True/False)
- 4. Core objectives include a state's desire to increase its international prestige through a number of policies and actions-----(True/False)

1.4.3 Long-Range Objectives

These encompass plans, dreams and visions concerning ultimate political or ideological organization of the international system, the rules governing relations in that system, and the role of nations within the international system. Long-range objectives differ from middle-range objectives basically due to different time elements inherent in them. Furthermore, significant difference exists in their scope. Thus, while objectives, pursuing middle-range states make specific demands against particular states, but regarding long-range objectives, states normally make universal demands with a view to reconstructing an entire international system in line with a universally applicable plan or vision. Long-range objectives are indefinite as there is no prediction about the outcome of the pursuit (Ahmed, 2020).

Aside from the above classification, foreign policy objectives can also be classified into possession and milieu goals (Parkes, 2020). Possession goals are those goals that a foreign policy seeks to achieve to preserve its possessions. They include: an extension of territory or a membership of some world organization. Milieu goals refer to those goals which a nation pursues in order to shape favourable conditions beyond their national boundaries. However, milieu goals may only be the means for the pursuit of possession goals.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 4

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

- 1. Long-range objectives differ from middle-range objectives basically due to different time elements inherent in them ----------- (True/False).
- 2. States make specific demands against particular states while pursuing long-range objectives ----- (True/False).

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3. Long-range objectives are indefinite as there is no prediction about the outcome of the pursuit ----- (True/False).

- 4. Milieu goals include an extension of territory or a membership of some world organization. ----- (True/False).
- 5. Milieu goals may only be the means for the pursuit of possession goals ----- (True/False).

1.5 Summary

Foreign policy means the action or inaction of a state to alter the undesirable aspects of international environment in line with its national interests. It is concerned with state behaviour that transcends the boundary of a given state. Foreign policy is formulated to protect and maximize the cardinal interests of states. The objectives which foreign policy seeks to achieve can be classified into core, middle-range, and long-range objectives. Core objectives are related to self-preservation and territorial integrity of nation states and must be pursued and preserved without compromise, while middle-range objectives are pursued by states through active interaction with other external actors. Long-range objectives encompass plans and visions concerning ultimate political or ideological organization of the international system. There is no prediction about the outcome of their pursuit.

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1.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

Answers to SAEs 1

- 1. Foreign policy.
- 2. Actions or inactions.
- 3. National interests.
- 4. True.
- 5. Strategies, methods, guidelines, and agreements.
- 6. Threats, punishments, promises, and rewards.

Answers to SAEs 2

- 1. True
- 2. False
- 3. True
- 4. True
- 5. False
- 6. True

Answers to SAEs 3

- 1. True
- 2. True
- 3. True
- 4. False

Answers to SAEs 4

- 1. True
- 2. False
- 3. True
- 4. False
- 5. True

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Unit 2 Determinants of Foreign Policy

Unit Structure

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Learning Outcomes
- 2.3 Internal determinants of Foreign Policy
 - 2.3.1 Geography
 - 2.3.2 History
 - 2.3.3 Domestic Structures
 - 2.3.4 National Security
- 2.4 External Determinants of Foreign Policy
 - 2.4.1 The Structure of International System
 - 2.4.2 International Law
 - 2.4.3 International Organizations
 - 2.4.4 Alliances
- 2.5 Summary
- 2.6 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 2.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

2.1 Introduction

Each state formulates foreign policy to meet specific objectives in international arena. Formulation of foreign policies is not solely dependent on the wishes and consciences of policy makers. Rather, they decide on foreign policy issues after considering several factors. The factors that aid in shaping and moulding foreign policy are called the determinants of foreign policy. Two basic factors determine the foreign policy of every state. One is domestic or internal determinants, and the other is international or external determinants. The impact of the two broad determinants of foreign policy, however, differs from state to state based on distinct political environments in which the states are embedded. Specific factors often play a key role in determining the foreign policy of a particular state. But this does not mean that a single entity can become a sole determinant of foreign policy. In the main section of this unit, therefore, the internal or domestic determinants of foreign policy and the external or international determinants of foreign policy shall be the focus of our discussion.

2.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- highlight and briefly discuss internal determinants of foreign policy
- highlight and briefly discuss external determinants of foreign

policy

• explain the differences between internal and external determinants of foreign policy

2.3 Internal determinants of Foreign Policy

Internal or domestic environment of any state influences the nature and course of its foreign policy. It also determines the amount of social effects that can be devoted to foreign policy (Kissinger, 1966). Therefore, foreign policy 'begins at home' (Hamilton and Tiilikainen, 2018: vii). Nation states differ in size, political institutionalization and societal structures, military and economic capabilities, and political regime among others. These factors affect foreign policy-making process and foreign policy decisions (Taner, 2005). The domestic factors that shape the foreign policy formulation and implementation include history, geography, domestic structures, national interest and national security.

2.3.1 Geography

A permanent, tangible, and stable determinant of foreign policy is geography. Geopolitical considerations (that is, the relationship between space and politics) determines the temperature, resources, frontiers, and neighbours of any state. In the words of Amer Rizwan, "it matters where on the globe a country is located. It matters whether the country has natural frontiers: that is whether it is protected by oceans, high mountains, or desserts. It matters who one's neighbours are and whether a given country is territorially large, populous, affluent and well-governed." (as cited in Bojang, 2018: 6). 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. Some of the important geographical features of a state that affect foreign policy are size, climate, topography, mineral resources, and location (Spykman, 1944). Location of a country is one of the crucial elements in moulding the foreign policy outlook. It determines climate and weather which influence the economic system. The insular location of the United Kingdom has influenced the general character of the British foreign policy as decisively as the isolated geographic position of the United States in the case of the American foreign policy (Vucetic, 2021). The size of a state in terms of land area serves both offensive and defensive purposes. It has a direct impact on war strategy and can make a state a land power. On the other hand, it can be a liability in achieving national unity, effective administration and cultural integration.

The topography of a state in terms of natural boundaries (as demarcated by hills, mountains, forests, swamps, deserts and waters, among others), and artificial boundaries (as drawn by the colonial power) influence the POL 854 MODULE 1

foreign policy of a state. A country that has access to the sea is more endowed and advantageous than one that is landlocked. Landlocked countries like Nepal, Afghanistan, and Bolivia are limited in the pursuit of their foreign policy objectives; they may not become economically and politically very powerful nations. On the contrary, Nigeria's geo-political location is quite advantageous. The country that has access to the sea with rich maritime resources has opportunity to develop a formidable naval system. Same is true for the Gambia, due to its geographical location on the Atlantic Coastline. Again, the location of Turkey at a transit point between Europe and Asia, undoubtedly has profound impact on her foreign policy implementation (Ahmed, 2020; Akinboye, 1999). The point being made is that geographical location of a country has a deep impact in determining its foreign policy, although the importance of geography in shaping foreign policy objectives has considerably declined due to technological and scientific developments.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 6 minutes.

- 1. Internal environment of any state influences the nature and course of its foreign policy ----- (True/False).
- 2. Differences in size, political institutions and societal structures, military and economic capabilities among others affect foreign policy-making process and foreign policy decisions of nation states----- (True/False).
- 3. The size of a state in terms of land area serves both offensive and ----- purposes.
- 4. A country that has access to the ----- is more endowed and advantageous than one that is landlocked.
- 5. The location of Turkey at a transit point between Europe and Asia has profound impact on her foreign policy implementation ------ (True/False).
- 6. It does not matter whether a state is protected by oceans, high mountains, or desserts ----- (True/False

2.3.2 History

History is the record of the activities, failures, successes, and culture and traditions of a state. Historical experiences of a state provide ample influence on its foreign policy. They guide policymakers to deal with present problems. States with integrated common history usually find it easier and more convenient to formulate effective and consistent foreign policy. On the contrary, countries with divergent cultures and diverse historical experiences in their different parts, find it difficult to formulate foreign policy in unison. Furthermore, if a specific policy had previously proved rewarding, policymakers would likely adopt the same policy in

tackling subsequent existential challenges. On the contrary, if a particular policy had failed to effectively deal with a situation, policymakers would likely adopt a different policy under similar situation in the future. Thus, historical experiences shape the current tradition and the self-image of a state, and therefore, the specific national style. In every case, such a national style and character tend to influence foreign policy making and implementation.

One of the major historical realities that influence the foreign policy of states is colonialism. The foreign policy of many African states is shaped by their former colonial masters, notably Britain, France, and Portugal. This is much more evident among French Speaking African countries, such as Senegal, Mali, Benin, Togo, Ivory Coast, among others. Same can be said about the former British colonies, like Gambia, Ghana and Nigeria. As regards Nigeria, colonialism ensured political and economic subjugation by replacing indigenous needs and processes with capitalist mode of production. It also led to the transformation of the class structure of the society and permanent integration and development of import-export economy. Other notable historical legacies that affect Nigeria's foreign policy formulation and implementation include: the issue of ideology, the fallout of ethnic composition, the secession attempt, the Nigerian-Biafran War and the asymmetries and pluralism between Northern Muslims, and Southern Christians.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

- 1. Historical experiences guide policymakers to deal with present problems ----- (True/False).
- 2. One of the major historical realities that influence the foreign policy of states is ------
- 3. Ideology, ethnic composition, and the Nigerian-Biafran War are among the historical legacies that affect Nigeria's foreign policy formulation and implementation ------ (True/False).
- 4. The foreign policy of many African states is shaped by their ---

2.3.3 Domestic Structures

The relevance of domestic structure in shaping foreign policy making and implementation is not in doubt. According to Kissinger (1969: 504), the domestic structure is not irrelevant in any historical period. As a minimum, it determines the amount of social effect which can be devoted to foreign policy." Domestic structural variables, in terms of economic structure, military strength, natural resources, political system, among

others influence foreign policy making. In fact, foreign policy always reflects the realities of these domestic variables.

The structure of a state's economy plays a vital role in determining the choices of foreign policy at any point in time. To this extent, it is a major determinant of the state's behaviour in the external environment. For instance, the level of industrialization, foreign reserves, financial autonomy and capability in information technology can determine foreign policy choices. The industrialized countries of the world such as United States, Russia, Germany and France formulate their foreign policies to sustain their dominance in the international system. They have huge material and human resources to build military capabilities on one hand, and to dispense as monetary benefits to other less developed countries in the form of aids and loan, with the sole aim of courting their alliance on the other. On the contrary, the poor and less-industrialized 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. In effect, their foreign policy orientations have largely been pro-western on account of their subservient and dependent relationships with foreign capital. The Nigerian economy, for example, largely reflects a neo-colonial structure due to heavy reliance on export of primary products and import of finished Hence, commodities. the economy has remained weak underdeveloped, and this has hindered the country from formulating and implementing robust and dynamic foreign policies, except in the later part of the 1970s, when, following the flamboyant increase in the price of oil, dynamism was injected into Nigeria's foreign policy (Eze, 2015). Generally, the more economically developed a state is, the more likely it is to play an active role in the global political economy.

Related to economic structure as one of the domestic structural variables that determines foreign policy is military strength. It is a truism that any state that enjoys advanced industrial capabilities and extensive involvement in international trade also tends to be militarily powerful. This is not surprising because military might, to some extent, is a function of economic capabilities. The contemporary realities of inter-states relations clearly indicate that majority of the countries that possess nuclear cum biological weapons or the potential to develop one are scientifically advanced and economically developed. This implies that the quality and quantity of military weapons in the armoury of a state is a function of its economic resources and technology. The level of a country's military capability thus affects its foreign policy. A country that relies on external sources for military hardware would be constrained in its foreign policy objectives. Such a country would always avoid implementing a policy that would undermine the interests of its supplier of hardware. In a situation of conflict, insurgency or war, when

restrictions are placed on the supply or acquisition of weapons, such a dependent country would be adversely affected. A case in point was the refusal of the US government in 2014 to sell military weapons to the Nigerian government to combat Boko Haram. Then, some United States lawmakers had opposed the sale of \$875 million worth of arms to Nigeria over concerns about the Nigerian government's human rights record (*Premium Times*, November 10, 2014). Military capabilities, therefore, act as a 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 sophistication of weapons available to the armed forces would determine the outcome of such issues. The ability to be a formidable actor in international arena depends largely on the military capacity of a state. A fundamental aspect of national interest of any state is its security which thus makes the military factor an important foreign policy determinant.

Aside from military strength, natural endowment is another domestic factor that shapes foreign policy. Natural resources of a state determine the tone and efficacy of its foreign policy. The greater the natural resources at the disposal of a state, the greater its power and influence in international affairs, especially if the state has the capacity to transform the resources into potent instruments of force and intimidation. The capability of a state to defend its borders against armed aggression plays a profound role in both internal and external policies that states make. States that are militarily efficient exercise greater independence from external forces in the formulation of their foreign policy than states with weak or low military capabilities. The latter states tend to be more salient in the pursuit of their policy goals and often rely on greater powers and international organizations for their protection. Thus, an increase in military capabilities of a state might cause its foreign policy to change from being peaceful to being aggressive.

If the required natural resources are not locally available, they must be sourced and procured through international cooperation. The availability of strategic natural materials in commercial quantity thus places a state in an advantageous position in international relations. On the other hand, a state lacking in strategic natural resources, in some cases, cannot boast of assertive foreign policies. For example, petroleum resources, to some extent, have significantly strengthened the position of West Asian countries, as well as a few African countries in international relations. These countries have used oil as a tool of their foreign policy. Nigeria, one of the prominent oil-producing countries in West Africa, has attempted to use its vast petroleum resources to woo friends. Nigeria used its enormous resources from crude oil to play a vital role in the independence of Zimbabwe, Namibia, and South Africa among other countries. Bolstered by revenue that accrued from the sale of petroleum

resources, Nigeria also made huge financial contributions to the frontline states of Zambia, Tanzania, and Mozambique (Monday and Salihu, 2017). More so, the structure and nature of the society in which foreign policies operate is also an important determinant. The nature of social groups and the degree of conflict and harmony that characterize their mutual relations are determined by the social structure. A society characterized by strong internal conflict and strife acts as a source of weakness for foreign policy, while a society of united, enlightened and disciplined people with a high degree of group harmony is always a source of strength. for foreign policy.

Finally, domestic political situation is another key determinant of a country's foreign policy. Under an authoritarian or totalitarian system of government, foreign policy making, and implementation are easier and faster because decision-making revolves around an individual or group of individuals who operates without any constraints or consultations. On the other hand, in a state with a democratic system, foreign policy-making and implementation tend to be cumbersome and slow. Citizens in this system can freely express their views on the domestic and foreign policies of their country. Their contributions directly or indirectly through their representatives play a significant role in shaping the policies pursued by their government. Democratic system of government, therefore, affords political leaders an opportunity to formulate dynamic and coherent foreign policies by harvesting public views and demands. Apart from system of government, stability is also imperative for pursuing a robust foreign policy. During the 1960s and early 1970s, for instance, Nigeria faced political instability and could not play an active role in global politics (Akinboye, 1999).

In the same vein, Kitol posited that different political structures in a democratic system itself have their impact on foreign policy. For instance, under a parliamentary system of government based on cooperation between the legislature and the executive, the relationship that exists between the two organs has an impact on a country's foreign policy. However, under a presidential system of government based on the principles of separation of powers, the relationship between the legislature and the executive is often not cordial and this often affects the continuity of foreign policy. Similarly, different foreign policy is likely to emerge under biparty and multi-party systems. Under a bi-party system, government, bolstered with a clear-cut majority, is likely to conduct itself in a more decisive manner regarding the conduct of foreign relations. In contrast, under a multi-party system, conflicting views and interests may occur leading to avoidance or postponement of decisions (as cited in Bojang, 2018).

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 3

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 7 minutes.

- Which of the following countries did Nigeria used its enormous resources from crude oil to play a vital role in its independence?
 a. Ghana b. Benin Republic c. Namibia d. Kenya
- 2. The following variables are domestic structural determinants of foreign policy except-----
 - a. economic structure b. international law c. military strength d. natural resources
- 3. An increase in military capabilities of a state might cause its foreign policy to change from being peaceful to being aggressive ------(*True/False*).
- 4. Different foreign policy is likely to emerge under biparty and multi-party systems -----(*True/False*).

2.3.4 National Security

National security focuses on the defence and survival of a state. It embraces the sovereignty of the state, the inviolability of its territorial boundaries, the right to individuals and collective defence against any external threats. The national security question addresses a complex political, legal, economic, social, ideological and military problems that arise in the course of a nation's struggle for political and economic advancement on the one hand, and actualization of all-round development based on freedom and the basic strategy is the policy of self-reliance. National security is achieved through the functions of the national security system. The national security system of modern states includes the state's ability to preserve the values of its society from internal and external threats to peace and freedom of citizens and joint action with other social subsystems. It also consists of elements that deal with internal security such as the police, security services, the judicial system; and elements entrusted with external security such as the armed forces and intelligence services (Mitrovic, 2021). Conceiving the concept of national security in like manner, Lippmann (1943: 51) avers that it means the extent to which "the state is not in danger of having to sacrifice core values if it wishes to avoid war and is able, if challenged, to maintain them by victory in such a war, and that security rises and falls with the ability of a nation to deter an attack, or to defeat it."

Foreign policy and national security go hand in glove. Both are aimed at enhancing national interests. The primary responsibility of any

government is to deploy all its elements of national power to further its national interests and ensure national security. A nation's foreign policy is only effective if undergirded by vital economic and military power. Put differently, the foreign policy of a nation would only be effective if all its elements of national power act in unison (Kakar, 2019).

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 4

2.4 External Determinants of Foreign Policy

Like the internal situational factors, the formulation and conduct of foreign policy are governed by configuration of power, political and economic dynamics and institutional frameworks and structures. All these define the options and policy choices of actors outside a state's territory. Generally speaking, foreign policy is concerned with the states' interactions and behaviour. And since such interactions occur at the international level, they cannot be ignored in the analysis of the nature and dynamics of foreign policy of any state. External factors that influence foreign policy not only vary from country to country based on their internal conditions and needs but also determine the specific response of political leadership to a particular situation. In a nutshell, they indicate the direction of a foreign policy. The main external factors that determine the foreign policy of a state are, but not limited to - the structure of international system, international law, international organizations and alliances. These factors are explained in detail as follows:

2.4.1 The Structure of International System

The Westphalian Treaty of 1648 gave birth to the modern state system which comprises major, middle and small powers. These states interact and interactions between or among them play a significant role in shaping and moulding their foreign policies in way to foster and advance their national interests. Each type of power structure at international level has its own peculiar dynamics with attendant impacts on the foreign policies of the states (Gimba and Ibrahim, 2018). In the traditional multi-polar system, it was easier for states to shift sides and gain maximum gains from

all sides. Thus, Italy used this skill deftly and shifted sides during the height of World War I to gain its share in the post-war colonial arrangements. In the bipolar world system, the ideological divide between the eastern and western blocs was more clearly marked, and it was not easy for states to switch sides frequently, though the fault lines provided opportunities for peripheral states to alternate their foreign policy objectives. The de-ideologization of the international political system following the demise of the Soviet Union and the advent of the unipolar world has its own system dynamics. For example, Bush's declaration of "either with us or against us" (President George W. Bush, in an address to a joint session of Congress on 20 September 2001 said, "Every nation, in every region, now has a decision to make. Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists) made many states from the margins of the system to come forward and play effective roles in the so-called Global War on Terrorism (GWOT). With the declaration, Pakistan made a smart strategic U-turn so as to take advantage of the changed i nternational structure (Hussain, 2005). The structure of the international system in terms of power configurations plays decisive a role in deciding the foreign policies of sovereign states. Foreign policies of states thus change with shifts in the international power structure.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 5

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

- 1. The main external factors that determine the foreign policy of a state ------ and ------
- 2. The -----Treaty of 1648 gave birth to the modern state system.
- 3. In the-----world system, the ideological divide between the eastern and western blocs was more clearly marked

2.4.2 International Law

International law refers to a set of rules deliberately and explicitly created to control the relations between states (Cali, 2010). It is constituted by interstate agreements and treaties. The existence of international law and international norms regulates the foreign policy of states. They also provide a binding purpose in foreign policy as they offer a legal framework through which states can interact.

However, there is much debate among International Relations experts as to whether states really obey international law and norms or not, and if

they do obey international rules, the extent of their obedience. In this regard, the proponents of realism opine that since states tend to give priority to their national interests and therefore violate legal norms sometimes when their core national interests are at risk, international law has little or no independent effect on foreign policy. The 2003 US preemptive invasion of Iraq under the Bush administration provides a clear example of this. The position of the realists is based on the fact that the international law lacks force because unlike the municipal law, the legislative, judicial and executive functions in international law are fundamentally decentralized.

The liberal institutionalists, on the other hand, contend that international law can be profoundly significant. They posit that treaties or agreements signed or entered into by states have binding force on them. In this circumstance, it becomes costlier to engage in actions the law forbids and less costly to pursue policies the law condones. Put differently, international law determines and shapes the actions and inactions of states in their interactions with external actors.

According to the positivist view, international law is a set of rules that regulates and constraints state behaviour. States are constrained to respect and obey international law to avoid the overall consequences of non-compliance. The constructivists argue that international law provides a path to the behaviour the states, as it limits their actions in their relationship with each. This is true because they have legally binding obligations through customary law and treaties. In sum, international law defines the status, the rights, the responsibilities, and obligations of the nations in foreign policy. Thus, it is the responsibility of every state to observe the norms and laws, failure to which there are consequences (Bojang, 2018, Ahmed, 2020).

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 6

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

- 1. The existence of international law and international norms regulates the foreign policy of states ------ (True/False).
- 2. The liberal institutionalists posit that international law determines and shapes the actions and inactions of states in their interactions with external actors ------ (True/False).
- 3. The positivists argue that international law provides a path to the behaviour the states, as it limits their actions in their relationship with each----- (True/False).
- 4. For the realists, international law is a set of rules that regulates and constraints state behaviour----- (True/False).

5. International law defines the status, the rights, the responsibilities, and obligations of the nations in foreign policy------ (*True/False*).

2.4.3 International Organizations

International organizations play crucial roles in shaping foreign policies of member states. To varying degrees, they serve as modifiers of state behaviour in international arena. To this extent, they have profound impact on the determination of the foreign policy of a state. An international organization, the United Nations (UN), for example, principally plays political, military, economic and humanitarian roles in international relations. Communist China for a long time, ignored international organizations and consequently could not secure its due position in the sphere of international relations. In 1971 she became a member of the UN, and this fact caused several shifts in China's foreign policy. In event that a state or group of states decide to arbitrarily conduct its or their foreign policies to the detriment of other states, the UN and other multilateral platforms usually come to the rescue of the aggressed state or states. Usually, sanctions are imposed on the aggressor (s) (Gimba and Ibrahim, 2018).

International organisations play useful roles in the framing of foreign policy of states, although the extent of their influence remains a subject of intense polemics among experts in International Relations. The realists believe that international organizations exert minimal influence on the foreign policies of states. Mearsheimer (1994), for example, argues that international organisations "are basically a reflection of the distribution of power in the world. They are based on the self-interested calculations of the great powers, and they have no independent effect on state behaviour." Thus, they only provide a minimum effect on the foreign policy. This is called 'bottom-up' perspective which harps on how the foreign policies of states impact international organizations. The constructivists and liberal institutionalists, seen as proponents of 'topdown' perspective, on the other hand, stress on how international organizations impact the foreign policies of states. To this perspective, international organizations as modifiers ultimately shape the foreign policies of states. Be that as it may, international organizations constitute one of the external determinants of foreign policy; their decisions and activities affect the foreign policy of many states (Udalla, 2015). During the period of post-World War 1, for instance, Britain and France used the League of Nations to maintain the status quo, which was in their favour then. Again, since its formation, developing countries have used the platform of the UN to project some of the basic goals of their foreign policies such as anti-racialism, disarmament, among others.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 7

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

- 1. The United Nations (UN) is a good example of -----
- 2. ____became a member of the UN in 1971.
- 3. The-----believe that international organizations exert minimal influence on the foreign policies of states.
- During the period of post-World War 1, Britain and France used the-----to maintain the status quo, which was in their favour then

2.4.4 Alliances

Alliance formulation is one of the vital aspects of international relations. It is regarded as the basis of economic and security policy. Alliances are formed by two or more states for securing their identical and complementary interests. Even conflictual interests may lead to alliances with like-minded states against the common rivals or opponents. Alliances impose some legal obligation and commitment on the members of the alliances to work for the promotion of agreed common interests. The nature of an alliance depends upon the nature of interest which is sought to be secured. The need to shield the capitalist states from the expanding influence of socialism during the Cold War led to the formation of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), a military alliance, by the countries of the Western Europe together with the US and Canada. Likewise, the need to effectively overcome all the existential threats to socialism led to the formation of a security umbrella known as the Warsaw Pact by the countries of the Eastern Europe under the direct influence of the former Soviet Union.

Alliance formation is one of the instruments used by states in the formulation and implementation of their foreign policies. The system of alliances that emerged after World War 11 profoundly impacted on the foreign policies of all the nations. For instance, the need for the economic reconstruction of Europe after the World War 11 led to the formation of European Common Market (Now European Union) and several other economic agencies. Between 1945 and 1990 (the height of the Cold War), the two world powers, the United States and USSR and their respective allies used alliances to effectively pursue their national interests. Alliances are thus one of the popular means for pursuing foreign policies and securing national interests.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 8

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

- 1. The need to shield the capitalist states from the expanding influence of socialism during the Cold War led to the formation of-----
- 2. The need to effectively overcome all the existential threats to socialism led to the formation of a security umbrella known as the-----by the countries of the Eastern Europe.
- 3. The system of alliances that emerged after-----profoundly impacted on the foreign policies of all the nations.
- 4. While the League of Nations was an international organization, the European Union is ------.
- 5. ----are one of the popular means for pursuing foreign policies and securing national interests.

2.5 Summary

Foreign policy of every state is influenced by two set of determinants: domestic or internal determinants and external or international determinants. The domestic determinants include history, geography, domestic structures and national security, among others while the external or international determinants consist of the structure of international system, international law, international organizations and alliances, among others. These factors define the decisions, options and policy choices of domestic and external actors inside and outside a state's territory respectively. Nonetheless, there are some grounds of commonalities between internal and external determinants of foreign policy because the extent of their impact on foreign policies differs from state to state based on the socio-political environment in which the states are embedded.

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2.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

Answers to SAEs 1

- 1. True
- 2. True
- 3. Defensive
- 4. Sea
- 5. True
- 6. False

Answers to SAEs 2

- 1. True
- 2. Colonialism
- 3. True
- 4. Former colonial masters

Answers to SAEs 3

- 1. c
- 2. b
- 3. True
- 4. True
- 5. False

Answers to SAEs 4

- 1. National security system
- 2. Foreign policy
- 3. State
- 4. Economic and military

Answers to SAEs 5

- 1. The structure of international system, international law, international organizations and alliances
- 2. Westphalian
- 3. Bipolar
- 4. Power configurations

Answers to SAEs 6

- 1. True
- 2. True
- 3. False
- 4. False
- 5. True

Answers to SAEs 7

- 1. An international organization
- 2. China
- 3. Realists
- 4. League of Nations

Answers to SAEs 8

- 1. North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)
- 2. Warsaw Pact
- 3. World War 11
- 4. An alliance
- 5. Alliances

Unit 3 Instruments for Conducting Foreign Policy

Unit Structure

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Learning Outcomes
- 3.3 Instruments for Conducting Foreign Policy
 - 3.3.1 Diplomacy
 - 3.3.2 Propaganda
 - 3.3.3 Militarism
 - 3.3.4 Economic Weapon
 - 3.3.5 Cultural Instrument
- 3.4 Summary
- 3.5 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 3.6 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

3.1 Introduction

Peaceful coexistence and purposeful cooperation for sustainable development are among the common and shared interests of all nations. To this end, nations always attempt to protect and promote the core objectives of their national interests. In doing so, they employ a number of instruments that best achieve their targets. They can either use peaceful means or coercive instruments as and when they may desire or deem essential. Thus, in this unit, the focus of our discussion shall be on the instruments for conducting foreign policy and inter-state relations.

3.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- explain the instruments used in conducting foreign policy
- explain the differences between peaceful and coercive instruments of conducting foreign policy
- identify and discuss instances where states resorted to the use either peaceful or coercive instruments to foster, pursue or justify their actions.

3.3 Instruments for Conducting Foreign Policy

These refer to the mechanisms used by states to conduct inter-state relations with a view to securing the goals of national interest. They include diplomacy, propaganda, militarism, economic devices and cultural instruments.

3.3.1 Diplomacy

Diplomacy is one of the peaceful and effective means of conducting interstate relations and securing national interests. Diplomacy occupies a position of primary importance in contemporary international relations. Through it, the foreign policy of a nation is projected to other nations. Since it entails the conduct of inter-state relations by means of tact and negotiations, the art of diplomacy involves the presentation of the goals and objectives of national interest to persuade other actors to accept these as just and rightful demands. Diplomats relate with the decision-makers and diplomats of other nations and conduct negotiations with a view to achieving the desired goals and objectives of national interests of their nation. They use persuasion and threats, rewards and threats of denial of rewards as the means for exercising power and securing goals of national interest as defined by foreign policies of their states.

Diplomacy is used to fulfil foreign policy objectives through mutual negotiations, accommodation and reconciliation. It reduces disagreement and misunderstanding; facilitates inter-state agreements, treaties, and pacts and *ipso facto* spares nations from resorting to coercive methods. As a means of securing national interest, diplomacy is a universally recognized and most frequently used foreign policy instrument (Akinboye, 1999). For example, through negotiation, Nigeria was able to resolve a long-standing international boundary and maritime dispute with Cameroon. Nigeria has been engaging in bilateral and multilateral interactions to resolve important policy issues. The success or failure of a state in international politics depends on its diplomatic tactics and ingenuity. However, all the objectives and goals of national interest cannot be secured through diplomacy.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

- 1. Diplomacy occupies a position of primary importance in contemporary international relations ------(True/False).
- 2. Diplomacy involves the presentation of the goals and objectives of national interest to persuade other actors to accept these as just and rightful demands-----(True/False).
- 3. Through negotiation, Nigeria was able to resolve a longstanding international boundary and maritime dispute with Cameroon -----(True/False).
- 4. The success or failure of a state in international politics depends on its diplomatic tactics and ingenuity-----(True/False).

3.3.2 Propaganda

This is another important instrument for securing national interest. Simply put, propaganda is the manipulation and deliberate distortion of information so as to achieve one's interest and possibly defeat the interest of the opponent (Akinboye, 1999). Propaganda involves extensive use of mass media. In recent times, internet has increased the scope of propaganda as a means of securing support for goals of national interest. Propaganda was used by Hitler and later by superpowers during the Cold War to deceitfully achieve their set objectives. Systematic and ceaseless propaganda by Pakistan has distorted India's strong case on Kashmir, so much so that quite some people in the world may wonder as to what, after all, the facts of the case are (Asthana, 2019; Hernández, 2020).

3.3.3 Militarism

This entails the use of force and military coercion in conducting foreign policy objectives of states. It is an unwritten law of international intercourse that nations can use coercive means, whenever they find it expedient and necessary, for securing their national interests. In fact, military power is still regarded as a major part of national power and is often used by a nation for securing its desired goals and objectives. International Law also recognizes coercive means short of war as the methods that can be used by states for fulfilling their desired goals and objectives. Intervention, embargoes, boycotts, reprisals, severance of relations and pacific biocides are some of the popular coercive means which can be used by states to force other states or non-state actors to either accept or refrain from a particular course of behaviour as determined or demanded by the state using coercive means.

The use of military power and other forcible means against international terrorism now stand universally accepted as a natural and just means for fighting the menace. However, because they are violent in nature, all forms of coercive instruments are often used as last resort, particularly when diplomacy and other peaceful instruments of conflict resolution have failed. For example, in 1983, Nigeria went to war with Chad when the issue could not be resolved through negotiation. In 1991, the United Nations Allied forces led by the United States invaded Iraq when diplomacy failed to resolve the Gulf crisis between Iraq and Kuwait. Similarly, the ongoing invasion of Ukraine by Russia began in early 2022 after a series of negotiations failed to resolve the latter's apprehension over the enlargement of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the quest by the former to join the military alliance.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

- 1. Propaganda is the manipulation and deliberate distortion of information to achieve one's interest ------(True/False).
- 2. Propaganda was used by Hitler and later by superpowers during the Cold War to systematically falsify true positions -----(True/False).
- 3. Systematic and ceaseless propaganda by India has distorted Pakistan's strong case on Kashmir -----(True/False).
- 4. It is an unwritten law of international intercourse that nations can use coercive means, whenever they find it expedient ----------(True/False).
- 5. International law rejects coercive means short of war as the methods that can be used by states for fulfilling their desired goals and objectives-----(True/False).
- 6. In 1991, the United Nations Allied forces led by the United States invaded Iraq when war failed to resolve the Gulf crisis between Iraq and Kuwait-----(True/False).
- 7. The use of military and other forcible means are now universally accepted as a just means for fighting against international terrorism------(*True/False*).

3.3.4 Economic Weapon

The reality of contemporary international economic relations shows that no state can boast of economic self-sufficiency, and that states are not equally gifted by nature with natural and economic resources. This has made mutual interdependence one of the essential components of interstate relations. Mutual economic interdependence, expressed in terms of tariffs, import quotas, trade agreements, and other financial arrangements, determine and shape foreign policies.

The nature and style of foreign policy is largely determined by economic resources in terms of natural resources and industrial development. Thus, nations use diverse economic resources either to achieve their foreign policy objectives or to harm opponents' interests. The existence of a very wide gap between the rich and poor nations provides a big opportunity to the former nations to promote their interests at the expense of the latter nations. The phenomenon of unequal trade relations between the lowly-developed and developed nations in which the former export raw materials, and depend on the latter for industrial goods, technological know-how, foreign aid, and armaments, strengthens the role of economic resources in the conduct of foreign policy. Nations formulate and implement their foreign policies to consolidate or enhance their access to

critical economic resources. Economic factors have a bearing on foreign policy. A state endowed with natural resources can easily achieve its economic prosperity. The effect of that ability is reflected in relations with other states. For example, mineral oil has become one of the most important strengths of some of the Middle East countries in international politics. Similarly, Nigeria has attempted to use her vast natural resources to woo friends. At the height of the oil boom in the early 1970s, the Gowon administration extended oil wealth in form of financial assistance to poor countries in the Caribbean, specifically Grenada. The administration, in pursuit of leadership roles in West Africa and in the continent, also extended budgetary support to some governments in West Africa (Abegunrin, 2003).

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 3

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

- 1. Mutual interdependence one of the essential components of inter-state relations ----- (True/False).
- 2. Economic resources in terms of natural resources and industrial development *undermine the* nature and style of foreign policy -----(*True/False*).
- 3. Nations make and implement their foreign policies to consolidate or enhance their access to critical economic resources-----(True/False).
- 4. A state endowed with natural resources can easily achieve its economic prosperity if properly managed------(*True/False*).

3.3.5 Cultural Instrument

This is increasingly becoming essential in the conduct of inter-state relations. As a foreign policy instrument, cultural instrument is often used in sports and allied activities. In 1966, for instance, Nigeria joined the rest of Africa to boycott the FIFA World Cup that was held in England. In 1980 Canada and United States boycotted Olympic Games in Moscow in protest of the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan, and Eastern European nations boycotted the 1984 Olympic Games in Los Angeles in retaliation. In 1976, Nigeria led 27 other African countries to boycott the Montreal Olympic Games to protest the tour of apartheid South Africa by New Zealand Rugby players (despite that rugby was not even an Olympic sport at the time) and the refusal of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) to exclude New Zealand (Akinboye, 1999). In 1978, Nigeria also led other African countries in the Commonwealth of Nations to boycott the Edmonton Commonwealth Games to protest New Zealand's sporting links with apartheid South Africa which contravened the United Nations embargo on such links. Similarly, in 1996, Nigeria boycotted the Africa

Nations Cup competition in South Africa to protest that country's hard-line posture towards the killing of a renowned environmentalist, Ken Saro Wiwa and other Ogoni activists (Riga, 2020; Rosen, 2012).

The use of culture as an instrument for conducting foreign policy was manifested by the participation of Nigeria in the World Festival of Negro Arts in Dakar, Senegal in 1964. In fact, the federal government was so enamoured by the principal objectives of the festival that it accepted to host the next festival. Hence, "the second World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture" (FESTAC) in Lagos, which due to the civil war did not hold as soon as expected, but eventually held on 15th January to 12th February 1977. Also, to promote Africa Unity, which is one of her foreign policy objectives, Nigeria hosted the 8th All Africa Games from 5th to 17th, October 2003 in Abuja (Chibundu, 2004).

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 4

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

- 1. As a foreign policy instrument, cultural instrument is often used in sports and allied activities ----- (True/False).
- 2. In 1966, Nigeria joined the rest of Africa to boycott the FIFA World Cup that was held in England ------(True/False).
- 3. In 1978, Nigeria also led other African countries in the Commonwealth of Nations to boycott the Edmoition Commonwealth Games to protest New Zealand's sporting links with apartheid South Africa -----(True/False).
- 4. The use of culture as an instrument for conducting foreign policy was manifested by Nigeria's participation in the World Festival of Negro Arts in Dakar, Senegal in 1964-----(True/False).

3.4 Summary

In this unit, we have been able to discuss the instruments nations used in conducting foreign policy. These instruments include diplomacy, propaganda, militarism, economic devices and cultural instruments.

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3.6 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

Answers to SAEs 1

- 1. True
- 2. True
- 3. True
- 4. True

Answers to SAEs 2

- 1. True
- 2. True
- 3. False
- 4. True
- 5. False
- 6. False7. True

Answers to SAEs 3

- 1. True
- 2. False
- 3. True
- 4. True

Answers to SAEs 4

- 1. True
- 2. True
- 3. True
- 4. True

Unit 4 Foreign Policy and National Interest

Unit Structure

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Learning Outcomes
- 4.3 The Meaning of National Interest
- 4.4 Foreign Policy and National Interest
- 4.5 Summary
- 4.6 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 4.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

4.1 Introduction

The activities of the state in any given socio-economic and political scenario can only be adequately explained and predicted with an appreciable knowledge of its national interest. This implies that national interest is a key concept in international relations. Nations continually strive to fulfil the goals of their national interests. A state always tries to justify its actions on the basis of its national interest. The behaviour of a state is always conditioned and governed by its national interests. It is therefore imperative to know the meaning and content of national interest and its linkage to foreign policy. This is our focus in this unit.

4.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- Explain the concept of national interest
- discuss the linkages between national interest and foreign policy

4.3 The Meaning of National Interest

As a concept, national interest has been described in various ways. Kaplan (1967), for instance, defines it as the interest, which a national actor has in implementing a defined system of action. Frankel (1972), postulates that national interest is a key concept in foreign policy. In his view, it amounts to the total of all national values, national in both meaning of the word, both pertaining to the nation and the state. To Jones (1970), national interest is a term used in political debate within a country, to signal the case that the item of policy suggested will bring benefits not merely to its proponents but also to its opponents. Ogwu (1986) and Aluko (1981) variously posit that national interest refers to the totality of fears, yearnings, wants, hopes, and aspirations of the citizenry. It aims at preserving the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the state. However, to properly understood the concept of national interest is to situate it

within the context of the prevailing paradigmatic orientations. For instance, the realist paradigm, which believes in the traditional elements of power, defines national interest as the security and preservation of a nation's core values- sovereignty, national capital, territorial integrity and national population. The realist believe that might is right in the pursuit of national interest since international politics is primarily the struggle for power. Hans Morgenthau, a known realist, avers that the meaning of national interest is survival, that is, the protection of physical, political and cultural identity against encroachments by other nation-states (Morgenthau, 1963). The behavioural paradigm, which see international relations from the image of the decision-makers, sees national interest as constantly changing pluralistic set of subjective preferences. The behaviouralists portrays the interests of a few individuals as the interest of all. Marxist political economy sees national interest as essentially but not exclusively the interest of the dominant class. Asobie (1991), for instance, believes that the national interest of a state varies according to class character of those managing the affairs of the states at any point in time. While core capitalist states anchor their national interests on the domination and expansion of capital all over the world, the foreign policy of the peripheral states, despite all pretences, does not detract from supporting the structure of global imperialism. For the political economists, therefore, national interest is the outcome of the dynamic interplay of the interest of the different factions of the dominant class and the popular interest of the society.

National interests are evoked to justify virtually every act of a state, from generosity to genocide. This presupposes that every nation has a set of objectives or goals which gives life and meaning to the behaviour of such nation in international relations. Strictly speaking, every nation strives to protect, promote and defend its objectives at all cost, even to the point of going to war, if it felt that the pursuits of these objectives or goals are threatened. Hence, the totality of these objectives or goals is what constitutes national interest. The imperialism of Germany, Japan and Italy during the 1930s and 1940s, or Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in August 1990, for instance, was justified by the leaders of those countries as being in their national interests. It is pertinent to note that, in reality, national interest is conducted, directed or determined by the dominant class that selects, pursues, or operationalises what a nation's national interest is. This explains why it varies as regime changes. There are about six categories of national interest which nations try to secure. These include primary, secondary, permanent, variable, general, and specific interests. To secure the goals and objectives of their national interests, nations adopt the following methods: diplomacy, propaganda, economic means, alliances and treaties, and coercive means (Dinesh, 2016).

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 6 minutes.

- 1. The realist paradigm defines national interest as the security and preservation of a nation's------
- 2. The-----paradigm sees national interest as constantly changing pluralistic set of subjective preferences.
- 3. Marxist political economy sees national interest as essentially but not exclusively the interest of the------
- 4. There are about-----categories of national interest which nations try to secure
- One of the following methods is not used by nations to secure the goals and objectives of national interest
 - A. Diplomacy B. propaganda B. economic means D. alliances and treaties E. territorial boundaries

4.4 Foreign Policy and National Interest

Foreign policy and national interest are two inseparable concepts in international relations. National interest directs the course of foreign policy and, ipso facto, has continued to play a significant role in framing foreign policies of sovereign states. In fact, promotion and pursuit of national interest is the central target in the conduct of foreign policy. In political discourse, national interest serves two primary purposes - as a tool of analysis and as an instrument of political action. As an instrument of political analysis, national interest serves as a conceptual guide by providing the objectives often considered by a state while evaluating foreign policy options. National interest is used in this regard to explain and evaluate a nation's foreign policy. As an instrument of political action, it is used to project, justify, defend or repudiate a state's foreign policy (Akinboye, 1999). This explains the interconnection of foreign policy and national interest. No doubt, the concept of national interest is deeply interwoven with that of foreign policy. In this light, Hans Morgenthau, sees national interest as "political traditions and the total culture context within which a nation formulates its foreign policy. Morgenthau further contends that "no nation can have true guide as to what it must do and what it needs to do in foreign policy without accepting national interest as that guide" (Morgenthau, 1973: 6).

Foreign policies are justified because they further the national interests of nation-states, while national interest directs the attention of policymakers to a category of goals that a state's foreign policy should value most. It must be stressed however that the articulation of the goals does not necessarily guarantee the successful execution of foreign policy. The extent to which a foreign policy goal/objective is achieved depends largely on the quality, character and disposition of policy makers, the

prevailing political and economic circumstances, the resource endowments of the state, the military capability, geographical location, population and a host of other factors. The foreign policy of every country is at all times presumably designed to promote the national interest. As the national interest does not exist in abstraction, the quest of policy makers should therefore be how to identify and serve the national interest. This involves what is national, since there are many national interests in a particular situation.

In sum, the main policy instrument in the conduct of foreign policy is invariably the promotion and pursuit of national interest. National interest provides a useful guide to the formulation of foreign policy. It is the primary duty of all states to promote and further their national interests through their foreign policies. This encompasses all the various strategies employed in the international interaction of states to ensure the achievement and preservation of the goals and aspirations of such states, national interest guides the formulation of foreign policy (Ebegbulem, 2019). In linking national interest to foreign policy, Seabury (1963:80) avers that "national interest has been adopted as a means or device for analyzing fundamental objectives of the foreign policy of a nation-state. National interest is regarded as those purposes that the nation, through its leadership, appears to pursue persistently through time. It is also some ideal set of purposes which a nation should seek to realize in the conduct of its foreign relations" However, despite its claim to national outlook, national interest is merely an outcome of the dynamic interplay of the interests of the different factions of the dominant class and the popular interest of the society.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

- 1. Promotion and pursuit of -----is the central target in the conduct of foreign policy.
- 2. -----and national interest are two inseparable concepts in international relations.
- 3. In political discourse, national interest serves two primary purposes- as a tool of analysis and as an instrument of -----
- 4. ----- aims at preserving the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the state

4.5 Summary

A nation's foreign policies are the specific goals and objectives that leaders pursue in the international system. This includes the values that shape those goals and the means by which those goals are secured.

National interest can be primary, secondary, permanent, variable, general or specific. It can be secured using diplomacy, propaganda, economic means, alliances and treaties or coercive means. National interest are the bedrocks upon which government base their foreign policy objectives. National interest provides a useful guide to the formulation of foreign policy This means that foreign policies are formulated to promote national interest.

4.6 References/Further Readings/Web Sources

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4.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

Answers to SAEs 1

- 1. core values 2. *behavioural*
- 3. dominant class
- *4. six*
- 5. E
- 6.

Answers to SAEs 2

- 1. National interest
- 2. Foreign policy
- 3. Political action
- 4. National interest
- 5.

Module 2 An Overview of Foreign Policy Making

Unit 1	Process of Foreign Policy Decision Making
Unit 2	Actors of Foreign Policy
Unit 3	Models of Foreign Policy Decision Making
Unit 4	Constraints on Foreign Policy Making

Unit 1 Process of Foreign Policy Decision Making

Unit Structure

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Learning Outcomes
- 1.3 Meaning of Foreign Policy Decision Making
- 1.4 Variables Conditions that Shape Foreign Policy Decision Making
 - 1.4.1 The Situation
 - 1.4.2 The Structure of the International Political System
 - 1.4.3 Capabilities
 - 1.4.4 Public Opinion
 - 1.4.5 Organizational Structures
- 1.5 The Process of Foreign Policy Decision Making
 - 1.5.1 Identification of the Problem
 - 1.5.2 Interpretation, Determination and Evaluation of Alternatives
 - 1.5.3 Selection of the Best Option
 - 1.5.4 Implementation of the Decision
- 1.6 Summary
- 1.7 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 1.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

1.1 Introduction

Foreign policy process is a process of decision-making. Decisions are constantly made by nation states in their interactions with external actors. States take actions because people in governments—decision makers—choose those actions. Decision makers, acting singly or in groups, shape interactions between or among nation states. They also influence the field of international relations. Foreign policy decision-making is therefore a complex and multidimensional process, involving many actors, agents, and institutions. There are four main stages involved in foreign policy decision-making. These stages begin with problem identification and end with decision implementation. This unit examines the concept and processes of foreign policy decision making.

1.2 Learning Outcomes

At the end of this unit, you should be able to

- Conceptualize foreign policy decision making
- Explain the process of foreign policy decision making
- Analyze the variables at play in the process of foreign policy decision-making.

1.3 Meaning of Foreign Policy Decision Making

Foreign policy decision-making refers to the choices and preferences of individuals, groups, and coalitions that determine and affect the actions of a state on the international stage. It is the process by which governments analyze existing problems, evaluate policy alternatives, and take appropriate actions to overcome the outstanding issues and, by doing so, maximize national interest. In this manner, foreign policy decision making explains why government takes a particular course of action against other competing alternatives, how the decision will work out and what could possibly be the consequences (Ereker, 2018). Foreign policy decisions resemble a chess game. Allison (1971), as cited in Ereker (2018), observes that foreign policy has often been compared to moves, sequences of moves, and games of chess. If a player were limited to observations on a screen upon which moves in the chess game were registered without information as to how the pieces could to be moved, he would assume that an individual chess player was moving the pieces in terms of strategic plans and tactical manoeuvres toward a single goal, namely, winning the game. But a pattern of moves can be imagined which would lead the serious observer after watching several games to consider the hypothesis that the chess player was not a single individual but rather a loose alliance of semi-independent organizations, each of which moved its sets of pieces according to standard operating procedures. Decisions are made every day. While some of these decisions require little thought, others must be made hurriedly and sometime in indeterminate circumstances. Foreign policy decision making dynamics resemble these daily decision-making dynamics, despite that the stakes in foreign policy decision making is much higher. Ereker (2018: 54) highlights four components of foreign policy decision making to include identifying the problem, searching for alternatives, choosing an alternative, and executing the alternative. It is possible to categorize foreign policy decisions according to the number of actors involved, the conditions under which they were made, and their sequence etc. Mintz and DeRouen (2010: 115-21) identifies five types of foreign policy decisions. These are: one-shot (single) decisions, interactive decisions, sequential decisions, sequential-interactive decisions, and group decisions. One-shot (single) decisions are rare in foreign policy decision making because issues

international relations deals with are generally sequential in naturel. A single decision on a single case, which can be analysed as a one-shot decision, is a rare occurrence in international relations. Interactive decisions are those involving at least two players who make decisions that affect and are affected by the other player's decision. Sequential decisions involve a series of interrelated decisions. For example, regarding the incessant on Nigerian residents in South Africa, sequential decisions could be on: whether the Nigeria government should engage the South African counterpart over the attacks or not; whether to invite the South African High Commissioner to Nigeria for a discussion or not, whether to carry out reprisal attacks on South Africans in Nigeria or not e.t.c. Foreign policy decisions are mostly sequential-interactive since they are on one hand sequential and on the other interactive. That is, they involve at least two actors that are affected by the decision. Finally, foreign policy decisions are mostly group decisions. Foreign policy making is never in the hands of a single leader no matter how powerful and influential. Foreign policy decisions can also be grouped into macro, micro, and crisis decisions. Macro decisions are anticipatory in nature, they are not made in reaction to abrupt and sudden circumstances but in a relatively longtime frame in response to a large variety of domestic political issues/actors. On the other hand, micro decisions are narrow in scope. They are made in response to low threats, and they are handled at lower levels of foreign policy bureaucracy. Crisis decisions are decisions made amidst high degree of threats and time pressure. Crisis decisions are made by small group of decision actors comprising top level leadership and high-level decision makers only (Pearson and Rochester, 1998).

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

- 1. Interactive decisions involve at least two players who make decisions that affect and are affected by the other player's decision ------ (True/False).
- 2. Foreign policy decisions can also be grouped into macro, micro, and------ decisions
- 3. Foreign policy decisions are mostly individual decisions -----(True/False).
- 4. *Macro decisions are narrow in scope -----(True/False).*
- 5. Sequential decisions involve a series of interrelated decisions-----(True/False).

1.4 Variables that Shape Foreign Policy Decision Making

1.4.1 The Situation

Policy makers often act and react based on their perceptions or misperceptions of their political environment; and as far as foreign policy making is concerned, it is not the political environment that matters, but how policy makers perceive and react to it. According to Holsti (1967, p.36), "image means an individual perception of an object, fact or condition, his evaluation of that object, tact or condition in terms of badness or goodness, friendliness or hostility, or value, and the meaning ascribed to, or deduced from, that object, fact or condition". This is because even the most articulate expert in foreign policy making may not be completely aware of all the relevant factors in a situation, his image (of the situation) would be almost always different from reality. The discrepancy that exists between image and reality is due in part to physical impediment to the flow of information, arising from time, faulty communication, censorship, lack of competent advisors and intelligence source. It can also be due to distortion of reality caused by attitudes, beliefs and so forth. There have been instances where policy makers twisted and disregard information that contradicted their preferences and values thereby allowing their psychological environment to colour the definition of the situation and physical environment. For instance, the formulation of foreign policy in Nigeria between 1985 and 1999 was influenced by disregard to information which contradicted the values of those regimes. Hence, Tom Ikimi, the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Nigeria between 1995 and 1998, was described as being involved in "area-boy diplomacy." (Ezirim, 2010)

Another variable that influences foreign policy decision makers is attitude. Attitudes are viewed as general evaluative propositions about a particular object or situation, factor or condition. In international relations or politics, policy makers operate with the framework of evaluation assumptions, or hostility or friendship, trust or distrust, fear or confidence toward other governments and people. Therefore, attitudes are related to how policy makers react to external stimuli (Gravelle, Reifle and Scotto, 2020). Again, the nature of family moral standards, political socialization, and personal experience come together to shape the values of a policy maker because they form the standards by which his conducts and that of others are weighed. In foreign policy making, values are used to justify actions and goals of policy makers.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

- 1. Policy makers often act and react based on their perceptions or misperceptions of their ------.
- 2. Attitude influences foreign policy decision making-----------------(True/False).
- 3. Attitudes are related to how a policy maker react to -----
- 4. The nature of family moral standards, political socialization, and personal experience come together shape the values of a policy maker-----(True/False).

1.4.2 The Structure of the International Political System

The structure of the international political system tends to affect the decisions of foreign policy makers. Statesmen and policy makers of different nations respond to major structural changes in the international political system and tend to adjust their states foreign policies to conform with the prevailing structure of internal political system at any point in time. For instance, in a bipolar structure of the international political system, policy makers of some newly independent countries then were compelled to accord loyalty to either the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) or the WARSAW Pact, despite their commitments to the Non-Aligned Movement. Indeed, they were forced by the structural changes in the international political system to support either of the two military blocs backed respectively by the United States and USSR and their allies to safeguard their national security interest in order to survive as nations. Thus, the structure and conditions in the international political system had manifest significant influence on the newly independent states that they adjusted their foreign policies in conformity with the rules and obligations of the alliance. In contemporary time, development in the external environment can also influence foreign policies of sovereign states. The structural changes in the international system at any point in time tends to determine and shape foreign policies of sovereign states. For example, since the catastrophic terrorist attack of September 11, 2001, the relations between different actors of the international system have changed. The subsequent global war on terrorism led by the United States has divided the world into two main sides: the supporters and the opponents of the U.S. (Ali, 2020).

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 3

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

- 1. The structure of the international political system tends to affect the decisions of foreign policy makers------(True/False).
- 2. What is the full meaning of the acronym NATO ----------------
- 3. The global war on terrorism led by the United States has divided the world into two main sides -----(True/False).
- 4. At present, development in external the environment can influence foreign policies of states-----(True/False)

1.4.3 Capabilities

The ability of a nation-state to significantly achieve its foreign policy objective greatly influence foreign policy decision-making. Significant capabilities of a state in terms of diplomatic personnel and quality of diplomacy, military capability, technology communication, level of industrialization and others affect foreign policy decision making. It is for this reason that developing countries are encouraged to define their interest and objective in terms of nation-building and economic development in line with their capabilities. This suggests that a country's size, population, distribution of natural resources, climate and topography and other elements of national power should be considered when foreign policy decisions are being made. In the same vein, the level of military and defence capability must be taken into consideration. For example, the nature of the topography can determine military adventure or outright invasion by predator states. It can also suggest the best line of defence. Economic characteristics and distribution of natural resources influence a nation's capability at all times. Climate imposes restrictions on the types of warfare that can be conducted in a particular area. A country with a relatively larger quality and productive population can more easily mobilize and can more confidently project its foreign policy across the international system with higher expectation of a fairer degree of success. Conversely, a country with uneducated and unproductive population may not easily mobilize to achieve national security and survival goals in a reasonable time frame. Foreign policy decision making therefore entails capability analysis through which a decision maker carries out a systematic evaluation of the means and available sources of national power. It also involves the analysis of the capabilities and intentions of the opponents. In summary, an objective analysis of capability, in terms of the readily available and accessible aspect of national power is important in understanding the circumstances within which the state actors operate (Han, 2018).

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 4

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

- 1. Elements of national power are considered when foreign policy decisions are being made -----(True/False)..
- 2. Foreign policy decision making involves capability analysis ------(True/False).
- 3. The capabilities and intentions of the opponents are neglected when foreign policy decisions are being made ------(True/False).

1.4.4 Public Opinion

To some extent, public opinion influences foreign policy. In a political system where fundamental human rights and freedom of expression form part of the national life, the role of public opinion in the process of foreign policy formulation is formidable. There are instances where public opinion influenced foreign policy-making (Ajibola, 1978). For instance, in 1962, the Prime Minister then- Tafawa Balewa abrogated the Anglo-Nigeria Defence pact entered into in 1958 as a result of the protest and demonstration led by Nigerian university students (Ajibola, 1978). With respect to foreign policy, public opinion is divided into three classes, namely passive people, attentive public, and opinion leaders. While passive people are masses who are uninterested in foreign policy, attentive public is a tiny segment among the masses who shows interest in foreign policy and have sufficient knowledge about it. Opinion leaders are the small group of people, including politicians, business leaders, community leaders, journalists, educators and celebrities who have both sufficient knowledge about foreign policy and the ability to influence, guide, and reflect the opinion of the public (Ereker, 2018). However, though the public is not usually an efficient determiner of foreign policy due to lack of interest and insufficient information, decision makers usually take their positions into account in certain situations. Public opinion for decision makers in democratic countries is used to legitimize public policies. Rourke (2008) rightly observe that the possibility of acceptance and success of a particular policy is enhanced if supported by the critical members of the public. However, the level of influence the public, especially the domestic pressure groups exert on foreign policy decision-making is highly dependent on the type of government. Democratic government nurtures and accommodates public opinion more than authoritarian government.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 5

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

- 1. Public opinion influences foreign policy-making ------ (True/False).
- 2. With respect to foreign policy, public opinion is divided into three classes, passive people, attentive public, and ------
- 3. -----public is a tiny segment among the masses who show interest in foreign policy and have sufficient knowledge about it.
- 4. Democratic government nurtures and accommodates public opinion more than authoritarian government. -------(True/False).
- 5. In democratic countries, public opinion is used by decision makers to legitimize-----

1.4.5 Organizational Structures

In every state, decision makers are heavily influenced by the bureaucracy within which they operate. Highly structured and developed bureaucracies play a role in the process of foreign policy formulation. Traditionally, information come from and must have already been debated by officials of the relevant agencies that reflect all shades of views. In other words, bureaucracy in foreign policy is a reflection of the need for expertise and is organized to information gathering, interpretation, and the transmission of it to the right people at the right time (Wendzel, 1981). Institutional structure of government impacts on the decision-making process. Specifically, foreign policy making is at the domain of the chief executive, defined as either the president or the prime minister, as the case may be. Although the legislature is involved in the process of foreign policy decision making, it mainly serves as either to approve or confirm what the executives decides to do. The other actors involved in foreign policy decision making, along with the head of the government, are the Ministry of Foreign Affairs {and in Nigeria- the Nigeria Institute of International Affairs (NIIA), the National Advisory Committee on Foreign Affairs or Policy (NACFP) and others.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 6

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

- 1. Bureaucracy influences foreign policy decision-making ------(True/False).
- 2. Institutional structure of government impacts on the decision-making process -----(True/False).
- 3. The primary unit of foreign policy decision making is the ------

-----.

4. The legislature is involved in foreign policy decision making as a confirming body and not a formulating body. ------(True/False).

1.5 The Process of Foreign Policy Decision Making

1.5.1 Identification of the Problem

Decision-making is the rational process of selecting the most feasible course of action from the available alternatives. Decision makers recognise the problem(s) to be solved and the first step in this regard is to identify the source(s) of the problems. Problems could emanate from internal and external variables. Before a problem is identified by the decision maker, three stages are involved: first, a stimulus from the environment should be received, then this stimulus should be perceived, and finally, this perceived stimulus should be interpreted as a foreign policy problem/opportunity (Ereker, 2018). In decision making, problem identification is very important because if problems are accurately identified, it is believed that half of the decision-making process is completed. Identifying the problem is like diagnosing a disease, which helps in providing the right medicine to the patients. When a problem is correctly understood, it becomes easy to solve. The accurate definition of the problem affects all the steps that follow; if the problem is inaccurately defined, every step in the decision-making process will be based on an incorrect starting point. Images and misperception are crucial in the process of problem identification. Images serve as filters for decision makers because they are representations of the world for the decision maker. They assist decision makers to sieve the unbounded information that come from various channels. Nonetheless, images are often not the real representations of the world; they could be highly resistant to new information and can cause selective interpretation and even ignorance of useful information. Misperception occurs when the decision maker fails to change his or her views amidst new information. The most common type of misperception in the making of foreign policy is "wishful thinking", which means interpreting existing information as the decision maker would like them to be, as opposed to what they really are (Ereker, 2018).

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 7

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

- 1. -----is the rational process of selecting the most feasible course of action from available alternatives.
- 2. Problems could emanate from -----and -----variables.

- 3. ----- and misperception are both crucial in the process of problem identification.
- 4. . -----occurs when the decision maker fails to change his or her views amidst new information.

1.5.2 Interpretation, Determination and Evaluation of Alternatives

The next stage after problem identification is for the decision maker to interpret the perceived information so as to define the situation and determine the alternative options. At this point, the decision maker would need additional information to be able to interpret the situation at hand. It is worthy to also note that how the decision maker interprets information is dependent on his or her personal beliefs and past experiences. The bureaucracy provides and filters additional information through its own organizational interests. This, under certain conditions, can cause misinterpretation of the situation which is not a rare case in terms of foreign policy decision-making. An example can be found in the history of Turkish foreign policy. After Turkey conducted a military operation in Cyprus in 1974, the US Congress proposed an arms embargo on Turkey. Although under President Gerald Ford and the Secretary of State Henry Kissinger were against this proposition and tried hard to prevent the Congress from taking this decision, the Congress eventually won the struggle, and the embargo decision was taken on the 5th February, 1975 (Ereker, 2018). A problem may have alternative solutions. It is the duty of the decision-maker to identify and study all the possible solutions. Each of the options is thoroughly examined in terms of costs and benefits along with its contribution to the foreign policy objective, and related future consequences have also to be considered. After the evaluation of alternatives, the next stage is the selection of the best available option

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 8

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

- 1. How the decision maker interprets information is dependent on his or her personal beliefs and past experience------(True/False).
- 2. The bureaucracy provides and filters additional information through its own organizational interests ------(True/False).
- 3. After the evaluation of alternatives, the next stage is problem identification ------(True/False).

1.5.3 Selection of the Best Option

This is the final stage of the decision-making process. Here the best feasible alternative is selected. This stage is decisive because if the policy

selection is prejudiced, the purpose of goal optimization will be undermined. Therefore, it is expected that the selection of the best option should be based on availability and accessibility of the critical resources since this helps the implementation. However, decision maker often considers and prioritizes political concerns, especially under a democratic setting. Most governments consider their re-election as a national interest and would completely avoid taking decisions that will hurt the interest of the voting public (Halperin and Kanter, 1992). However, this certainly does not mean that all foreign policy decisions are taken dependent on domestic political concerns, rather when vital interests are at stake, governments can take confronting decisions without hesitation (Ereker, 2018).

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 9

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

- 1. Selection of the best option is the final stage of the decision-making process ------(True/False).
- 2. Political concerns are ignored by the decision maker when selecting the best option ------(True/False).
- 3. In foreign policy decision making sometimes, political concerns are prioritized over national interests------(True/False).

1.5.4 Implementation of the Decision

Implementation of the decisions comes after selection of a policy option. While implementing the decision, misperception and/or misinterpretation could occur and derail the decision from its original intention. Those entrusted with the task of implementing the decisions can interpret the decision through their own perspective, which would also cause differences between the decision and the implemented policy. Regarding macro decisions, it is known that high level decision makers prepare only the main framework of the decision and details are left to the bureaucracy mechanism. Thus, it is possible that the basic essence of the decision is undermined in the course of implementation (Nicholson, 1992). At this stage, it is imperative to observe a feed-back mechanism to see whether the decision was sound or not (Ereker, 2018).

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 10

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

- 1. Misperception and/or misinterpretation of information could occur in the course of policy implementation------(True/False).
- 2. Implementation could alter the basic essence of decision -----

-----(*True/False*).

3. Feed-back mechanism is necessary to see whether a decision was sound or not -----(*True/False*).

1.6 Summary

Every day decisions are made by exploring alternatives and choosing the option that is the most appropriate. Like domestic policies, foreign policies of states function through a set of decisions made following a process or procedure. The aim of foreign policy decision making is the maximization of national interest in the international arena, where the actions and behaviour of states are characterized by problems, challenges, and crises. Foreign policy makers are not isolated or free of multiplicity of variables that influence their decisions. Fundamentally, foreign policy decisions are shaped by factors in both external and internal environments. There are four basic stages in foreign policy making as there is in any decision to be made in daily life; identification of the problem, interpretation determination and evaluation of alternatives, selection of the best option, and implementation.

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1.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

Answers to SAEs 1

- 1. True
- 2. Crisis
- 3. False
- 4. False
- 5. True

Answers to SAEs 2

- 1. Political environment
- 2. True
- *3.* external stimuli
- 4. True

Answers to SAEs 3

- 1. True
- 2. North Atlantic Treaty Organization
- 3. True
- 4. True

Answers to SAEs 4

- 1. True
- 2. True
- 3. False

Answers to SAEs 5

- 1. True
- 2. opinion leaders
- *3. attentive*
- 4. True
- 5. *public policies*

Answers to SAEs 6

- 1. True
- 2. True
- 3. Executive
- 4. True

Answers to SAEs 7

- 1. Decision-making
- 2. internal and external
- 3. Images
- 4. Misperception

Answers to SAEs 8

- 1. True
- 2. True
- 3. False

Answers to SAEs 9

- 1. True
- 2. False
- 3. True

Answers to SAEs 10

- 1. True
- 2. True
- 3. True

Unit 2 Actors of Foreign Policy

Unit Structure

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Learning Outcomes
- 2.3 Actors of Foreign Policy
 - 2.3.1 The State Actor
 - 2.3.2 Non-State Actors (NSAs)
- 2.4 The Roles of Non-State Actors in Foreign Policy Making
- 2.5 Summary
- 2.6 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 2.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

2.1 Introduction

Many players are involved in international relations. These players are called actors, who could be individuals, entities or groups. There are basically two types of actors, namely, state and non-state actors. State actors represent a government while non-state actors do not. The oldest and universally acknowledged actor on the modern world stage is the state. In addition to formal organizations, other kinds of new actors have emerged. Starting from the early 1970s, the number of nongovernmental international organizations has increased. Some actors make a bigger impact on policy decisions than others. However, irrespective of its impact, an actor must be clearly identifiable with an appreciable degree of freedom of decision and action. It must also endure over a period. The thrust of this unit is to outline and introduce students to state and non-state actors of foreign policy.

2.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- Explain the meaning of actors of foreign policy
- outline and differentiate the prominent actors of foreign policy
- discuss the impacts of actors on policy decisions in the international system

2.3 Actors of Foreign Policy

2.3.1 The State Actor

A state is a political unit that has the ultimate authority or sovereignty over an area of territory and the people in it. State actors include nation states and their agencies i.e., their governments and institutions and

officials. Hence, every state in the global arena is categorized under state actors, for example, USA, UK, China, Germany, Nigeria, Ghana, Singapore etc. States are the major and dominant actors at the international arena because they hold the administrative power of a state. They also have the ultimate authority in their decision-making procedure in addition to possessing military power. They are in the topmost position in the international power hierarchy. They bear the legal right to use force and military power according to their wishes. Until recently, the international system was conceptualized in terms of its state system as states were regarded as the sole and dominant actors. In this regard, only states were credited and presumed to have wills and minds of their own such as the will to survive, the will to power and the fear of losing their possessions to others in the international system. The idea of states as the major and dominant actors in international relations is reinforced by the prevailing international law which recognizes only states as the subject of international law as district from objects of the law. Besides membership in international organizations like the UNO, AU, and ECOWAS are still strictly restricted to states. However, recent developments in technology, globalization, as well as and the proliferation of social movements have increased the presence and capacity of non-state actors in the international system. As aptly captured by Wijninga, Oosterveld, Galdiga and Marten (2014: 142), "while the post-World War II period pointed towards an accumulation of tasks on the part of governments, the last decades have witnessed some reverse trends in the shape of outsourcing and privatization, creating more opportunities for non-state actors to jump into the fold... the result is that the influence of the state as an actor appears to have declined over the past three decades, in particular to the benefit of non-state actors. Asobie (2007) agrees with this position. For him, the study of internal relations has moved from focusing on the state and state power to man and social forces. Table 1 highlights the differences between state actors and non-state actors.

Table 1: The Differences between State Actors and Non-State Actors

State Actors vs Non-State Actors (NSAs)		
State Actors are the	Non-State Actors are groups or individuals	
states or	who have the potential to influence the	
governments of the	activities of the state actors.	
countries.		
Types		
State actors	Non-state actors can be IGOs, NGOs, Trans	
primarily comprise	National Actors, Violent Political Groups,	
of states.	Criminal Groups (TOC) and Influential	
	Individual figures.	
Interests		

	Non-state actors have varied self-motivated
state-related	interests.
interests as	E.g., IGO s and NGOs mainly intend in
exemplified by their	promoting world peace, humanitarian
domestic and foreign	measures, social services etc., Violent political
policies.	group's main intention is to create political
	transformations, Criminal groups engage in
	transnational organized crime for economic
	and political gains.

UK Essays. (2018). State and Non-state Actors in International Politics. Retrieved from https://www.ukessays.com/essays/politics/nonstate-actors-international-politics-1781.php?vref=1.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 7 minutes.

- 1. -----are the major and dominant actors at the international arena
 - A. States B. Powerful individuals C. Interest Groups. D. Multinational corporations. E. Transnational organization.
- 2. Membership of the following international organizations are strictly restricted to states except------
 - A. UNO B. AU C. ECOWAS D. NGO E. EU
- 3. Which of the following can be categorised as state actors-----
 - A. AU and ECOWAS B. Nigeria and US C. WTO and IMF D. MNC and TNC E. IGO and NGO
- 4. The idea of states as the major and dominant actors in international relations is reinforced by the prevailing-----
 - A. state system B. international system C. international law D. international organization E. world system

2.3.2 Non-State Actors (NSAs)

At the international level, players that operate below the power hierarchy of the states are called non-state actors. Pearlman and Cunningham (2011) define non-state actors as organized political actors that are not connected directly to the state but consistently pursue objectives that affect the core interests of the states. They can be either organizations or influential individuals that have the political and socio-economic capability to influence decisions at the international level. They are not allies to any government or state, which makes it possible for them to work individually with a view to influencing and interfering with the actions of the state actors. Unlike the state actors, non-state actors have no legal right

to use military force and power, unless approved by the state. For example, the involvement of IGOs and NGOs in state affairs such as the UN peace-keeping forces. Sometimes non-state actors act as official representatives of designated groups in a country. As a result, they can sometimes be very influential, in some respects, even more powerful than a state itself. Indeed, states are now entering into officially sanctioned contracts with non-state actors such as Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs). Non-state actors are assuming more responsibility under the prevailing international law. The UN's Global Compact (2000), which brought together governments and multinationals to promote good business practices is a good example in this regard (Wijninga, Oosterveld, Galdiga and Marten, 2014; Moyo, 2019). Unlike the legal and staterelated status of the states, a non-state actor needs to possess a degree of autonomy and influence to be considered an actor in world politics. Nonstate actors are classified into two categories, namely International Governmental Organizations (IGOs) also called intergovernmental organizations and transnational organizations (Brown, International Governmental Organizations are non-state actors created by nation-states, while transnational organizations are establishments by non-state actors. International criminal groups such as Al-Qaeda and Boko Haram among others are also grouped under non-state actors. Nonstate actors have played a vital role in shaping the foreign policy of states. The growth of non-state actors in the last two to three decades has challenged the state-centric concept of international politics.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

- 1. Unlike states, non-state actors have no legal right to use military force and power-----(True/False)
- 2. Non-state actors have political and socio-economic capability to influence decisions at the international-------(True/False)
- 3. Non-state actors are assuming less responsibility under the prevailing international law-----(True/False)
- 4. The growth of non-state actors has challenged the state-centric conception of international politics-----(True/False)
- 5. International Governmental Organizations are non-state actors created by multinationals -----(True/False)

A. International Governmental Organizations (IGOs)

Aside from state actors, another group of important players are the IGOs or intergovernmental organizations. These are establishments by states, usually through a treaty, for the achievement of certain goals which member states believe cannot be met by individual efforts. IGOs may be classified by scope (global and regional) and by function (political,

economic, social and environmental). IGOs are adjuncts of nation-states and they play significant roles by providing means of cooperation and multiple channels of communication among states in areas in which cooperation and communication provide advantages for all or most states (Bennett, 1991). The United Nations Organization (UNO) is a shining example of IGO. Some other IGOs include the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), International Monetary Fund IMF), International Criminal Police Organization (ICPO), World Bank Group, World Trade Organization (WTO), African Union (AU), and Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Table 2 highlights some examples of IGOs and their functions among others. These institutions/organizations have developed large bureaucracies and possess substantial funds. They have also gained the loyalties of civil servants and governments who rarely question the legitimacy of their actions as their role is usually clearly institutionalized. Statements emanating from such organizations often carry more weight than similar statements by their individual members. Also, these institutions affect the policy and behaviour of their member nations and, in certain respects, even that of non-member nations. The foregoing facts, however, do not mean that these institutions have supplanted the role of states as actors in the international system. After all, membership of these institutions is still restricted to states and there is no clause in the instruments of these institutions which can stop any member from withdrawing its membership. States, therefore, maintain their sovereignty amidst the emergence of IGOs, which only exist and operate by the consent of states. Moreover, most IGOs lack effective means to enforce compliance with their decisions, at least without the help of powerful states. For example, since the United States is a permanent member of the UN's Security Council, along with China, Russia, France, and the United Kingdom, it can veto any substantive UN resolution.

Table: 2 Some examples of IGOs and their functions include

IGO	FUNCTION
United Nations	Maintain international peace and security. Develop
(UN)	friendly relations among nations. Achieve international
	cooperation in solving international problems. Function
	as a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations
World Bank	This International Financial Institution works on
	reducing poverty. It helps developing countries by giving
	loans.
The Group of	The Group of 8 is made up of the world's leading
Eight (G8)	industrial
	countries (Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, UK,
	USA
	and Russia). The head of the G8 countries meet each year
	to
	discuss global issues such as world poverty and security.

North Atlantic	Military alliance. A system of collective defence where
Treaty	its member states agree to mutual defence in response to
Organization	an attack by any external party
(NATO)	

UKEssays. (2018). State and Non-state Actors in International Politics. Retrieved from https://www.ukessays.com/essays/politics/nonstate-actors-international-politics-1781.php?vref=1.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 3

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

- 1. Intergovernmental organizations are establishments of -----
- 2. What is the full meaning of the acronym WTO------
- 3. The United Nations Organization (UNO) is a shining example of -----
- 4. -----maintain their sovereignty amidst the emergence of IGOs

B. Transnational Organizations

Non-state actors that are active below the state level but operate across the state borders are called transnational actors (Joey, 2021). Transnational organizations or corporations possess neither sovereignty nor territory. They are private and they affect the course of international events. Their ability to operate as international or transnational actors may be traced to the fact that they\ identify themselves and their interests with corporate bodies other than the nation-state. Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and Multinational Corporations (MNCs) are the two most prominent transnational organizations.

i. Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)

These are private and non-profit organizations that pursue policies for the good of the public (UKEssays, 2018). They operate across international borders with the primary aim of advancing their particular interest. Nongovernmental organizations engaged in a wide range of global issues such as human rights, humanitarian aid, economic development, disarmament, environmental protection and social welfare, among other things. Some well-known NGOs include the Red Cross, Greenpeace, Oxfam, Worldwide Fund for Nature, Amnesty International, and others. The activities of nongovernmental organizations have affected the policies and behaviour of states, as well as other actors in the system. For example, the activities of Amnesty International and other human rights bodies have exposed the abuse of human rights by governments in many countries. Over the last quarter century, the interventionist, advocacy, investigative and other roles of NGOs in global governance have been

emerging steadily and slowly. As a result, they are increasingly being recognized in the UN and other forums, as legitimate actors in international politics.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 4

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 4 minutes.

- 1. The two most prominent transnational organizations are Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and Multinational Corporations (MNCs) ------(True/False)
- 2. Non-governmental organizations engaged in a wide range of global issues such as human rights and humanitarian aid------(True/False)
- 3. Greenpeace and Amnesty International are good examples of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs ------(True/False)

ii. Multinational Corporations (MNCs)

MNC is a large corporation based in one state but has branches or subsidiaries simultaneously operating in many countries around the world. As actors in international politics, multinational corporations lobby for and against laws and regulations that best serve the interests of their investors in the countries in which they operate. One of their primary targets is profit-making using their business interests which transcend the territorial boundaries of many states. Some MNCs command vast amounts of resources that rival, and even surpass, the resources of smaller states. The volume of their operations, in addition to their economic power and near-monopoly of very sensitive and relevant technology combine to give them a substantial role in international affairs. Examples of MNCS include: Dangote Group, Epson, Facebook, GlaxoSmithKline, Exon Mobil, MTN, Shoprite and others. Table 3 highlights the broad categories of MNCS. The expansion of international trade, investment and other financial interactions has brought a rapid increase in the number of MNCs and they have played significant roles in shaping behaviour of nation states. For example, multinational firms vocally opposed the Trump Administration's escalation of trade tensions, tightening of immigration restrictions, and disruption of global value chains (Kim and Milner, 2019). MNCs provide job opportunities, in addition to contributing to the economic stability of their host state.

Table 3: The types of MNCs

Industrial	makes goods in factories in many countries and sell them to
corporations	business and consumers in various countries. The largest
	MNCs are automobile, oil, and electronic industries. Almost

	all the MNCS are based in the G7 states. Examples of this MNCs are Sony, Honda, Toyota, Petronas and more.
Financial such as banks, they operate multi nationally with mocorporations restrictions than industrial corporations. Examples are	
	Oversea-Chinese Banking Corporation Limited (OCBC Bank) and others.
	Such as McDonald's fast-food chain, international airlines like MAS, Asiana Airlines and more, Hilton Hotels & Resorts and many others.

UKEssays. (2018). State and Non-state Actors in International Politics. Retrieved from https://www.ukessays.com/essays/politics/nonstate-actors-international-politics-1781.php?vref=1.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 5

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 4 minutes.

- 1. What is the full meaning of the acronym MNCs ------
- 2. One primary target of MNCs is-----using their business interests
- 3. Multinational corporations lobby for and against laws and regulations that best serve the ------of their investors.

C. International Criminal Groups

These are criminal groups that often operate in a well-organized manner, with intention to carry out illegal actions. International criminal Groups typically involve certain hierarchies and are headed by a powerful leader. These groups held great power and can influence interstate relations. A known international criminal group at present is the Al-Qaeda. The September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks by members of Al-Qaeda, has shown how powerful terrorist groups can be, as non-state actors. On September 11, 2001, terrorist group, led by Osama bin Laden, unleashed suicide bombers on the U.S. The group is also known to coordinate and finance its activities through Internet and global banking system. Other examples of international criminal groups include: the Yakuza in Japan, the Sicilian Mafia in Italy and Triads in Hong Kong, and factions of Boko Haram in the Lake Chad Region. International crime groups engage in illegal, sometimes violent activities, and since they operate internationally, their activities invariably constitute a threat to global security, often weakening governmental institutions or destroying legitimate business endeavours. Most of these groups are involved in drugs, prostitution, human trafficking, firearms and many other crimes.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 6

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 4 minutes.

- 1. A known international criminal group at present is Al-Qaeda -----(True/False)
- 2. Internal criminal groups operate in a well-organized manner, with intention to carry out illegal actions-----(True/False)
- 3. International crime groups engage in illegal activities------(True/False)

2.4 The Roles of Non-State Actors in Foreign Policy Making

The number of non-state actors in international arena has increased in the last four or five decades and they exert some level of influence in foreign policy-making process. This is a result of globalization as well as developments in information and communication technologies and others. Therefore, non-state actors play diverse roles in foreign policy-making of nation-states and significantly influence their foreign policy behaviour either through advocacy, lobbying, negotiations, and violent protests which they often deployed to engage the attention of states. For example, IGOs play a significant role in foreign policy making by providing means of cooperation and multiple channels of communication among states in areas in which cooperation and communication provide advantages for all or most states. They may also change the norms and principles of international relations and preferences of nation-states (Sharkdam, 2012).

Apart from IGOs, NGOs that operate at international level are increasingly becoming more visible as part of the determinants of foreign policies of nation-states. Like their counterparts at domestic level, international NGOs lobby at international and transnational levels. Indeed, human rights advocates, gender activists, religious movements, developmentalists, and indigenous peoples have invaded the territory of nation-states to lobby for issues that are of interest to them. As pointed out by Brown (1995: 267), "as the countries and sectors of world society have become more and more interdependent, it has become commonplace for nongovernmental groups representing similar communities in their various countries to closely coordinate their policies and to constitute (or reconstitute) themselves as international nongovernmental organizations (INGOs)". Therefore, policies, decisions, and actions of the nation-states now bear the increasing influence of the presence and activities of NGOs. In addition to IGOs and NGOs that use non-violent strategies, the violent NSAs seek to obtain their goals through violent means. These include a wide range of groups with varying objectives such as the Al-Qaeda, Taliban, Boko Haram and others. They use hard power to pursue varying objectives motivated by ethnic, political, ideological, or religious

aspirations. An example is the terrorist attacks on the U.S. by members of Al-Qaeda on September 11, 2001. Again, factions of Boko Haram at present constitute a security threat in Nigeria and countries in the Lake Chad region. Activities of violent NSAs have implications for foreign policy formulation.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 7

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 4 minutes.

- 1. The number of non-state actors in international arena has increased in the last four or five decades -----(True/False)
- 3. IGOs and NGOs use violent strategies to influence foreign policies of nation-states -----(True/False)
- 4. International criminal groups such as Al-Qaeda and Boko Haram use non-violent strategies to influence policies of nation-states -----(True/False)

2.5 Summary

As a discipline, international relations is concerned with how actors in the international arena interact with each other. There are two groups of actors in the international arena: state actors and non-state actors. The impacts of globalization and the development of technologies have transformed the international order so much that state actors are no longer sole players. Non-state actors have become major players as well. As a result, most of the actions of state actors are influenced and challenged by the growing demands of NSAs. The difference between state actors and non-state actors is that state actors are the ruling governments of the states while non-state actors are the influential bodies not allied to states. The interests of these actors differ accordingly. The role and impact of non-state actors vary and this have effects on the international system.

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2.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

Answers to SAEs 1

- 1. A
- 2. D.
- 3. B
- 4. C

Answers to SAEs 2

- 1. True
- 2. True.
- 3. False
- 4. True
- 5. False

Answers to SAEs 3

- 1. states
- 2. World Trade Organization
- *3. IGO*
- 4. States

Answers to SAEs 4

- 1. True
- 2. True
- 3. *True*

Answers to SAEs 5

- 1. Multinational Corporations
- 2. profit-making
- 3. interests

Answers to SAEs 6

1	True
1.	True
2.	True
	Eslas

Answers to SAEs 7

	or to brills r	
1.	True	
2.	True	
3.	False	
4	False	

Unit 3 Models of Foreign Policy Decision Making

Unit Structure

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Learning Outcomes
- 3.3 Graham Allison's Three Models of Foreign Policy Decision Making
 - 3.3.1 The Rational Actor Model (RAM)
 - 3.3.2 The Bureaucratic Politics Model (BPM)
 - 3.3.3 The Organizational Process Model (OPM)
- 3.4 John Steinbruner's Three Models of Foreign Policy Decision Making
 - 3.4.1 The Analytic Model
 - 3.4.2 The Cybernetic Model
 - 3.4.3 The Cognitive Processes model
- 3.5 Summary
- 3.6 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 3.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

3.1 Introduction

Foreign policy is a complex exercise in which numerous actors work within the structures of the state to have an impact on the decision-making process. Analytical models exist to explain how states conduct their foreign policies, international relations, and diplomatic endeavours. However, analysts have bemoaned the overemphasis of political and economic theory on the rational choice framework, especially in foreign policy decision making models. In response, some analysts have proposed alternative analytical models that hold great promise. Two major advances in this regard are: the rational actor model, the bureaucratic politics model, and the organizational process model identified by Graham Allison in his book The Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis (1971), and the Analytic Paradigm, the Cybernetic Paradigm and the Cognitive Processes model identified by John D. Steinbruner in his book: Cybernetic Theory of Decision (1974). This unit discusses these models of foreign policy and political decision making, highlighting their respective contributions, their main arguments, and the strengths and weaknesses of their various methodological approaches.

3.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- discuss foreign policy decision making in the light of each of the five models
- highlight the relative strengths of each of the five models of foreign policy decision making
- explain the weaknesses of each of the five models of foreign policy decision making

3.3 Graham Allison's Three Models of Foreign Policy Decision Making

In his book, *The Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*, (1971), Graham Allison examined the effect of bureaucracy on foreign policy decision making. Graham Allison, presents three models of decision making, namely: Rational Actor Model (RAM), Organizational Processes Model, Governmental Politics Model or Bureaucratic Politics Model.

3.3.1 The Rational Actor Model (RAM)

This model assumes that the main actor in foreign policy is a rational actor who can be relied on to make informed, calculated decisions that maximize value and perceived benefits to the state. The rational actor model relies on state-level interactions between nations and government behaviour as units of analysis; it assumes the availability of complete information to policymakers for optimized decision making, and that actions taken throughout time are both consistent and coherent. As Allison (1971:10) puts it, RAM is "the attempt to explain international events by recounting the aims and calculations of nations or governments". When faced with a decision-making situation, rational actors within the framework of RAM follow a process with certain stages. They; 1. define the situation basing on objective assessment, 2. specify the goal to be achieved and if there is conflict among them prioritize the goal 3. consider all possible alternative means of achieving the goal, 4. select the final alternative that is calculated to maximize achievement of the goal, 5. take the necessary actions to implement the decision. Another feature of the RAM is that the only actor in the foreign policy decision making process is the state. There is no place for non-state actors like nongovernmental organizations, pressure or interest groups, organizations or other such organizations, otherwise it would be against the logic of rationality assumption as it could influence the process and finally the decision. The rational actor model is attractive because it is simple and has relatively more predictive power. It places relatively few

informational demands on the observer to explain and predict a wide variety of decisions. It can be used to understand the goals and intentions behind a foreign policy action. However, critics believe that RAM does not account for instances when complete information may not be available, as well as the relatively subjective concept of rationality or factors that might inhibit rational decision making. In fact, viewing the world in a totally objective, unbiased manner is not possible for any individual. Or, on the other hand, how many decision makers have the time needed to ponder all conceivable options, say in a foreign policy crisis situation? A careful consideration of policy alternatives using the RAM does not automatically ensure a sound outcome. In general, the analytical process of the rational model should lead to better decisions, although not always to better outcomes (Renshon & Renshon, 2008). Put differently, although the rational model offers a clear and logical means for decision-making, in many cases it is difficult to act rationally due to personal situation of the leader, the surrounding environment or sensitivity of the matter itself (Walker, 1990).

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 4 minutes.

- 1. One of the features of the RAM is that the state is the only actor in the foreign policy decision making process-----(True/False)
- 2. The rational actor model is attractive because it is simpler and has relatively more predictive power ------(True/False)
- 3. What is the full meaning of the acronym RAM -----
- 4. RAM accounts for instances when complete information may not be available-----(True/False)

3.3.2 The Bureaucratic Politics Model (BPM)

The BPM analyzes decisions on the premise that actions are taken by a number of independent, competing entities within a particular state. Each of these separate entities brings values to the decision-making process, as well as its own view of what is best for personal, organizational and national interests. Each party attempts to satisfy its goals. This means that any collective action is contingent upon successful negotiations and the arrival at an ultimate consensus between all entities. Several factors can influence each party's decision making and how it achieves its goals, such as the relative power and degree of influence of each other actor in the group. Each party has opposing viewpoints and desired outcomes related to an array of issues, and success in achieving certain goals may require other parties to make certain concessions, resulting in decisions that are

often seen as more beneficial to one side than the others. Additional factors that impact on decision making include the degrees of importance of certain goals and the political values each party represents.

Bureaucratic management of foreign relations is not new. However, with the internalisation of domestic politics during the twentieth century, the growth of large-scale organisations to manage foreign relations has spread more than ever before. Bureaucratic procedures based on the theoretical work of the Max Weber are commonplace, primarily because they are perceived to enhance national decision making and efficient administration. Bureaucracies increase efficiency and rationality by assigning responsibility for different tasks to different people. They define value and standard operating procedures that specify how tasks are to be performed; they rely on record systems to gather and store information; they divide authority among different organisation to avoid duplication of effort, and they often lead to meritocracies by hiring and promoting most capable individuals. Bureaucracies also permit the luxury of engaging in forward planning to determine long-term needs and the means to attain them. Unlike heads of states whose roles require attentions to the crises of the moment, bureaucrats can consider the future as well as the present. The presence of several organisations can also result in multiple advocacies of the rival choices, thus improving the chance that all possible policy options will be considered. Every state, irrespective of its strength or type of government, is heavily influenced by its bureaucracy. The dividing line between decision makers and bureaucrats is often hazy, but we can say that bureaucrats are career government personnel, as distinguished from those who are political appointees or elected officials. Although, political leaders legally command the bureaucracy; they find it difficult to control the vast structure of their governments. Thus, generally bureaucratic organisation of any country tries to influence the foreign policies of their governments in the following ways:

- **Filtering Information:** This is one way that bureaucracy influences policy. Foreign policy decision makers depend on staff for information, and what they are told depend on what subordinates choose, consciously or unconsciously, to pass on.
- **Recommendations:** This is another source of bureaucratic influence on foreign policy. Bureaucracies are the source of considerable expertise, which they use to push the agencies preferred position. Bureaucrats narrow the range of options available to leaders, by presenting to them only those options that the bureaucratic organisation favours. They also decide what national leaders would do even before they consider a situation (Rourke, 2008).
- **Implementation:** This is another powerful bureaucratic tool. Bureaucrats can influence policy through the way they carry it out,

as the investigation into the 9/11/2001 terrorist attack on U.S. revealed. It was discovered that the terrorists were able to carry out the attacks in part because of flaws in the implementation of the U.S. anti-terrorist policy. Evidence showed that government agencies failed to share information or otherwise cooperate, that they discounted the terrorist threat, and that they ignored information that pointed to an impending attack.

Some analysts, however, argue that the BPM does not account enough for highly concentrated power held by certain entities, such as the executive branch in U.S. governance. It is also seen as very U.S.-centric and difficult to apply in the context of other styles of government. Again, it is a common notion that bureaucracies are often self-serving and guardians of the status quo. This severally finds expression in their readiness to defy directives by political authorities they are supposed to serve. Bureaucratic unresponsiveness and inaction sometimes manifest themselves as lethargy. At other times bureaucratic sabotage is direct and immediate, as vividly illustrated again by the U.S. experience in the 1962 Cuban missile crisis. While President Kennedy sought to orchestrate U.S. action and bargaining, his bureaucracy in general, and the Navy in particular, were in fact controlling events by doing as they wished (Steinberg, 1991).

Furthermore, bureaucratic resistance is a recurrent annoyance that leaders throughout the world experience, irrespective of political system. Bureaucratic resistance to change is one of the major problems reformers in the Soviet Union and the other centralized communist countries of Eastern Europe encountered, which impaired their efforts to chart new policy directions, which eventually caused their disintegration. The foreign policy process in China operates similarly. It is subject to the same challenges emanating from subjective perception, organisational conflict, bureaucratic politics and factional infighting that bedevil other governments. And in the United States nearly every president has complained at one time or another about how the bureaucracy ostensibly designed to serve has undermined public policies. The implementations of foreign policy innovations thus pose a major challenge to most leaders.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 6 minutes.

- 1. Political leaders legally command the bureaucracy, but find it difficult to control the vast structure of their -----
- 3. Bureaucracies are the source of considerable-----, which they use to push the agencies preferred position.

- 4. Bureaucratic resistance to change is one of the problems leaders throughout the world experience -------(True/False)
- 5. What is the full meaning of the acronym BPM -----

3.3.3 The Organizational Process Model (OPM)

This model views government as a mix of powerful organizations working in concert rather than an individual or a group of partisan entities. It examines foreign policy decisions as made within the rigid strictures of bureaucracy, where actions may only be taken with proper authorization and adherence to the chain of command, respecting established processes and standard operating procedures. The organizational process model is one of the decision-making approaches introduced by Graham Allison. It holds that the national government is not a unitary actor as the RAM assumed. Rather, it is "a constellation of loosely allied organizations on top of which leaders sit" (Allison, 1971: 79). The OPM sees the output that is foreign policy not as the decision of one actor, but the decision of many actors. In this model, foreign policy decision makers rely on standardized responses or standard operating procedures for most decisions. For example, the U.S State Department everyday receives more than a thousand reports or inquiries from its embassies around the world and sends out more than a thousand instructions or responses to those embassies. Most of those cables are never seen by the top decision makers; instead, they are handled by low-level decision makers who apply general principles. These low-level decisions may not even reflect the high-level policies adopted by top leaders, but rather have a life of their own (Welch, 1992). Each organizational unit of the government has special function responsibilities. No single unit has exclusive authority to deal with any important foreign policy issue, they need coordination. Governments consider foreign policy matters through and from organizational perspectives. Each organization has its own previously set "standard operating procedures". Standard operating procedures are the key element for the organizational process and in case of decision making each organization operates its own procedures in order to produce the alternatives among which decision makers make their choices. Accordingly, foreign policy decisions are organizational outputs that emerge as a result of the standard operating procedures. These organizational outputs prepare the first step by defining the problem and providing the information needed before transferring it to the decision maker. At this point, an important factor is that while organizations prepare their organizational outputs they mainly base on organizational interests rather than the national interest. It therefore can often be in conflict with the expectations of the decision maker. Furthermore, organizations and standard operating procedures do not change significantly over time, they rather adapt slowly and incrementally over

time. This is troubling for decision makers because they sometimes encounter foreign policy problems that do not correspond to pre-existing operating procedures of organizations (Allison 1971). Finally, according to this model, the decision-making process continues invariably regardless of who the top decision maker is.

Applying the OPM has the potential to streamline decision making with the establishment of standard protocol for certain circumstances with predictable, measurable outcomes, that is, the organizational process model anticipates the measured pace of bureaucratic practices and seeks to create protocol that can be readily applied in the event of a crisis. Critics, however, insist that OPM limits individuals' ability to act, which results in reduced insight and a lack of alternative perspectives. The organizational process model can also decrease the overall flexibility of an organization. Again, the explanatory power of OPM proved to be limited, particularly in relation to change and innovation.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 3

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 6 minutes.

- 1. The organizational process model is one of the decision-making approaches introduced by-----
- 2. The OPM sees the output that is foreign policy not as the decision of one actor, but the decision of many------
- 3. What is the full meaning of the acronym *OPM* -----
- 4. According to the OPM, foreign policy decisions are organizational outputs that emerge as a result of the-----
- 5. The organizational process model can decrease the overall flexibility of an organization -----(True/False)

3.4 John Steinbruner's Three Models of Foreign Policy Decision Making

John Steinbruner articulates his three models of foreign policy decision making in his book – The *Cybernetic Theory of Decision* (1974). The book is split into two halves. The first half, with the title "Paradigms of the Decision Process", clearly presents the conceptual models of the decision-making process whilst the second half, titled "The Politics of Nuclear Sharing", describes the development of nuclear sharing proposals between allied European States and the United States during the years from 1956 – 1960. The first half focuses on two central tenets of foreign policy decision making: how decision makers cope with uncertainty and how they deal with the inherently conflictual nature of many of the goals of foreign policy (Akoto, 2014). Like Graham Allison, Steinbruner

presents three models of decision making – the Analytic Model, the Cybernetic Model, and the Cognitive Processes model.

3.4.1 The Analytic Model

This model assumes that the objective of a decision maker is the accomplishment of a task under a given set of external limitations. To reach a decision, the decision maker has to make direct calculations bearing in mind the trade-offs involved. According to Steinbruner (1974), as cited by Akoto (2014: 5), the decision maker is guided by the implicit assumptions that alternative states of the world produce differently valued outcomes for the same course of action and that these outcome calculations are continuously updated as new information becomes available. This model suffers some shortcomings because it requires that decision makers have nearly perfect information in order to make their decisions, which they rarely have. In his view, the analytic model stipulates conditions which cannot be met (Akoto, 2014).

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 4

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 4 minutes.

- 1. Like Graham Allison, Steinbruner presents three models of decision making -----(True/False)
- 2. The analytic model assumes that the objective of a decision maker is the accomplishment of a task under a given set of external limitations ------(True/False)
- 3. The analytic model requires that decision makers have nearly perfect information to make their decisions, which they rarely have ------(True/False)

3.4.2 The Cybernetic Model

On the contrary, the cybernetic model sees the primary concern of a decision maker as one intended to avoid the complexity of external constraints by avoiding direct outcome calculations and instead separating, segmenting and factoring complex problems to simplify them. This process allows the decision maker to disaggregate values and utilize information selectively, thereby evading the need to have perfect information (Steinbruner, 1974 as cited in Akoto, 2014).

3.4.3 The Cognitive Processes model

This model takes a slightly different approach, modifying the assumptions of the cybernetic model which involve the decision maker's thinking patterns. Steinbruner thus argues that these modifications are necessary because despite operating in conditions of uncertainty most of the time,

the mind often operates in a way so as to establish strong beliefs and to act on these beliefs. The underlying logic of the cognitive processes model is that information is often processed prior to and independently of conscious direction and a major contribution of his work is the explication of these processes and their integration into a theoretical framework. In essence, the cognitive model expands on the cybernetic model by asserting that top level decision makers often make categorical decisions about what is desirable and attainable and subsequent evidence to the contrary often does not alter these decisions (Steinbruner, 1974 as cited in Akoto, 2014).

Meanwhile, although John Steinbruner's models of foreign policy decision making has been applauded as a laudable attempt to construct a general theory that explains decision making in complex settings, critics have, however, questioned the application of the models to the multilateral nuclear force debacle, claiming that particular episode fails to demonstrate the validity of the models, particularly the cybernetic paradigm, in explaining how large and fragmented executive bureaucracies deal with foreign policy problems that appear intractable.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 5

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 4 minutes.

- 1. The----- model sees the primary concern of a decision maker as one intended to avoid the complexity of external constraints by avoiding direct outcome calculations.
- 2. The underlying logic of the cognitive processes model is that information is processed prior to and independently of conscious direction -----(True/False)
- 3. In essence, the cybernetic model expands on the cognitive model----- (True/False)

3.5 Summary

This unit has examined two of the seminal works in the theory of foreign policy and political decision making, highlighting their main arguments and the strengths and weaknesses of their various methodological approaches. Allison's seminal work (1971) transcended the focus of the rational actor model to show that other conceptual frameworks may be equally, if not better, suited to the analysis and understanding of decision making in large bureaucratic settings. John Steinbruner's work (1974) extended the decision-making framework with his cybernetic theory and cognitive processes frameworks. He also demonstrated how decision makers often take decisions based on selective information which culminate in sub-optimal decisions and choices. Steinbruner's model of decision making is therefore a response to the explanatory inadequacies

of Allison's organizational processes model because Steinbruner not only expands the autonomic, routinized responses of organizations to problems, but also gives it wider explanatory applicability by augmenting it with the cognitive processes model. The idea was previously highlighted by Allison.

3.6 References/Further Readings/Web Sources

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3.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

Answers to SAEs 1

- 1. True
- 2. True
- 3. Rational Actor Model
- 4. False

Answers to SAEs 2

- 1. governments
- 2. three
- 3. expertise
- 4. True
- 5. Bureaucratic Politics Model

Answers to SAEs 3

- *1.* Graham Allison
- 2. actors
- 3. Organizational Process Model
- 4. standard operating procedures
- 5. True

Answers to SAEs 4

- 1. True
- 2. True
- 3. True

Answers to SAEs 5

- 1. cybernetic
- 2. True
- *3*. False

Unit 4 Constraints on Foreign Policy Making

Unit Structure

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Learning Outcomes
- 4.3 Constraints on Foreign Policy Making
 - 4.3.1 Group Psychology
 - 4.3.2 Crisis Management
 - 4.3.3 Perceptions
- 4.4 Summary
- 4.5 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 4.6 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

4.1 Introduction

Foreign policy decisions are made in an environment redolent of uncertainty and multiple competing interests, and sometimes in situations in which policy makers are required to make quick decisions due to some exigencies. These stressful conditions affect the cognitive abilities of policy makers and may cause them to be preoccupied with post-decisional rationalisation, as well as react emotively rather than analytically as thinkers. Thus, several constraints negatively impinge on foreign policy making, although it is possible to design and manage policy-making machinery to mitigate their impact. In this unit, therefore, three cardinal constraints on foreign policy making, namely group psychology, crisis management and perceptions, are outlined and discussed.

4.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- identify the constraints on foreign policy making
- analyse the implications of group psychology and perceptions for foreign policy making
- evaluate the recommended tools to overcome the constraints on foreign policy making

4.3 Constraints on Foreign Policy Making

Policy making is a turbulent political process that involves complex problems, a chronic lack of information, and a multiplicity of actors. Aside from these, the main constraints on foreign policy making include group psychology, crisis management, and perceptions.

4.3.1 Group Psychology

Evidently, groups promote rationality by balancing out the blind spots and biases of any individual. Advisors or legislative committees may force a state leader to reconsider a rash decision. And the interactions of different individuals in a group may result in the formation of goals that more closely reflect state interests rather than individual idiosyncrasies. However, group dynamics also introduce new source of irrationality into the decision-making process. Groupthink refers to the tendency for groups to reach decisions without accurately assessing their consequences, because individual members tend to go along with ideas. they think the others support (Janis, 1972). The basic phenomenon is illustrated by a simple psychology experiment. A group of six people are asked to compare the lengths of two lines projected on a screen. When five of the people are secretly instructed to say that line "A" is longer, even though any one can see that line B is actually longer, the sixth person is likely to agree with the group rather than believe his or her own eyes. Unlike individuals, group tends to be overly optimistic about the chances of success and thus more willing to take risks. A Participant suppresses their doubts about dubious undertakings because everyone else seems to think an idea will work. Also, because the group diffuses responsibility from individuals, nobody feels accountable for actions. The rational inclination of professionals who work in large organisations is to adopt their outlook and beliefs to those prevailing where they work. An institutional mind-set or socially, constructed consensus discourages creativity, dissent and independent thinking. It encourages reliance on standard operating procedures and deference to precedent, rather than the exploration of new options to meet new challenges. This results in policy decisions that rarely deviate from conventional preferences. Groupthink is often cited by scholars as a process governing policy decision making that leads to riskier choices, and more extreme policies that ultimately fail miserably than decisions which likely would have been made by individuals without the pressures of peer groups. The U.S. war in Iraq also provides cautionary examples about the risks of misinformation, misperception, wishful thinking, and groupthink in managing a major foreign policy initiative. Experienced participants in foreign policy formulation are familiar with the techniques for manipulating decisionmaking process to favour outcomes they prefer. A common technique is to control a group's formal decision-rule. These rules include the items of business the group discusses, and the order in which proposals are considered especially important when participants are applying. Probably most important is the ability to control the agenda and thereby structure the terms of debate. State leaders often rely on an inner circle of advisers in making foreign policy decisions. Some leaders create a 'kitchen cabinet' – a trusted group of friends who discuss policy issues with the leader even though, they have no formal positions in government. For

instance, Russian president Boris Yeltsin relied on advice of his bodyguard, who was a trusted friend.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 4 minutes.

- 1. The main constraints on foreign policy making include group psychology, crisis management, and------.

- 4. An institutional mindset encourages creativity, dissent and independent thinking----- True/False)

4.3.2 Crisis Management

The difficulties in reaching national decisions, both for individual and for groups are heightened during a crisis. Crises in foreign policy decision making are situations in which outcomes are very important and time frames are compressed. Crisis decision making is harder to understand and predict than in normal foreign policy making. In a crisis situation, decision makers operate under tremendous time constraints. The normal checks on unwise decisions may not operate. Communications become shorter and more stereotyped, and information that does not fit a decision maker's expectation is more likely to be discarded simply because there is no time to consider it. In framing options, decision makers tend to overlook creative options while focusing on the most obvious ones. Groupthink occurs easily during crises. During the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis, President John F. Kennedy created a small, closed group of advisers who worked together intensively for days on end, cut off from outside contact and discussion. Even the President's communication with Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev was reported through Kennedy's brother Robert and the Soviet Ambassador cutting out the State department. Recognising the danger of groupthink, Kennedy left the room from time to time-removing the authority figure from the group to encourage free discussion. Through this and other means, the group managed to identify an option (a naval blockade) between their first two choices (bombing the missile sites or doing nothing). Sometimes, leaders purposefully designate someone in the group known as devil's advocate, objecting to ideas (Goldstern & Pevehouse, 2009). Participants in crisis decision making not only are rushed but experience severe psychological stress. Decision makers tend to overestimate the hostility of adversaries and to underestimate their own hostility towards those adversaries. Dislike easily turns to hatred, and anxiety to fear. More and more information are

screened out in order to come to terms with decisions being made and to restore cognitive balance. Crisis decision making also leads to physical exhaustion. Whether in crisis situations or not, 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. Tensions between top political leaders and foreign policy advisers or foreign policy bureaucracies are one form of interagency tension in the formulation of foreign policy.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

- 1. ------ in foreign policy, decision making are situations in which outcomes are very important and time frames are compressed.
- 2. In a crisis situation, -----operate under tremendous time constraints.
- 3. Foreign policy is constrained and shaped by sub-state-----
- 4. Crisis decision making is harder to understand and predict than in normal foreign policy making -----(True/False)
- 5. Participants in crisis decision making are rushed by psychological stress-----(True/False)

4.3.3 Perceptions

It is a fact that we view and interpret the world through perceptual lenses, which often distort the reality, at least to some degree. Whatever their sources are, perceptions have several characteristics that influence global politics and shape foreign policy decision making. To demonstrate this, let us take a look at four common characteristics of perceptions. (i) Actors tend to see opponents as more threatening than they may actually be. The nuclear programmes of North Korea and Iran alarmed many Americans. One survey found that 71% of Americans considered Iran a threat to regional stability and 77% saw North Korea in the same way. By contrast, in the other twenty countries surveyed, only 40% believed Iran to be a force for instability and just 47% perceived North Korea in that light. (ii) Actors tend to see the behaviour of others as more planned and coordinated than their own. During the Cold War, Americans and Soviets were mutually convinced that the other side was orchestrating a coordinated global campaign to subvert them. Perhaps put more accurately, former U. S. Secretary of States, Henry Kissinger, had described the two super powers as behaving like "two heavily armed blind men feeling their way around a room, each believing himself in mortal peril for the other whom he assumes to have perfect vision". Each

according to Kissinger "tends to ascribe to the other side a consistency, foresight, and coherence that its own experience belies (Kissinger, 1982). (iii) Actors and others tend to have similar images of one another. Between countries and even between leaders, it is common to find mirror-image perception. This means that each side perceives the other in roughly similar terms. An example is the mutual threat that exists between the United States and Muslim Countries. Americans and citizens of Muslim countries share a mirror image of hostility toward one another.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 3

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 4 minutes.

- 1. Perceptions have several characteristics that influence global politics and shape foreign policy decision making------(True/False)
- 2. Actors tend to see opponents as more threatening than they may actually be -----(True/False)
- 3. Perception is one of the constraints on foreign policy making ------ (True/False)

4.4 Summary

Foreign policy making is constrained by group psychology, crises management and perceptions. All these often result in crisis decision or policy, which is one in which vital interests are at stake, and where there is the threat of violence, and a limited time in which to respond. The challenges of time constraint and high-stake limit those involved in decision making to a small group of advisors around the leaders; this group often accepts and agrees with the group's prevailing attitudes, rather than speaking out for what they believe. Crises management thus takes a high toll on decision makers psychologically and physiologically. Given the challenge of time constraints, it is impossible to have all the information necessary to make a clear and rational choice among alternative policies. Thus, foreign policy decision makers make the best decisions based on their perceptions of the situation, and on what information they can readily collect and process. Unable to gain access to all the necessary information they need, and unable to make sense of what information they have received, foreign policy decision-makers often rely on pre-existing stereotypes about their opponent's characteristics and behaviour, and the outcome of previous similar situations. Hence, they tend to believe the worst about their opponents and judge any action in that light.

4.5 References/Further Readings/Web Sources

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Kissinger, H. (1982). Years of Upheaval. Boston: Little Brown.

4.6 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

Answers to SAEs 1

- 1. perceptions
- 2. decisions
- 3. True
- 4. False

Answers to SAEs 2

- 1. Crises
- 2. decision makers
- *3. actors*
- 4. True
- 5. True

Answers to SAEs 3

- 1. True
- 2. True
- 3. True

Module 3 Nature and Approaches to Foreign Policy Analysis

Unit 1	The Nature of Foreign Policy Analysis
Unit 2	Levels of Analysis
Unit 3	Theoretical Approaches to Foreign Policy Analysis
Unit 4	Problems of Foreign Policy Analysis

Unit 1 The Nature of Foreign Policy Analysis

Unit Structure

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Learning Outcomes
- 1.3 Meaning of Foreign Policy Analysis
- 1.4 The Evolution of Foreign Policy Analysis
- 1.5 Power Analysis and Foreign Policy Objectives
- 1.6 Summary
- 1.7 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 1.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

1.1 Introduction

The formulation and conduct of a nation's foreign policy is governed by the interplay of both the international system and domestic political imperatives, particularly the nature of socio-economic and political institutions within which the state operates, the cultural factors that underlie the society, the personal characteristics and perceptions of individual decision-makers. An important underlying assumption is that the process through which foreign policy is made has a considerable impact on the substantive content of the policy. For a thorough examination of foreign policy, therefore, it is imperative to analyse the actions and inactions of a state; the individuals that take such actions; and the environment in which they operate. Thus, the meaning and evolution of foreign policy analysis, as well as power analysis and foreign policy objectives constitute our focus of discussion in this unit.

1.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- explain the meaning of foreign policy analysis
- discuss the evolution of foreign policy analysis
- explain the relationship between power and foreign policy objectives

1.3 Meaning of Foreign Policy Analysis

Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA) is a distinct subfield within the field of International Relations that seeks to explain foreign policy or foreign policy behaviour with reference to the theoretical ground of human decision makers, acting singly and in groups (Koncak, 2016). The analysis which may focus on a "single decision taken in a certain case as well as about the foreign policy of a state or the general patterns of foreign policy actions of a group of states that can be categorised together" (Ozer, 2018), entails critical and comprehensive scrutinizing of the external policies and actions of a state. Foreign policy analysis thus involves "a critical examination of those actions, inactions and proposals for action of a state in relation to its external environment" (Asobie, 1980: 61). It includes an inquiry into the decision-making structures and processes, as well as the psychology of the decision-makers and the environment within which both the state and the decision-makers are embedded. Basically, the primary purpose of foreign policy analysis is to identify and comprehensively explain the elementary variables, both internal and external, which determine the behaviour of a state in its interaction with the external environment.

Foreign policy analysis is majorly concerned with the study of the governmental institution responsible for the formulation implementation of foreign policy on the one hand and the democratization of foreign policy formulation and implementation on the other. That is, foreign policy analysis studies why and how public values and interests should be introduced to every stage in the formulation and execution of such policy. It involves the study of why and how a state makes foreign policy, as well as the study of the process, effects, causes or outputs of foreign policy decision-making either in a comparative or a case-specific manner (Ahmed, 2020). The study of decision-making is indeed the central focus of foreign policy analysis. To this end, the process of decision-making is examined from inter-state interactions or between decision makers involved to ascertain the perceptions and misperceptions of the actors. Foreign policy analysts are interested in interactions between or among states to understand why some of these interactions are cooperative while others are competitive and may even lead to war, why a given country's government has decided to take certain actions toward foreign governments or foreign non-state actors, why a government has decided that specific foreign policy interests are important to it, and why it has crafted a particular strategy to promote or defend those interests (Grieco, Ikenberry, and Mastanduno, 2015; Ozer, 2018).

Foreign policy analysis is the study of inter-state interactions, the domestic circumstances that produce them, and the effect on the system and its structures (Light, 1994). In brief, FPA is a "bridging discipline"

that connects the micro level of politics with the macro level of the international system. By concentrating on the interface between the state and state system, it explains how states, institutions, and peoples engage with one another within a dynamic international system. It also represents "the continuing erosion of the distinction between domestic and foreign issues, between the socio-political and economic processes that unfold at home and those that transpire abroad" (Rosenau, 1987: 3).

FPA provides many ways of understanding the conduct and significance of states, sub-states and non-state actors in foreign policy-making. It focuses on the inherent possibilities of human agency to affect and even change the international system (Alden and Aran, 2017). According to Hudson (2007), the core agent of FPA is not the state, but mainly human beings as decision-makers. The primary target of foreign policy analysis is the explanation of single, group or collective decisions targeted at external environment. In this regard, FPA is aimed at investigating, the interplay between national and sub-national factors, culture, and systemic influences, including includes bureaucracies, public opinion, and individual decision-makers (John, 2019). It also aims at producing an integrated explanation of the complex arena of a state's foreign policies and relations with other nations at international levels (White, 1999).

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

- 1. Foreign policy analysis involves a critical examination of those actions, inactions and proposals for action of a state in relation to its external environment ----- (True/False).
- 2. The primary target of foreign policy analysis is the explanation of single, group or collective decisions targeted at ------
- 3. Foreign policy analysis involves the study of why and how a state makes foreign policy-----(True/False).
- 4. Foreign policy analysts are interested in interactions between or among ------.

1.4 The Evolution of Foreign Policy Analysis

It is generally accepted that Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA) evolved as part of the International Relations (IR) discipline around 1950s (Smith, 1989). Thus, based on paradigmatic works, the history of FPA can be characterized as having three main phases: FPA between 1950 and 1960, FPA between 1960 and 1993, as well as FPA from 1993 to the present (Puspitarini, 2009).

An initial period in the evolution of FPA was between 1950 and 1960. The period arose out of deep dissatisfaction with the simplistic nature of realist accounts of foreign policy. According to Puspitarini (2009), the period witnessed the emergence of the following three paradigmatic works:

- 1. Decision Making as an Approach to the Study of International Politics by Richard Snyder, Henry Bruck, and Burton Sapin (1954). In this work, Snyder and his colleagues inspired researchers to look below the nation-state level to the actual players involved.
- 2. 'Pre-theories and Theories of Foreign Policy' by James Rosenau, in R. B. Farrell (ed.) *Approaches in Comparative and International Politics* (1966). Rosenau encouraged the development of actor-specific theory, by underscoring the need to integrate information at several levels of analysis, from individual leaders to the international system, in order to understand foreign policy. It focuses on individual state-level analysis. In the United States in the late 1960s, a tightly bound group of scholars gravitated towards a specific methodology, the Comparative Foreign Policy CFP approach.
- 3. Man-Milieu Relationship Hypotheses in the Context of International Politics by Margaret and Harold Sprout (1956). The authors argued that one needed to look at the 'psycho-milieu' of the individuals and groups making the foreign policy decision. That is, the international and operational environment or context as it is perceived and interpreted by decision-makers. It focuses on the context of international politics where power matters, therefore it proposes system level analysis

The next phase in the evolution of foreign policy analysis is between 1960 and 1993. This phase was a time of great intellectual effort and excitement, marked by path-breaking work in conceptualization, development of actor-specific theory at various levels of analysis, and methodological explanation. Two classic FPA scholarships emerged during this phase.

A. Classic Foreign Policy Analysis Scholarship

- i. Group decision-making: The process and structure of groups making foreign policy decisions is analyzed. The groups that were studied ranged in size from vary from small groups to large organizations and bureaucracies.
- ii. Small group dynamics: Social psychologists explored the unique dynamics of decision-making in small groups. Research was carried into foreign policy analysis, and it was discovered that the motivation to

maintain group consensus and personal acceptance could deteriorate decision-making quality.

iii. Organizational process and bureaucratic politics: Researchers began to study the influence of organization process and bureaucratic politics on foreign policy decision-making. It was found that the ulterior objectives of foreign policy decision 'players' influenced their decision-making.

B. The Psychological and Societal Milieu of Foreign Policy Decision Making

Here increasing attention was directed at the mind of the foreign policy decision-maker. The societal context in which the decision-maker operates is shaped by several factors including culture, history, geography, economics, political institutions, ideology, and demographics. Within this societal context, the individual mind is unique in its own personal beliefs, attitudes, values, experiences, emotions, traits, style, memory, national, and self-conceptions. To better understand foreign policy, researchers directed their attention to the individual characteristics as well as national and societal characteristics of the decision-maker.

a. Individual Characteristics

To better comprehend the personal characteristics of the decision-maker, political psychology was employed. Under certain stressful conditions, individual characteristics would become crucial in understanding foreign policy decisions. Efforts were made to categorize decision-makers according to their foreign policy dispositions. In addition, the role of perceptions and images in foreign policy was also an important research agenda during this period. Research was conducted on 'cognitive constraints', including cognitive bias, heuristic error, the motivation of leaders, cognitive maps, and the life experience of decision makers, among others.

b. National and Societal Characteristics

Aside from individual characteristics, the way the decision-maker perceived the role of his nation in the international arena began to be studied. Once a 'national role conception' was perceived, decision-makers could make their decisions to fit into the conceptual mould. In addition, the study of culture as an independent variable affecting foreign policy came to the forefront; analysts considered that the very process of policymaking might be shaped by one's cultural heritage and socialization

The last phase in the evolution of foreign policy analysis is from 1993 to the present. The end of the Cold War brought with it a renewed interest

in actor-specific theory. An intuitive understanding of this event involves delving into the individual actors themselves: the personalities of the leaders, the activities of various actors, the struggle between domestic players, and so on.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

- 1. Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA) evolved as part of the International Relations (IR) discipline around 1950s ------ (True/False).
- 2. Based on paradigmatic works, the history of FPA can be characterized as having five main phases ------(True/False).
- 3. The societal context in which the decision-maker operates is shaped by several factors such as culture, history, geography and economics -----(True/False).
- 4. In the evolution of Foreign Policy Analysis, the period between 1960 and 1993 was a time of great intellectual effort and excitement-----(True/False).
- 5. The end of the Cold War brought with it a renewed interest in actor-specific theory -----(*True/False*).

1.5 Power Analysis and Foreign Policy Objectives

Although a combination of internal and external factors determines and shapes a state's foreign policy, it is important to also thoroughly analyse the power of a state so as to determine its hierarchical position in the international system, and to be informed about the extent of what it might realistically aspire and achieve its foreign policy objectives. Essentially, power analysis is about assessing the elements of national power and the factors that constitute the actual and potential power of a state. Some of these factors are subject to human impulses, organization and capabilities, while others are largely beyond them. A short list of the elements of national power would include: the size of the state; its geopolitical location; the number, technical and intellectual quality of scientific elites; the size of the military forces, their technological level, equipment, firepower, force projection capabilities, training, culture and morale; the fertility of the territory it controls; the abundance and variety of natural resources; the size of the population, its demographics, its level of human development; its level of economic development; the strength and diversity of industrial development; the quality of the educational system; the organizational success, quality and competency of research and development activities; the nature and strength of the political, social and economic system and institutions; the quality of its foreign policy and diplomats; the quality of leadership; the national character and morale of

the population, among others (Han, 2018). None of these elements can solely determine the outcome of foreign policy. Understanding the foreign policy objectives of a state, therefore, should begin by determining the power of the state to secure them. The strength and dimension of power possessed by an actor have a very strong bearing on the actor's logic of action, consequences and appropriateness.

The power that a country has to secure desired foreign policy objectives may fall into one of these categories based on the potency, influence and outcomes they provide. Based on the nature of the predominant instruments used, there are hard power, soft power or their mix - smart power. There are also constructive power, comparative power and veto power.

Soft power refers to the use of positive attraction and persuasion to achieve foreign policy objectives. It avoids the traditional foreign policy tools of carrot and stick, seeking rather to achieve influence by building networks, communicating narratives, establishing international rules and drawing on the resources that make a state naturally attractive to the world. Soft power is the ability to co-opt rather than coerce (Wagner, 2014). In other words, soft power involves shaping the preferences of others through appeal and attraction. Soft power is "the capacity to persuade others to do what one wants" (Wilson, 2008, p. 114). Joseph Nye, the originator of the concept, set out three primary pillars of soft power to include political values, culture, and foreign policy. According to Nye, persuasive power is based on attraction and emulation and "associated with intangible power resources such as culture, ideology, and institutions" (Nye, 2009, p. 63). Many states have soft power though to a different degree. For example, the South Korean popular culture, or more commonly referred to as K-Pop, has gained similar heights and has become a potent instrument of soft power for the country offshore (Karki, 2020). The internationalization of higher education in South Africa has also become a potent instrument of soft power. In South Africa, higher education has been successful in attracting international students and staff result of individual universities' efforts develop to internationalization policies (Olanrewaju, Nweke-Love, Ajagbe and Julius, 2022).

Soft power has its drawbacks. It constrains as much as it enhances power and is not easily wielded to achieve specific outcomes. Accumulation of soft power is costly, difficult, and time-consuming. For example, the dispersion of American culture within the Eastern bloc during the Cold War indicates the existence of American soft power. The United States has excelled in projecting soft power with the help of its companies, foundations, universities, churches, and other institutions of civil society. U.S. culture, ideals, and values have been extraordinarily important in

helping Washington attract partners and supporters. The recent processes of EU enlargement are equally indices of soft power possessed by the EU (Nye, 2004, 2009).

On the other hand, hard power is the ability to achieve a target or set objectives through coercive actions or threats, the so-called 'carrots' and 'sticks' of international politics. It encompasses a wide range of coercive policies including coercive diplomacy, military action, economic sanctions, and military alliances for deterrence and mutual defence. It can be used to establish or change a state of political hegemony or balance of power. Hard or command power is the oldest form of power; it is connected to the idea of an anarchic international system, where countries do not recognize any superior authority and thus have to focus on power politics. Historically, hard power has been measured by such criteria as population size, territory, geography, natural resources, military force, and economic strength. The goal of power is to influence others to do something (Raimzhanova, 2015).

Countries that possess foreign policies of hard power depend on their military or economic strength to basically force other nations into compliance. Thus, nations with the best resources tend to be the strongest in a hard power system. They have more room for economic development and can impose their will over others through either a carrot or a stick. Empires, for example, influence foreign policy by conquering other people and forcing them to contribute to the imperial economy. Modern nations that threaten military force or attempt to out-compete each other in international markets, may also be employing hard power tactics. However, hard power usage is ineffective when there is a deadlock, and it often aggravates a challenge. It also requires much more resources and financial capacity to be used, and as such does not work for weaker states (Tandon, 2020). The return of the US to military action in Iraq, its direct intervention in Syria and Russia's annexation of Crimea, destabilizing of eastern Ukraine are examples of hard power usage. A recent example of hard power in the United States was Donald Trump's proposal of sanctions on imports from China as a tactic to reduce Chinese influence on the domestic manufacturing industry (Tandon, 2020).

Some foreign policy strategies may be perceived as effective combinations of soft and hard power. This is called "smart power", a concept coined by Nossel (cf. Nossel, 2004; Nye, 2004). Smart power refers to "an approach that underscores the necessity of a strong military, but also invests heavily in alliances, partnerships, and institutions" (Armitage and Nye, 2007: 7). It draws from both hard and soft power resources. According to Wilson (2008: 115), smart power is "the capacity... to combine elements of hard and soft power in ways that are mutually reinforcing." If hard power is 'push' and soft power is 'pull', the

combination allows leveraging maximum results in a legitimate way (Nye, 2011). Smart power could utilise diplomatic, economic, military, political, legal and cultural tools. The European Union could be regarded as one of the best examples of this (Pallaver, 2011).

Aside from the foregoing categorization of power based on the nature of the predominant instruments used, there are constructive power, comparative power and veto power also. Constructive power is the kind of power a state has when it does have determinative power on the outcome of an issue. In this case, "the actor could decisively affect and shape the outcomes according to its desired objectives and goals" (Han, 2018: 20). Comparative power is the kind of power a state has when it still does possess enough relative power to influence the outcomes according to its priorities and objectives. In this regard, it can manage to achieve a comparable, convenient outcome. However, in such cases it is beyond the state's power to definitively shape these outcomes. Despite the fact that it is able to achieve an outcome that does not fit with its ideal targets, it can still exercise certain influence to secure outcomes relatively closer to its objectives and goals than those of its rival(s) (Han, 2018). Finally, a state that welds veto power can forbid decisions and actions of its counterpart(s). In other words, they can deny them the amount of influence they would like to have on their decisions. As a consequence, their power on the outcome of the issue in question can be limited. This might take the form of denying their rival(s) the opportunity to project power; the opportunity to influence and shape the outcome of the issue according to their priorities. However, this kind of power could defuse, as its nature is closely associated with the concept of cost. However, having to rely on veto power might leave a state in a situation where it is exposed to the risk of not being efficiently able to deny its rival(s) their desired outcomes. This might happen because of sheer differences in power (Han, 2018).

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 3

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

- 1. Understanding the foreign policy objectives of a state, therefore, should begin by determining the ------of the state to secure them.
 - A. Interest B. resources C. power D. location E. influence
- 2. ----- power refers to the use of positive attraction and persuasion to achieve foreign policy objectives.
- The-----has excelled in projecting soft power with the help of its companies, foundations, universities.
- 4. The ability to achieve a target or set objectives through coercive actions or threats is called------.
- 5. Countries that possess foreign policies of hard power depend on

- their military or-----strength to force other nations into compliance.
- 6. Effective combinations of soft and hard power is called-----
- 7. The European Union could be regarded as one of the best examples of-----power. A. soft B. hard. C. smart. D. softhard E. hard-soft
- 8. -----power is the kind of power a state has when it does have determinative power on the outcome of an issue.

1.6 Summary

Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA) provides many ways to analyse and understand the conduct and significance of states and non-state actors in foreign policy-making, particularly the inherent possibilities of human agency to affect and even change the international system. The primary target of FPA is the explanation of single or group decisions targeted at external environment with a view to attaining foreign policy objectives. The attainment of foreign policy objectives, however, is dependent on the factors that constitute the actual and potential power of a state and its hierarchical position in the international system. As part of the International Relations (IR) discipline, FPA is characterized as having three evolutionary phases beginning from 1950s to the present. At each phase, efforts were made by scholars to subject the mind of the foreign policy decision-maker to diverse levels of analysis.

1.7 References/Further Readings/Web Sources

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1.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

Answers to SAEs 1

- 1. True
- 2. external environment
- 3. True
- 4. *states*

Answers to SAEs 2

- 1. True
- 2. False
- 3. True
- 4. True
- 5. True

Answers to SAEs 3

- 1. A
- 2. Soft
- 3. United States
- 4. hard power
- 5. economic
- 6. *smart power*
- 7. *smart power*
- 8. *Constructive*

Unit 2 Levels of Analysis in Foreign Policy

Unit Structure

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Learning Outcomes
- 2.3 Levels of Analysis
 - 2.3.1 International or Systemic Level of Analysis
 - 2.3.2 National or State Level of Analysis
 - 2.3.3 Group Level of Analysis
 - 2.3.4 Individual-Level Analysis
- 2.4 Summary
- 2.5 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 2.6 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

2.1 Introduction

Foreign policy is an interaction between the actors and their environment, whether domestic or international. Foreign policy is analysed to interpret the actions of government and to understand the contents and actors behind a given policy. For instance, the actions of government in the international arena must be understood in terms of their correlation with the resources and the objectives of government, as well as the philosophical bases underlying them. In seeking to provide a fuller explanation for foreign policy choice, scholars need to take cognizance of the boundaries between the state's internal or domestic environment and the external environment, that is, the interaction between internal and external stimuli in the process of foreign policy decision making. Against this backdrop, this unit examines the four levels of analysis in foreign policy.

2.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- explain each of the three levels of foreign policy analysis
- differentiate one level of foreign policy analysis from another
- highlight the relevance of all the levels of analysis to every level of decision-making in the world politics

2.3 Levels of Analysis

Inter-state interactions are inherently complex. Thus, scholars and diplomats have found it expedient to think about the numerous factors that determine and shape international relations by breaking them into different levels of analysis. Generally, there are four levels of foreign

analysis policy. By levels of foreign policy analysis, it means that an observer or analyst may either choose to focus on the international system as a whole; parts of the system in interaction with each other; or some of its parts. Each level of foreign policy analysis can provide an insight into the foreign policy actions of a given state. It can also present a study approach to the examination of the state's foreign policy action. The levels of analysis are: the international or systemic level, the national or state level, the group level and the individual level (cf figure 1).

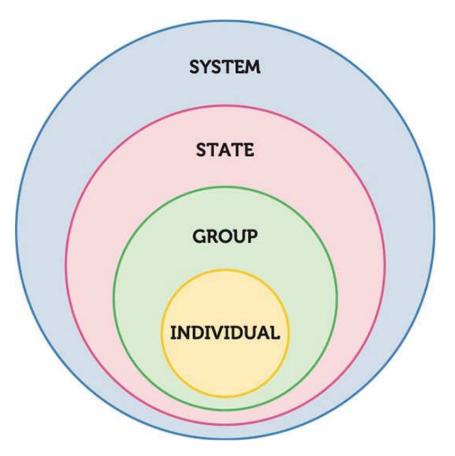


Figure 1: Levels of Foreign Policy analyssi

Source: Gebhard, C. (2022). Levels of Analysis. In, S. McGlinchey (Ed.) *Foundations of International Relations*. London: Bloomsbury

2.3.1 International or Systemic Level of Analysis

The first level of analysis is the international or systemic level. Analysis at this level examines state behaviour by looking at the international system. At this level of analysis, the international system is the cause and state behaviour are the effect. Characteristics of the international system cause states to behave the way they do. Change in the international system will cause a corresponding change in state behaviour. A key variable in the international system is the power of a state within the system. While some states are powerful, others are weak. For example,

the Cold War had two powerful states- the U.S. and USSR and their allies. Therefore, the central cause of state behaviour during the Cold War was the fact that the US and USSR were the two powerful states in a bipolar system (Newmann, nd). The international or systemic-level analysis thus examines issues that are outside the immediate control of any particular state or group of states; issues such as the global economy, transnational terrorism or the internet; the distribution of political power among states and other actors like the international or transnational organisations; the nature and the rules of global governance; the number of poles in the system; and the diffusion of technology among others. Importantly, it also considers how these factors create conditions that impose themselves structurally on the other levels (Gebhard, 2022). For example, a system-level analyst examining the 1991 U.S. military response to the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq would contend that the action of the U.S government was inevitable, given the realities of where oil was produced and consumed in the system. Similarly, a system-level analyst examining the ongoing military invasion in Ukraine would conclude that military invasion by Russian is unavoidable in the light of the implications Ukrainian membership of NATO may pose to the Russian national security interests. According to Gebhard (2018), Daniel W. Drezner (2014), who argued controversially that the international system of financial governance did well at coping with the 2008 global financial crisis because various parts of the system worked harmoniously to mitigate wider repercussions, presented a good example of systemic-level analysis. One of the shortcomings of the systemic level-analysis is that it "exaggerates the impact of the system upon the national actors, and conversely, discounts the impact of the actors on the system." Another shortcoming is that it assumes "a high degree of uniformity in the foreign policy operational codes of national actors." (Ozer, 2018: 34). In other words, it overlooks the characteristics of the parts, namely the states by focusing wholly on the system.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

- 2. Each level of foreign policy analysis can provide an insight into the foreign policy actions of a given state ------(True/False).
- 3. Analysis at the international or systemic level examines---------behaviour by looking at the international system.
- 4. A key variable in the international system is the power of a state within the system -----(True/False).
- 5. The international or systemic level analysis exaggerates the impact of the system upon the national actors -----

(True/False).

2.3.2 National or State Level of Analysis

The second level of analysis is the national or state. Here, the foreign policy behaviour of states and their internal processes, as the primary determinants of foreign policy, are examined. The focus is on midrange factors that are less general than the macro analysis of the international system but less individualistic than the micro analytical focus of human-level analysis. It also examines nation-states as actors in a set of particular external conditions, and actors with particular internal characteristics and considers their strategic and economic positions (Gebhard, 2022).

The state-level analysis scrutinizes material dynamics such as the size of the country, geopolitical positions, resources, economy and population as well as the nature of the state such as the political system and institution which constitute the critical elements that determine the categorization of states as small, medium or great power. However, the state-level analysis, the material features of states are not the only determinants; other dynamics such as the state system are also effective (Ozer, 2018).

State-level analysts believe that states have remained the most powerful actors at the international arena since they are relatively free to decide policy directions. Thus, state level analysts concentrate on what states do and why they decide which policy to follow (Mesquita and Smith, 2012). Studying state behaviour is fundamental. According to Hermann and Hagan (1998), much of what transpire in international politics borders on interactions between governments of two or more states trying to gauge the rationales behind the other's actions and reactions. Interactions between or among states and corresponding reactions and counter reactions are studied through event data analysis. This approach is useful in analysing matters such as reciprocity between states. Decision-making analysis, that is probing how and why states make policy choices and the likely reaction or response of other concerned actors, is the second concern of state-level analysts. For example, if country A decides to upgrade its military, how will country B react or respond to that decision? Will an arms race ensue? Again, whereas an international or system-level analyst wound posit that the 1991 U.S. military response to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait was almost inevitable in respect of where crude oil, an essential global vital natural resource, was produced and consumed in the system However, a state-level analyst would differ strongly and insist that the U.S. government response depended on the presidential-congressional relations, the strength of. public opinion, and other factors internal to the United States. For state-level analysts, therefore, comprehensive understanding of a state's domestic variables and its foreign policymaking processes is relevant in understanding its foreign policy. These

variables combine to determine state behaviour and by implication, how the international system works as a sum of states' actions (Chittick & Pingel, 2006).

The state-level analysis brings more favourable results and is more comprehensive and detailed as it portrays significant differentiation among actors in the international system. It enables effective generalisations of a comparative nature and equally makes it possible to ask and answer questions regarding the goals, motivations, and purposes of national policy (Singer, 1961). On the contrary, the state-level analysis runs the risk of overstressing the differences among sub-systemic actors and may even lead to ethnocentrism.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

- 1. State level analysis examines the foreign policy behaviour of states and their internal processes ------(True/False).
- 2. Aside from material features, other determinants at the statelevel analysis are other dynamics such as the ------
- 3. State level analysts concentrate on what states do and why they decide which policy to follow ------(True/False).
- 4. State level analysis is less comprehensive and undetailed as it portrays significant differentiation among actors in the international system -----(True/False).
- 5. State level analysis runs the risk of overstressing the differences among sub-systemic actors and may even lead to ethnocentrism -----(True/False).

2.3.3 Group Level of Analysis

The group level analysis focuses on actors within their social, organisational, professional and bureaucratic context, and points to the manner in which they function with a view to influencing national decision-making and foreign policy behaviour. At this level of analysis, the target is the action of groups such as interest/pressure groups, political parties, non-governmental organisations, among others. They often position themselves with respect to the global dimension of the issues they are dealing with. A good example is the work of Engelen *et al.* (2012), which x-rays the global financial crisis as the 'misrule of experts' with emphasis on the politicised role of technocrat circles and the relative lack of democratic control over the boards of large banks and corporations (Gebhard, 2018). Again, a group-level analyst, may attempt the explanation of the U.S. government's invasion of Iraq by examining the interests of the US military, the Department of Defence (DoD), the State

Department, and Central Intelligence Agency, among others. How these organizations determined and shaped the US foreign policy would be the key question at this level of analysis.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 3

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 4 minutes.

- 1. The group-level analysis focuses on-----within their social, organisational, professional and bureaucratic context.
- 2. At the group-level analysis, the target is where groups position themselves with respect to the-----of the issues they are dealing with
- 3. A group-level analysts examines the actions of individuals---------- True/False).

2.3.4 Individual-Level Analysis

The individual-level analysis focuses on people who make decisions within nation states, including foreign policy. As aptly captures by Newmann (nd), this level of analysis might explain World War II by examining the role of Hitler; the end of the Cold War by studying Gorbachev; the economic reforms in China by x-raying the transition from Mao Zedong's leadership to Deng Xiaoping's rule. The individuallevel analysis also includes cognitive theories, which explain foreign policy by analysing the way leaders perceive the world. Individual-level analysts study international politics by examining the role of human actors on the world stage and the factors that determine the perceptions, decisions, and actions of specific leaders. Also examined are their personalities, physical and mental health, ego and ambitions, beliefs, fears, understanding of history, personal experiences, and perceptions, among others. For example, an individual-level analyst probing the role of human factors in foreign decision making might ask the following relevant questions: Would Al Gore or John Kerry have behaved any differently in a similar situation? Are there aspects of George W. Bush's character and belief systems that defined the US response to the 9/11 attacks? Are there aspects of Vladimir Putin's personal experiences, understanding of history, and perceptions that have framed the nature of the Russian government's response to the Ukrainian revolution? The individual-level analysis is therefore concerned with identifying the characteristics of the complex process of human decision-making which include but not limited to gathering information, analysing information, establishing goals, and making policy choices.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 4

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

- 1. The individual-level analysis focuses on ----- who make decisions within nation states.
- 2. An individual-level analyst studies international politics by examining the role of human actors on the world stage ------(True/False).
- 3. The individual-level analysis also includes -----theories.
- 4. The primary concern of an individual-level analyst is to identify the characteristics of the complex process of human decision-making -----(True/False).

2.4 Summary

Discussions in this unit have focused primarily on levels of analysis in foreign policy. We have provided explanations of four levels in foreign policy analysis. The unit has explained the international or systemic-level analysis as an approach to the study of foreign policy that focuses on factors external to sovereign states and how they determine the pattern of interaction among states and other transnational actors; the national or state-level analysis as an approach that dwells on state behaviour and other internal processes as the primary determinants of foreign policy; the group level analysis as an approach to the study of foreign policy that focuses on how actors within their social, organisational, professional and bureaucratic environments function to influencing national decisionmaking and foreign policy behaviour; and the individual-level analysis as an approach to the study of foreign policy that examines the role of human actors on the world stage and the factors that determine their perceptions, decisions, and actions as leaders and decision-makers. It should be obvious to you by this time that inter-state interactions are inherently complex and, as such, scholars have found it expedient to brake factors that determine and shape foreign policy into different levels of analysis to provide useful insight into actions and state behaviour.

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2.6 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

Answers to SAEs 1

- False
 True
 state
- 4. True
- 5. True
- 1

Answers to SAEs 2

- 1. True
- 2. State system
- 3. True
- 4. False
- 5. True
- 6

Answers to SAEs 3

- 1. actors
- 2. global dimension
- 3. False
- 4

Answers to SAEs 4

- 1. people
- 2. True
- 3. cognitive
- 4. True
- 5

Unit 3 Theoretical Approaches to Foreign Policy Analysis

Unit Structure

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Learning Outcomes
- 3.3 Theoretical Approaches to Foreign Policy Analysis
 - 3.3.1 The Traditional approach
 - 3.3.2 The Behavioural approach
 - 3.3.3 Contemporary Approach
- 3.4 Summary
- 3.6 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 3.6 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

3.1 Introduction

Foreign policy analysis enables us to better comprehend how internal and external political actors make policy decisions and how these decisions determine and shape state behaviour. There are different theoretical approaches foreign policy analysis. Historically however, in virtually all approaches to the study of international relations, the state is regarded as the main actor. And since states are considered the central actors in the field of international relations, theoretical approaches to the study of foreign policy behaviour of states are intermingled with the theoretical approaches to the study of international relations, even to those who deny the centrality of the state as an actor in the international society. Hence, while some theories are formulated only to analyse foreign policy, others are derived from IR theories. In this unit, the central focus is on the three broad theoretical approaches to the study of foreign policy: the traditional approach, the behavioural approach, and the contemporary approach.

3.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- explain the three broad theoretical approaches to the study of foreign policy
- analyse the contributions of each of the three broad approaches to the understanding of foreign policy
- compare the contributions of the three broad approaches to the study of foreign policy

3.3 Theoretical Approaches to Foreign Policy Analysis

3.3.1 The Traditional approach

The central focus of this approach is on the human nature and the nature of international system, which influences foreign policy decisions. According to the traditional approach, "the determinants of foreign policy are to be found in the nature of the international system (Smith, 1986 as cited in Tayfur, 1994: 118). It is to be noted that before the emergence of FPA as a distinct discipline, it was an area widely studied within IR. Therefore, idealism and realism, two traditional theories of IR, equally dealth with foreign policy. They predicate their explanation of foreign policy on systemic factors. In doing this, both idealism and realism attribute features of human nature to the states (Ozer, 2018).

a. Idealism

Idealism was formulated in the aftermath of the World War 1, and as such, has been preoccupied primarily with ways to prevent wars. Idealists relegate war as a foreign policy instrument in their analysis. In their thinking, the cause of conflict and tension is not human nature but political and social mechanisms. They see human nature as essentially good, peace-loving, rational, optimistic, and therefore inclined not to conflict but cooperation due to its rationality. According to Smith (1986: 14), idealists explain foreign policy based on their understanding of "what human beings could become and why existing structures, both domestic and international, stood in the way". To prevent the occurrence of conflict and wars, idealists favour the emergence of superior international mechanism and institutions to overcome the anarchic nature of the international system, as well as generate international peace and democracy. For example, the League of Nations, which came into existence to secure global peace through collective security, was formed based on the conception of the international system by idealists (Ozer, 2018). The activities directed to "establish and sustain such an international environment have presumably become the explanation of foreign policy" (Tayfur, 1994: 118).

b. Realism

Realism emphasizes a nation's position in the international **distribution of power** (2001). The cardinal points of realism are state, power, and self-interest (Biswas, 2020). The genesis of realism could be traced to the writings of classical political thinkers, including Thucydides (460BC-406BC), Nicolo Machiavelli, (1469-1527), and Thomas Hobbes, (1588-1679), among others. However, realist theory was formulated in the post-Second World War era, when idealist theory proved unsuccessful in preventing or even foreseeing another world war. The main thrust of realism is that the international political system is anarchical and just like

human nature which is driven by self-interest, sovereign states engage in endless power maximization in pursuance and preservation of their national interest. How national interest is defined and implemented is important because it constitutes the essence of foreign policy. Therefore, to prevent wars is to balance power, and by implication national interest in the international system since interest is defined in terms of power. The anarchic nature of the international system is the main dynamic that drives states to seek for power. Power is thus considered vital for a successful foreign policy in such an environment. The power of states in the international system relative to powers of other external actors determines their foreign policy decision in a way that would secure their national interests (Elashkar, 2020; Ozer, 2018). Hans Morgenthau, a famous realist, contends that all nations attempt to "protect their physical, political, and cultural identity against encroachments by other nations" (Morgenthau, 1952: 972).

Altogether, realism makes the following explicit assumptions about foreign policy and state behaviour:

- 1. It is the state, and not any other entity, that could conduct foreign policy
- 2. State are rational actors that seek to maximize their interests in the international system.
- 3. States, like any individual, have objectives and they act purposefully in accordance with these objectives.
- 4. The determinants of foreign policy can only be located, not in the domestic environment, but in the anarchic international environment.
- 5. It is 'high politics' that dominates the foreign policy agenda of states. Put differently, while military and security issues are overemphasized, economic dimensions of foreign policy, named as 'low politics are de-emphasized (Tayfur, 1994).

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 7 minutes.

- 2. ----- and ----- are two traditional theories of IR.
- 3. To prevent the occurrence of conflict and wars, idealists favour the emergence of superior-----and-----
- 4. Idealists relegate-----as a foreign policy instrument in their analysis.
- 5. The cardinal points of realism are state, -----, and -----
- 6. How national interest is defined and implemented is important because it constitutes the essence of------

7. The anarchic nature of the----is the main dynamic that drives states to seek for power.

8.. According to realist theory, foreign policy of states is determined by the ------

A. economic relations B. ideological rivalry C. national interests D. state structure E. political system

3.3.2 The Behavioural approach

This approach aims at explaining how foreign policy decisions are made based on empirical methodology, that is observing the acts, conditions and environment of decision makers. The behavioural approach thus focuses on processes and motives of foreign policy-making, unlike the traditional approach. Behaviouralists believe that knowledge is attained with the gathering of observable data. Several approaches exist within the behavioural approach. However, these approaches differ in their methodologies. The most common methodologies in this context are decision-making approach, comparative foreign policy approach, case study approach and event data approach.

a. Decision-making Approach

The decision-making approach was applied to foreign policy by R. C. Snyder and his associates in the 1950s. According to this approach, foreign policy is a series of decisions taken by official decision-maker, whether individual or group. Therefore, to explain foreign policy is to explain the behaviour, perceptions, motivations, psychologies and environmental conditions of an individual or group who, acting within decision making machinery, apparatuses and processes, determines the course of action to be adopted. These elements constitute the conditions that shape the foreign policy decisions, and hence the foreign policy of a state. The approach, therefore, discusses decision makers as individuals who arrive at their decision by confronting their values with their image of the environment. It utilizes both internal and external factors that influence decision. Three basic assumptions of the approach are one, states or governments are all abstract entities that act only through concrete individuals known as decision-makers. Put differently, policies are not made by states but by individuals who act on behalf of the states. Thus, the analysis of state behaviour centres on these individuals and groups who represent their states. Two, the definition of the situation by decision-makers is basic to the explanation of the behaviour of states. Three, quantitative techniques and observable 'objective' data are the basic ingredients in the explanation of foreign policy (Tayfur, 1994). The approach is useful since it provides a new focus of interest to replace and supplement the traditional approach. Through it, all the roles, norms, goals, functions and perceptions of governmental organisation in general

as well as of the specific decision-making unit, which is subject of scrutiny can be classified for analysis.

However, the approach concentrates exclusively on the images and perceptions of decision-makers to the neglect of the objective reality that they reflect. Secondly, it merely helps us to understand the mechanics, but fails to provide a satisfactory explanation of the broader aspect of foreign policy. Third, by its emphasis on the foreign policy of a single state, it often detracts from sustained efforts to understand the broader processes of international interactions. Finally, there is yet no theory of decision making that makes clear the relationships between the various variables identified both at the internal and external environments.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

- 1. The behavioural approach aims at explaining how foreign policy decisions are made based on -----
- 2. Behaviouralists believe that knowledge is attained with the gathering of------.
- 3. According to the-----approach, foreign policy is a series of decisions taken by official decision-maker.
- 4. One of the basic assumptions of the decision-making approach is that states are abstract entities that act only through concrete individuals known as decision-makers------(True/False).
- 5. There exists theory of decision making that makes clear the relationships between the various variables identified both at the internal and external environments------(True/False).
- 6. Which of the following approaches is not behaviouralist?
 A. Case study approach B. Decision making approach C.
 Comparative foreign policy approach D. Event data approach
 E. Constructivist approach

b. Comparative Foreign Policy Approach

This approach primarily focuses on how states adapt to their changing environments and how this affects their foreign policy options. It seeks an understanding of state behaviour through the comparative assessment and theoretical formulation that tests hypotheses and establishes general principles. Snyder and his colleagues pioneered efforts that explain the concept of foreign policy through human decision and a series of variable that influence that decision (Snyder et al., 1962). More than a decade after, Rosenau in an article "Pre-Theory" averred that foreign policy analysis was devoid of general theory. He went further to identify five

series of explanatory variables to include: 1. Idiosyncratic, 2. Role, 3. Governmental, 4. Societal, and 5, systemic. These variables were regarded as the cardinal sources of foreign policy behaviour, although they may differ from one state to another (Rosenau, 1966; Rosenau, 1968 as cited in Tayfur, 1994). The comparative foreign policy approach attempts to formulate a scientific foreign policy theory. According to Smith (1986: 14), the aim of the comparative foreign policy approach is to predict the future foreign policy acts of states "through the use of methods borrowed from natural science, FPA could lead to a general theory" (Smith, 1986, 14). This could be done either by comparing different states and detecting the similarities and differences in their practices, or by focusing on a single state and comparing its foreign policy practices at different times and different conditions or at similar cases and similar conditions. A distinct attribute of the comparative foreign policy approach is that it focuses on behaviours in empirical and objective sense and ignores the social, psychological and cognitive dynamics behind those behaviours. This constitutes one side of its criticism. Another main critique of comparative foreign policy analysis is about the attempt to formulate a general theory of foreign policy. Nonetheless, the approach has the advantage of making the analyst see highly specific purposes and activities of officials in a larger context. It also offers an intellectual challenge and promises of intellectual satisfaction.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 3

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 7 minutes.

- 1. The comparative foreign policy approach attempts to formulate a scientific foreign policy theory ------(True/False).
- 2. ----- approach seeks an understanding of state behaviour through the comparative assessment and theoretical formulation.
- 3. The comparative foreign policy approach focuses on behaviours in empirical and objective sense -----(*True/False*).
- 4. The comparative foreign policy approach attempts to formulate a specific theory of foreign policy-----(*True/False*).

c. Case-Study Approach

This approach is the direct opposite of the comparative foreign policy approach. Unlike the comparative foreign policy approach which thrives

in formulating a generalisable theory of foreign policy, the case-study approach focuses on the uniqueness of foreign policies of states based on their distinct cultural and historical conditions. Therefore, adopting a common methodology to the study of foreign policy is likely to ignore these peculiarities. That is, explanation of foreign policy behaviours through generalisations would not only cause the loss of unique factors that make up a foreign policy action but would also ignore the essence of foreign policies that are being explained (Tayfur, 1994). Case-study approach posits that since the state is embedded within different sociocultural and historical conditions that determine and shape its behaviour, what is needed is not common but different methodologies that recognise and capture the peculiarities of each state. Put differently, the central point of this approach is that foreign policies of each state should be studied separately without attempting to find out the differences and similarities that would enable generalisations.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 4

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 7 minutes.

- 1. The case-study approach to the study of foreign policy attempts to formulate a specific theory of foreign policy------(*True/False*).
- 2. The case-study approach insists on the uniqueness of foreign policies of states based on their distinct cultural and historical conditions-----(*True/False*).
- The central point of the case-study approach is that foreign policies of states should be generally studied ------(*True/False*).

d. Event-Data Approach

This approach is among the approaches that claim to bring scientific methods to the study of IR and FPA. It is based on the positivist understanding that evidence is needed to explain a phenomenon and to make valid empirical generalization. According to Schrodt (1995), Eventdata approach aims to systematically code a very large number of individual foreign policy interactions and then use that information to test general hypotheses about foreign policy behaviour using statistical techniques. Like comparative foreign policy approach, event-data approach is an empirical approach that utilizes observable data to formulate meaningful patterns out of foreign policy interactions. To this end, foreign policy could not be defined in terms of perceptions, motives, intentions and socio-psychological cum cultural dynamics of the decision makers alone because they are difficult to be observably and operationally defined for the purpose of classification and measurement. Event-data approach therefore insists that all data be made observable and comparable to make them verifiable.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 5

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 7 minutes.

- 1. Event-data approach is based on the positivist understanding that-----is needed to explain a phenomenon.
- 3. Event-data approach insists that all data be made observable and comparable to make them verifiable------(True/False).

3.3.3 Contemporary Approach

With the critical turn in international relations by the end of 1980s, a number of approaches came into existence. The cardinal idea these approaches express is the belief that world politics is socially constructed. This assumption compels social constructivist approaches to put the human subject again into the analyses of IR, which was overlooked by the traditional approach. However, , critical and post-structural approaches tend clearly to place their analyses into the structural level, which in turn, serve as an obstacle to analysing foreign policies of states (Ozer, 2018). Meanwhile, there are only few exceptions to the general tendency of the contemporary approach which mostly emerged as syntheses of contemporary and traditional approaches. Two of them- the constructivist approach and the synthesis approaches are discussed hereunder.

Constructivism

In its broadest sense, constructivism refers to a set of theories that conceptualizes the world as being socially constructed, which means the existence of patterns, cause-and-effect relationships, and even states themselves which depend on webs of meaning and practices that constitute them (Hurd, 2008 as cited Ozer, 2018). This means that nothing in social life, and even in the international system, exists with the meanings attributed to them, implying that even if the material conditions remain the same, the international system may change if ideas and identities change. This shows that there is an interaction between the system and the actors in that sense. Hence, based on the constructivist theory, ideas, beliefs, norms, expectations and interpretations collectively play a defining role in foreign policy formation, as well as in determining states' behaviours and the structure of the international system. Furthermore, constructivists insists that interests are constructed through a process of social interaction, and thus they explore how these interests are constructed in the first place, with emphasis on social interactions (Checkel, 2008). Again, Grieco et al. (2015) observe that interests are shaped by the identities of actors, that is how people see themselves tends

to shape how they think about their interests and what they want to achieve in politics. What can be deduced from this is that the most important actors in both society and the state are elite individuals, who are mostly also the decision makers. Ideas and identities of these elite individuals tend to shape the way the groups and states they lead make and implement decision within the international system (Ozer, 2018).

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 6

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 7 minutes.

- 1. The contemporary approaches primarily believe that world politics is socially constructed-----(True/False).
- 2. Based on the constructivist theory, ideas, beliefs, norms and interpretations collectively play a defining role in foreign policy formation-----(True/False).
- 3. For the constructivist theory, the most important actors in both society and the state are elite individuals, who are mostly also the decision makers ------(True/False).

Synthesis: Neo-classical Realism

Neo-classical realism occupies a middle ground between pure structural theories, which implicitly accept a clear and direct link between systemic constraints and unit-level behaviour and constructivist theories, which deny that any objective systemic constraints exist at all, arguing instead that international reality is socially constructed (Rose, 1998). For this reason, it is possible to call this approach a synthesis. According to neoclassical realists, foreign policies of states are influenced by the distribution of power in the international system. They however opine that physical relative power is not the only determinant of foreign policy, but essentially, how the physical power is perceived to play an important role. Therefore, foreign policy decision makers should also be studied. Ignoring this link between power and politics would be to assume that states would act in a similar way when they confront similar systemic determinants. To neoclassical realism therefore, state level explanations alone fail to explain foreign policy since states with similar political and economic systems, as well as socio- cultural or ideological backgrounds would be expected to follow similar foreign policies. And that the same state would always take similar foreign policy actions when they confront similar cases. Against the backdrop of this deficiency, neoclassical realism seeks to explain variations in the foreign policies of the same state over time or across different states facing similar external constraints (Taliaferro et. al, 2009).

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 7

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

- 1. Neo-classical realism occupies a middle ground between pure structural theories and-----theories.
- 2. According to neo-classical realists, foreign policies of states are influenced by the distribution of-----in the international system.
- 3. Neoclassical realism seeks to explain variations in the foreign policies of the same state over time -----(True/False).
- 4. *Neoclassical realists believe that* how the physical power is perceived to play an important role is the essential determinant of foreign policy ------(*True/False*).

3.4 Summary

In this unit, we examined the three approaches to the understanding of foreign policies of states. These include: the traditional approach, the behavioural approach and the contemporary approach. The traditional approach rests on the historical experiences and strategic realities by which states' behaviour have been conditioned and are still being conditioned in the international arena. The basic thrust of the behavioural approach is that foreign policies are made not by states, which are mere abstract entities, but by individuals who act on behalf of states. This approach is also concerned with how states adapt to changing environments and how this affects their foreign policies. Again, interaction among individuals within a government determines and shapes a state's foreign policy. The contemporary approach believes that world politics is socially constructed and need to be explained and understood in that regard in order to understand the dynamics in foreign policies of states. Each of these approaches to the study of foreign policy explains an aspect of the international body politic and, to this extent, has much to offer to the study and understanding of foreign policy as an area of study.

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3.6 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

Answers to SAEs 1

- 1. human nature
- 2. Idealism and realism
- 3. international mechanism and institutions
- *4. war*
- 5. power and self-interest
- 6. foreign policy
- 7. international system
- 8. *C*

Answers to SAEs 2

- 1. empirical methodology
- 2. observable data
- 3. decision-making
- 4. True
- 5. False
- 6. *E*

Answers to SAEs 3

- 1. True
- 2. The comparative foreign policy
- 3. True
- 4. False
- 5. A

Answers to SAEs 4

- 1. True
- True
- 3. False

Answers to SAEs 5

- 1. evidence
- True
- 3. True

Answers to SAEs 6

- 1. True
- 2. True
- 3. True

Answers to SAEs 7

- 1. constructivist
- power
- 3. 4. True
- True

Unit 4 Weaknesses of Foreign Policy Analysis

Unit Structure

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Learning Outcomes
- 4.3 Weaknesses of Foreign Policy Analysis
 - 4.3.1 The Level of Analysis Problem
 - 4.3.2 Theoretical Frameworks
 - 4.3.3 Establishing the Boundaries
 - 4.3.4 The scope of the subject
 - 4.3.5 Lack of Information
- 4.4 Summary
- 4.5 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 4.6 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

4.1 Introduction

It is important to note that as a field of study, foreign policy analysis mirrors many of the central methodological inadequacies in social sciences. Foreign policy analysis has not been able to resolve these methodological inadequacies. In addition to the specific weaknesses, one must add the critical issues of what constitutes an explanation, and whether scientific method is applicable to the analysis of human behaviour. In fairness, these form parts of much wider debates on the philosophy of social sciences; it is not surprising that such problems remain unresolved. It is important that foreign policy analysts are exposed to methodological assumptions and inadequacies, as well as the strengths of any particular method. Indeed, the history of foreign policy analysis both in Britain and the United States indicate how beguiling are the paradigms in which the study is undertaken, in a very important way, the very division of the sub-field into identifiable schools adhering either to a particular method or to particular middle range or grand theories, has served to foreclose discussion on the central area of method. Precisely because each approach has its utility in explaining events, so it is convenient to leave on one side doubts as to the coherence of its structure, and the assumptions it makes as to questions of method and epistemology. There are a number of weaknesses inherent in the study of foreign policy analysis which have contributed in undermining theory building. Five of these weaknesses exist and they are examined in this unit.

4.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- Identify the five weaknesses of foreign policy analysis
- explain each of the five weaknesses of foreign policy analysis
- highlight the implication of each of the weaknesses for foreign policy analysis

4.3 Weaknesses of Foreign Policy Analysis

4.3.1 The Level of Analysis Problem

The subject can be approached from different levels of analysis, with each, creating different concerns for the analyst. The analysis of foreign policy can be done from the standpoint of the individual, or the group or the state, or the international system. For example, any foreign policy action can be viewed in terms of its relationship from individual perceptions, or in terms of its relationship to the actors within their social, organisational, professional and bureaucratic context, or in terms of its relationship to the structure and organisations of the state, or in terms of its impact on, and relationship to the external setting in which it takes place. The international or systemic level tends to exaggerate the impact of the system upon the national actors, and conversely, discounts the impact of the actors on the system (Singer, 1961). On the other hand, the nation state level analysis tends to see partisan conflict, interest group, pressure and elite opinion as rather more central to the formulation of foreign policy. Again, the rapid globalisation not only undermine the role of states in international relations but also increased interdependencies and interconnections (Ozer, 2018).

Another challenge is the quantitative analysis of foreign policy that is concerned with describing not explaining the foreign policies of states. All too often, quantitative work ends up being an exercise in elegant mathematics, with the findings telling us nothing about foreign policy, but about the utility of certain forms of data manipulation. Each study develops certain measures for dealing with the data and discusses their utility in comparison to those of other studies; this does little to advance the understanding of why states do what they do. It also reflects the weaknesses of the simple positivist notion of social science in its implications about the theory that can be built. This is not to say that data has no place in foreign policy analysis, but that cannot be analysed only in terms of its relationship to certain quantitative measures. Quantitative analysis in foreign policy analysis is in danger of becoming an enclosed area of study that concentrates not on foreign policy behaviour, but on the advantages and disadvantages of certain quantitative techniques.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

- 1. Foreign Policy Analysis can be approached from different levels of analysis, with each, creating different concerns for the analyst ------(True/False).
- 2. Qualitative analysis in foreign policy analysis is in danger of becoming an enclosed area of study ------ (True/False).
- 3. Quantitative analysis in foreign policy analysis concentrates not on foreign policy behaviour, but on the advantages and disadvantages of certain quantitative techniques------(True/False).
- 4. Quantitative analysis of foreign policy is concerned with describing rather than explaining the foreign policies of states -----(True/False).

4.3.2 Theoretical Frameworks

The search for a general theory is another problem of foreign policy analysis. Despite the efforts of those engaged in comparative foreign policy in the 1960s and 1970s, a general theory did not emerge. This was not for lack of research in this area. Several approaches that tried to lead to general theory failed, in most cases never getting beyond the pre-theory or even data collection stage, for the simple reason of their epistemological assumptions. It was assumed that if everyone used the same concepts, collected data, tested hypothesis, then theory would emerge. How this was to happen was not specified. The pre-theory led to considerable research with many attempts to offer rank-orderings of the potency of the source of variables for certain types of states. Yet once this had been achieved, there was no easy way of turning findings into theory. There is no amount of data that can lead to entirely separate cognitive act of creating theory. Even if the pre-theory led to an unambiguous ranking of the source-variables for each genotype of hate, upon which all those engaged in this research could agree, the assumption that this would lead to theory seemed unrealistic. This is not arguing that such findings would be trivial, nor to suggest that they would lead to theory seemed very questionable. That the work on the pre-theory could not even lead to unambiguous fending merely highlights, the problems of coherence and logical structure that the model faced. Consequently, the subject can be approached within different theoretical frameworks. They affect the analyst's choice of focus. There are bound to be differences not only in the focus of study, but also in the choice of questions asked and the conclusions reached by analysts who are, for example convinced adherents of power politics and those who are utopian idealists. In like

manner, differences are easily distinguishable between the 'classical' or traditional and the scientific adherers. James Barber and Michael Smith rightly observed, "foreign policy has witnessed the confrontation of behavioural and more traditional approaches, the juxtaposition of science and human judgment" (Barber and Smith, 1974). There has been the unwillingness of those working in the discipline to undertake cumulative study. The study of foreign policy has simply not indicated willingness on the part of those who work in it to test theories of others. While some approaches do suffer from serious problems of operationalisation, this does not apply to all approaches, and the absence of tests of theories has constituted a serious impediment to the development of the study of foreign policy.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

- 2. The study of foreign policy has simply not indicated willingness on the part of those who work in it to test theories of others -----(True/False).
- 3. The search for a general theory is another problem of foreign policy analysis -----(True/False).
- 4. The absence of tests of theories has not constituted a serious impediment to the development of the study of foreign policy ------(True/False).

4.3.3 Establishing the Boundaries

According to William Wallace (cited in Ojo and Sesay, 2002), there are two aspects of the boundary problem in the study of foreign policy. First, to policy makers as well as students, the subject of foreign policy bridges the boundary between the nation-state and its international environment. Second, to students of foreign policy, it straddles the boundary between two academic disciplines: the study of domestic government, commonly called political science, and the study of international politics and diplomacy, commonly referred to as to as international relations. Both aspects of the problem have given certain distinctiveness and a certain peculiar difficulty to the study of foreign policy. For example, it is difficult to separate what is entirely domestic from foreign policy issues. Immigration issues are often not just issues of internal security; they have important consequences for foreign policy. The result has been the rather surprising reliance on the seductive motion of the national interest. Despite very serious deficiencies that have been found with the term (national interest), it is still very popular with foreign policy makers. But

its continued popularity in many foreign policy studies has hindered the development of the subject. The precise reason that makes it so popular with practitioners is that it can be used to mean whatever the user wishes. In international relations, the term has a common sensual appeal because it is still convenient to think of each state as having interest within a society of states. There is also the problem of the inability to agree on what the state is, and what foreign, as opposed to domestic policy, consists of. In the last two decades or so, conceptions of both the state and of the distinction between domestic and foreign policy have shifted back and forth. As the Cold War led to *détente*, and as this gave way to a possibility of a Second Cold War, foreign policy analysts have changed their views on what the state is, on what its foreign policy consists of, and on how this can be demarcated from domestic policy. It is therefore not surprising that foreign policy analysis has faced serious problems.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 3

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

- 1. To policy makers, as well as students, the subject of foreign policy bridges the boundary between the ----- and its international environment.
- 2. Foreign Policy straddles the boundary of the study of domestic government, commonly called -----
- 3. The precise reason that makes -----so popular with practitioners is that it can be used to mean whatever the user wishes.
- 4. In the last two decades or so, conceptions of both the state and of the distinction between-----and-----policy have shifted back and forth.
- 5. The inability to agree on what the state is, and what foreign as opposed to domestic policy consists falls within which problem of Foreign Policy Analysis?
 - A. Level of Analysis B. Theoretical Frameworks C. Establishing Boundaries D. Scope of Subject. E. Source of Materials

4.3.4 The scope of the subject

It is important to note that there are also other problems of the study of international relations. In essence, and to differing degrees, they apply to many of the other main areas of the discipline, yet they seem to have had a more marked impact on foreign policy analysis than other sub-fields. This is because foreign policy analysis is at the intersection of four main epistemological, methodological and even ontological difficulties that apply to varying extents to all areas of the study of international relations. The analyst is therefore faced with the problem of the extent and the diversity of the terrain to be covered by the subject. This is particularly

so, because of the diverse character of, and the importance attached to the subject from state to state or from one system to another. For example, the nature of foreign policy process, indeed the whole problem of foreign policy is different in democratic states from that in non-democratic states, in developed countries from that in developing countries, in great powers from small or weak states etc. Furthermore, it should be recognised that the foreign policy of a country is not just simply a result of certain processes of deliberation within the governmental institutions of the particular country. To have a complete picture of the foreign policy of a country, one needs a full and detailed account of all the foreign policies of other states in the international system. This in no doubt seems beyond the bounds of human ability. Thus, because foreign policy analysis has to take into account the perceptions of those who make decisions at the same time as it attempts to relate state behaviour to process or structural factors, it highlights the problems of any theory of human behaviour. The easiest way out of this is to eschew any generalisation and proceed on a case-bycase, basis of course; it is obscured to pretend that this solves the problem as case study analysis reflects powerful, of implicit, theoretical dispositions and assumptions. Just because a historical case study does not have the pretensions of a general theory, does not mean that it does not involve (questionable) notions of causation especially at the level of why actors do what they do. The failure of general theories in foreign policy analysis does not mean that one can retreat to a safe-ground of noncontentious, non-theoretical case studies.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 4

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 4 minutes.

- 1. To have a complete picture of the foreign policy of a country, one needs a full and detailed account of all the foreign policies of other states in the international system------(True/False).
- 2. The nature of foreign policy process is different in democratic states from that in non-democratic states ------(*True/False*).
- 3. Foreign policy analysis is at the intersection of four main epistemological, methodological and ontological difficulties ------(True/False).

4.3.5 Lack of Information

The nature of foreign policy creates a problem of information for the analyst. Foreign policy is a most sensitive aspect of government activity. A lot of what goes into its making is, therefore shrouded in secrecy. Besides, discretions as well as misinformation characterise all modern diplomacy. The analysts thus, encounter the difficulties of getting at the

facts before the files are opened. Yet, the analysis of the foreign policy of a state entails the consideration of some matters which no academic observer can be entirely privy. Sometimes, a former participant in government, like a foreign minister or head of government, may write his reminiscences in a newspaper or publish a book of memoirs to supplement regular source of matter. These are no doubt very helpful, even if they have to be treated with reserve. Shortage of such writings by former practitioners in most third World Countries contributes to the difficulties in foreign policy analysis. In addition, the adoption of the British concept of a permanent professional civil service, in most African countries complicates the problem. This is because the civil servants are immune from public criticism and barred from public comment, which precludes the possibility of inside information filtering into the public. . Another difficulty relates to the controversy over the definition of actors in international relations. Foreign policy is seen purely as state action. As J. P. Nestle stresses, "for almost all intents and purposes, the state acts for the society internationally, and internal matters relating to foreign affairs are a state prerogative" (Nestle 1967). Yet the comprehension of states' foreign policies often involves a clear understanding and appreciation of the political role of non-governmental entities in the international system.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 5

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

- 1. -----is a most sensitive aspect of government activity.
 - A. Decision-making B. Policy-making C. Provision of security D. Foreign policy
- 2. Discretions and misinformation characterise all modern -----
 - A. diplomacy B. economism C. militarism D. democracy
- 3. Analysing the foreign policy of third World Countries, particularly in Africa is difficult because ------.
 - A. former participants routinely alter their reminiscences
 - B. former participants rarely write their reminiscences
 - C. former participants frequently write their reminiscences
 - D. former participants shamelessly falsify their reminiscences
- 4. Analysis of the foreign policy of a state entails the consideration of some matters which no academic observer can be entirely privy -----(True/False).

4.4 Summary

There are inherent weaknesses in the study of foreign policy. These weaknesses are in part due to the very nature of the subject itself, and also to the current state of development of the discipline. Understanding the

foreign policy of a particular country entails examining a mix of factors-historical, ideological, geographical, economic, political and cultural. Given that the state is a major actor in foreign policy making and implementation, and that the pursuit of national interest is often articulated by the political and economic elite and manifested as foreign policy, foreign policy analysis has been particularly problematic due to inadequacies in social science methodology. In addition, not only does foreign policy analysis have to deal with a shifting and variable notion of the state, it also has to deal with a rapidly changing relationship between foreign and domestic politics and the change that this implies for the domestic setting, and influence upon foreign policy.

4.5 References/Further Readings/Web Sources

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4.6 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

Answers to SAEs 1

- 1. True
- 2. False
- *3.* True
- 4. True

Answers to SAEs 2

- 1. False
- 2. True
- 3. True
- 4. False

Answers to SAEs 3

- 1. Nation-state
- 2. Political Science
- 3. National interest
- 4. domestic and foreign
- 5. *C*

Answers to SAEs 4

- 1. True
- 2. True
- 3. True

Answers to SAEs 5

- 1. D
- 2. A
- *3*. B
- 4. True

Module 4 Fundamental Issues in Nigeria's External Relations

Unit 1	Nature of Nigeria's Foreign Policy	
Unit 2	Principles of Nigeria's Foreign Policy	
Unit 3	Nigeria's Africa Policy	
Unit 4	Actors in Nigeria's Foreign Policy Making	and
	Implementation	

Unit 1 Nature of Nigeria's Foreign Policy

Unit Structure

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Learning Outcomes
- 1.3 Trends of Nigeria's Foreign Policy
 - 1.3.1 The Era of Veiled Subservience and Pro-Western Diplomacy (1960-1966)
 - 1.3.2 The Era of Re-Evaluation and Adulthood (1966-1975)
 - 1.3.3 The Era of Radicalism and Assertiveness (1975-1979)
 - 1.3.4 The Era of Hesitancy and Prevarication (1979-1983)
 - 1.3.5 The Era of Contraction and Reassessment (1983-1985)
 - 1.3.6 The era of Engineering and Synchronization (1985 1993)
 - 1.3.7 The era of Confrontation and Diplomatic Shibboleth (1993 1998)
 - 1.3.8 The Era of Reconciliation and Restoration (1998 1999)
 - 1.3.9 The Era of Shuttle Diplomacy (1999-2007)
 - 1.3.10 The Era of Citizen's Diplomacy (2007-2015)
 - 1.3.11 The Era of 'Buharism' (2015-Date)
- 1.4 Summary
- 1.5 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 1.6 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

1.1 Introduction

Vital natural resources necessary for the well-being of citizens are not evenly distributed among nation-states. This implies that states have to evolve plans and strategies to interact with other states and non-state actors to gain access to vital natural resources they lack. The process of taking actions or inactions for the purpose of actualizing the vital interests of the state is foreign policy. Foreign policy is a very important aspect of life and existence of every sovereign state. Since the attainment of political independence in 1960, the successive Nigerian governments have fashioned out strategies of relating with other actors in the international arena with a view to fostering and maximizing the objectives of Nigeria's national interests. Thus, this unit provides you with the

trends, patterns objectives and principles of Nigeria's foreign policy. This unit is significant, as it serves as a good foundation for comprehending the nature and orientations of Nigeria's foreign policy.

1.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- articulate the trends of Nigeria's foreign policy
- highlight the objectives of Nigeria's foreign policy
- explain the underlying forces that account for the changes in Nigeria's foreign policy across regimes.

1.3 Trends of Nigeria's Foreign Policy

These refer to the styles and approaches of different governments to the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy. Since independence, Nigeria's foreign policy has remained in a state of flux due to the configuration of internal and external dynamics inherent in various administrations, though the substance of Nigeria's foreign policy has remained unchanged. Omenma (2015) has articulated the trends of Nigeria's foreign policy in line with various administrations in Nigeria since independence.

1.3.1 The Era of Veiled Subservience and Pro-Western Diplomacy (1960-1966)

The outlook of Nigeria's foreign policy between 1960 and 1966 was basically pro-west notwithstanding that Abubakar Tafawa Balewa placed Africa as the centrepiece of its foreign policy as demonstrated in the government's strong commitment to the unity, progress decolonization of Africa. In fact, the administration of Abubakar Tafawa Balewa was generally characterised by what Ogene (1981: 81) describes as "the phase of colonial hangover." This is because the Nigerian government overtly maintained its relations with the West despite its professed nonalignment with any of the then existing ideological, economic and military blocs. Thus, while claiming non-alignment as one of her policy objectives, Balewa's administration was clearly and decidedly anti-communist, pro-British and pro-West. His government hardly took any major foreign policy decisions without first consulting the British government and this was manifestly evident in the West's control of virtually all sectors of its economy on the one hand, and its dependence on capitalist orientation for the country's consumptive patterns and developmental efforts on the other (Idang, 1973). Again, in pursuit of its pro-western policy, Balewa's regime refused to temper with any British or other Western interests in Nigeria. This underscores "the nonchalant attitude of his administration to Pan-African unity and its

preference to gradualism in the process of building a radical continental body canvassed by the Casablanca group (Omenma, 2015:58). Instances of pro-western diplomacy of the Nigerian government under Balewa include refusal to attend the maiden conference of the Non-aligned Movement in Belgrade; undisguised support for the western in the Congo crisis; prevarication over the establishment of formal diplomatic ties with the Sino-Soviet bloc until December 1961; opposition to the expulsion of South Africa from the United Nations General Assembly in 1963 due to Apartheid; defence of the Stanleyville military intervention by Belgium, France and the United States in 1964; acceptance of the Anglo-Nigeria Defence Pact until he was forced to abrogate it by students and the opposition; refusal to train armed militia for Angolan national fighters waging a war against Portuguese colonialists despite Nigeria's avowed resolve to rid the continent of colonialism; opposition to the decision of the defunct Organization of African Unity (OAU) over the Rhodesian Unilateral Declaration of independence; and hosting of a Commonwealth Conference in January 1966 in defiance of the OAU's resolution (Omenma, 2015). Because of the foregoing, the overall performance of Nigeria in foreign policy under the administration Balewa lacked the expected vigour. Against this backdrop, Gambari (1989) describes the Balewa foreign policy direction as timid and uncertain and lacking in ideological values.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

- 1. The outlook of Nigeria's foreign policy between 1960 and 1966 was basically pro-west and anti-communist------(True/False)
- 2. Balewa attended and participated in the maiden conference of the Non-aligned Movement in Belgrade -----(True/False)
- 3. The Anglo-Nigeria Defence Pact of Balewa administration was applauded by students and the opposition ------(True/False)
- 4. The overall performance of Nigeria in foreign policy under the administration Balewa lacked the expected vigour ------(True/False)

1.3.2 The Era of Re-Evaluation and Adulthood (1966-1975)

The pro-Western stance of Nigeria's foreign policy did not witness any appreciable change even when the Military took over in January 1966. The Head of State, Major General Aguiyi Ironsi had little time for any change of government's foreign policy stance as he was more concerned with resolving the unfolding domestic problems precipitated by the

civilian administration (Iganga, 2010: 99). It was not until 1968, when the country recovered from its colonial hangover and began to play active roles in the non-alignment movement in line with its declaration at independence. The change in foreign policy thrust of the Nigerian government then was induced by the refusal of Nigeria's traditional friends and Western allies to grant her request for arms and ammunition. This introduced a new dimension to the country's perception of friends or enemies in her external relations. As a result, the pro-Western orientation of the preceding regime gave way to a liberal orientation which opened up to the Eastern bloc (Akinboye, 1999). The regime lifted ban on importation from the communist countries, modified its restrictions on the acceptance of Soviet bloc scholarships and allowed the establishment of both (East and West Blocs) embassies in the country. Nigeria also entered into bilateral agreements with both the Eastern and Western countries, irrespective of the prevailing national ideology. As the economy became buoyant in early 1970s, Nigeria took steps to assert her leadership role in Africa and in global politics (Adeboye, 1999). Under Gowon, Nigeria played a leadership role in collective negotiation with the European Economic Community. Together with other West African countries, resources were pooled together which made possible the establishment of Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). Aid was given to neighbouring drought-stricken countries of Niger, Burkina Faso, Mali, Sierra Leone as well as direct increase/assistance to OAU and African freedom fighters in Guinea Bissau, Mozambique and Angola and others (Imobighe, 2005). Indeed, the experience of the civil war provided an opportunity for the country to thoroughly re-examine her pro-western policies during the formative years.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

- 1. The regime of Gowon lifted ban on importation from the--------- countries.
- 2. Under Gowon, Nigeria played a leadership role in collective negotiation with the -----
- 3. The regime of Gowon modified its restrictions on the acceptance of------ scholarships

1.3.3 The Era of Radicalism and Assertiveness (1975-1979)

Nigeria experienced activism and dynamism in external relations between 1975 and 1979 during which the country moved from a position of mute indifference and timid disposition and a relatively passive role in her international relations to a radical and pro-active position. The oil boom of the early seventies boosted the Nigerian economy and enabled the government to embark on the reconstruction of her domestic and foreign

policies. The setting up of Adedeji Commission which overhauled the entire foreign policy machinery of the country led to a redefinition of Nigeria's foreign policy objectives and the course of her external relations (Adeboye, 1999). In effect, the regime was able to take radical and farreaching steps and achieved unprecedented feat in foreign affairs. The Angolan case remained the height of the regime's assertive and pro-active disposition in foreign relations. Nigeria, until November 22, 1975, was in support of a government of national unity to be formed by the three contending parties (MPLA, FNLA and UNITA) in Angolan crisis. A couple of days later, Nigeria reconsidered her position when it became obvious that the then apartheid South Africa and the West (USA) were in support of UNITA and FNLA to form a puppet government in Luanda by announcing her recognition of the MPLA government as the legitimate government of the Angolan people (Adeboye, 1999). This led OAU and the Nigerian government to recognise the MPLA. Aside from this diplomatic support, Nigeria's financial and material supports contributed to the victory of MPLA in 1975. Again, Nigeria's supports to the Sam Nujoma-led SouthWest African Peoples' Organization (SWAPO) against such other political parties backed by the Western bloc and their South Africa ally then undermined the installation of a puppet government in Namibia and led to its victory. The regime also rendered some levels of assistance to independent regimes in the Frontline States which had been at the receiving end of the liberation war against the Portuguese and the racist South Africa and substantially aided the liberation movements, especially Nelson Mandela's African National Congress (ANC) and Robert Sobukwe's Pan African Congress (PAC). Under the regime, the South West African Peoples' Organization (SWAPO) and Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe were variously supported. For example, in 1977, Nigeria donated a whooping twenty million dollars to Zimbabwean liberation movements (Salau, 2018). Nigeria also sent military equipment to Mozambique to help the new independent country suppress the South African backed RENAMO guerrillas. In August, 1979, Prime Minister Margret Thatcher of Britain was 'compelled' to change Britain's rightwing position on Rhodesia and Zimbabwe and agreed for a new settlement on the basis of a genuine black majority rule (references needed). On several occasions, during this era, Nigeria found herself single-handedly playing the continental policeman evident in the intervention in the civil disorder in Chad with a view to bringing the warring factions to a negotiation table. In 1978, the regime partly nationalized the British owned Barclays Bank in Nigeria nationalized after the bank ignored the strong protests by the Nigerian government urging her not to buy South African government bond. In 1979 also, the Obasanjo regime nationalized the British Petroleum Company because of their links with the infamous apartheid regime in South Africa, and as a means of hastening the Lancaster Conference that was to usher in Zimbabwe's independence (Akinboye, 1999). The period indeed was the

golden era of Nigeria's foreign policy, hallmarked by practical demonstration of radical and pragmatism required of Nigeria's afrocentric and non-aligned policies. According to Gambari (1980), this era witnessed a period when "foreign policy was moved out of the realm of (the) regime self-interest and personalized decision-making into one of national debate guided by a sense of national interest.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 3

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

- 1. Nigeria's financial and material supports contributed to the victory of----- in 1975.
- 2. What is the full meaning of the acronym ANC-----
- 3. In 1979, the Obasanjo regime nationalized the----- because of their links with the infamous apartheid regime in South Africa
- 4. In 1977, Nigeria donated a whooping twenty million dollars to------ movements

1.3.4 The Era of Hesitancy and Prevarication (1979-1983)

Nigeria's foreign policy under Alhaji Shehu Shagari can be aptly described as an era of ambivalence and indecision. Unfortunately, the Shagari era was a retrogressive reversal in Nigeria's foreign policy, and bereft of the dynamism, assertiveness and radicalism the regime of Murtala/Obasanjo bequeathed to it. The domestic economic and internal political climate then combined to deny the Nigerian government under Shagari the resilience to pursue assertive and dynamic foreign relations. In effect, the government chose to return Nigeria's foreign policy to the era of conservatism and pro-Western inclined. Like the Balewa regime, the Shagari regime espoused Afro- centrism and non-alignment, and equally showed support for decolonization only in name but not in action. A case in point was in 1983 when Nigeria expelled citizens of other West African countries from Nigeria on the ground that they were illegal aliens. The action was in violation of the ECOWAS Treaty on free movement of people and goods meant to facilitate the goal of economic integration in the sub-region which Nigeria is a signatory (Omenma, 2015). inability of President Shehu Shagari to exert his influence eroded Nigeria's leadership position in Africa. There was indefensible lack of interest and support for both the regional organization (ECOWAS) and the continental organization (OAU) as several instances and activities of the regime attest to this fact (Akinboye, 1999).

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 4

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 3 minutes.

- 1. Under Shehu Shagari, Nigeria expelled citizens of other West African countries from Nigeria on the ground that they were illegal aliens-----(True/False)
- 2. The inability of President Shehu Shagari to exert his influence eroded Nigeria's leadership might in Africa-----(True/False)
- 3. Shagari regime was practically committed to Afro-centrism, non-alignment and decolonization of Africa-----(True/False)

1.3.5 The Era of Contraction and Reassessment (1983-1985)

The foreign thrust of the Nigerian government under the regime of Buhari was virtually a reincarnation of radicalism and dynamism characteristic of the Murtala/Obasanjo regime. Like the Murtala/Obasanjo regime in the MPLA-Angolan case, Buhari administration recognised the POLISARIO government in Western Sahara (Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic) irrespective of the opposition mounted by some West African states. The regime maintained a strong anti-apartheid posture and "relaunched Nigeria's deep commitment to the cause of freedom and liberation struggles particularly in South Africa" (Akinboye, 2005:380). The regime unsuccessfully tried to bring Alhaji Umaru Dikko, who was then in exile in Britain, back to Nigeria. Umaru Dikko was illegally seized from his home and was about to be sent like a cargo to a waiting plane to Nigeria when the London secret service foiled the kidnap attempt (references needed). This reduced Nigeria/British bilateral relation to its lowest ebb. Early in 1985, the regime expelled over 300,000 Ghanaian immigrants from Nigeria like was the case during the administration of Shehu Shagari (references needed). The expulsion further strained relations between the two countries. In 1985, the regime closed Nigeria's land borders with the excuse of checkmating the rampant incidence of trans-border crimes and insecurity. In sum, it can be said that Nigeria's foreign policy under Buhari was open, dynamic, radical and retaliatory.

1.3.6 The era of Engineering and Synchronization (1985 – 1993)

General Ibrahim Babangida in August, 1985, terminated the Buhari military regime via a palace coup and assumed office as a Military President. As a response to the need to repair Nigeria's battered diplomatic relations with the West and the prevailing economic downturn in the country, Babangida took bold steps to restructure Nigerian foreign policy in line with the recommendations of the "All Nigeria Conference on Foreign Policy" initiated by him after assuming office. He discarded

the traditional political thrust characterizing Nigeria's foreign policy in favour of economic diplomacy, designed to achieve a balance between Nigeria's political and economic concerns in line with the imperatives of the new world order and neoliberal political and economic philosophies. Thus, the regime introduced the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) and other far reaching economic measures which exacerbated economic hardship on Nigerians. The regime vehemently opposed the dumping of toxic and radioactive waste in the continent and effectively projected the country's image as a regional power in West African sub-region. In effect, Nigeria was given three years' tenure as ECOWAS Chairman under his era. To solidify the diplomatic fence-mending, the regime reaffirmed Africa as the cornerstone of Nigeria's foreign policy by setting up in 1986 Technical Aid Corps (TAC) through which Nigeria has been sending its citizens with technical skills and proficiency in diverse fields of endeavour to needy African countries. In the area of conflict resolution and peace keeping, the regime expended enormous human and material resources to bring about peace in Liberia and other crisis ridden West African countries using the ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) which it established in 1990. It equally made concerted efforts to strengthen co-operation among the South-South (developing) countries. The administration took deliberate steps to ensure cordial relationship between Nigeria and its immediate neighbours especially Ghana where bilateral relationship was at its lowest ebb.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 5

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 3 minutes.

- 1. What is the full meaning of the acronym SAP-----
- 2. The ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) which it established in -----
- 3. The Technical Aid Corps (TAC) was set up in 1986 ------(True/False)

1.3.7 The era of Confrontation and Diplomatic Shibboleth (1993 – 1998)

The ING headed by Chief Ernest Shonekan, which was supposed to stem the tide of political crisis occasioned by annulment of June 12 general election, could hardly found its bearings before it was sacked by General Sani Abacha on November 17, 1993. The Abacha regime relative to the Babangida regime was more assertive and independent minded (Akinboye, 1999). The regime should be credited for the restoration of peace in Liberia after about seven years of protracted war. This eventually led to the emergence of a democratically elected government in Liberia. The regime also helped to reinstate President Ahmed Tejan Kabbah of Sierra Leone to power, after he was ousted by Major Johnny Koroma. He

deployed ECOMOG to flush out the dissident group from Freetown. Notwithstanding the above positive aspects, the posture of the regime was highly confrontational. Its human rights records were sordid and questionable as exemplified by the execution of the Ogoni nine on 10th November, 1995, a situation that led to the imposition of sanctions and suspension of Nigeria from the Commonwealth of Nations. During this era, Nigeria's relationship with some Western nations and some international organizations was at its lowest ebb as Nigeria became a pariah nation and was treated like a lepper in the comity of nations. This culminated, for instance, in the Federation of International Football Association cancelation and subsequent withdrawal of Nigeria's hosting rights of the 1995 edition of the Under-20 World Cup tournament. This pushed Nigeria to seek for new friends in the Southeast Asia (Ajasu and Oladipo, 1998).

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 6

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 3 minutes.

- Abacha regime should be credited for the restoration of peace in Liberia after about seven years of protracted war------(*True/False*)
- 2. Abacha regime helped to reinstate to power the ousted regime of President Ahmed Tejan Kabbah in -----
- 3. Nigeria was suspended from the Commonwealth of Nations during the Abacha regime -----(*True/False*)

1.3.8 The Era of Reconciliation and Restoration (1998 – 1999)

General Abdusalami Abubakar took over the reins of power following the sudden death of General Sani Abacha in June 1998. Following the posture of the preceding government and the unresolved annulment of the June 12, 1993 presidential election, the regime vigorously pursued the policy of reconciliation. This opened a new phase of improved bilateral relations. As the transition to democracy progressed, the removal of visa restriction, increase high-level visits of US officials, discussions of future assistance, and the granting of a vital National Interest certification on counternarcotic paved the way for re-establishment of closer ties between the US and Nigeria as a key partner in the region and the continent. In accordance with Nigerian national interest, the transitional government of Abdulsalam Abubakar not only declined to contribute troops to the ECOWAS mission in Guinea-Bissau but began the significant withdrawal of troops from Sierra-Leone. The regime made attempt to restore Nigeria's image and foreign policy from the confusing situation which it inherited from Abacha, who had perfected plan to hang on to power. General Abubakar handed over to a democratically elected government on May 29, 1999 and thus became the second military ruler to willingly

hand over power to a democratically elected civilian government in Nigeria.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 7

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 3 minutes.

- 1. The regime of Abdulsalam Abubakar declined to contribute troops to the ECOWAS mission in-----
- 2. The transitional government of Abdulsalam Abubakar withdrawal Nigerian troops from -----
- 3. Nigeria witnessed a new phase of improved bilateral relations under Abdulsalam Abubakar -----(True/False)

1.3.9 The Era of Shuttle Diplomacy (1999-2007)

President Olusegun Obasanjo inherited a nation with a battered image and without international credibility. One of the major priorities of the regime was to reconnect Nigeria to the international community after its long period of isolation. This was evidenced in the series of diplomatic shuttling the regime embarked on shortly after assuming office. The efforts of the regime fairly paid off as Nigeria was again launched back to the forefront of international relations. There was indeed general improvement in several bilateral and multilateral relations. The administration lent strong diplomatic support to the US government's counter-terrorism efforts in the aftermath of September 11, 2001, attacks and played a leading role in forging an anti-terrorism consensus among states in sub-Saharan Africa. Although the foreign policy posture of President Obasanjo was devoid of the radicalism and dynamism relative to that of Murtala/Obasanjo between 1975 and 1979, that Nigeria remained relevant in the international community after Abacha's discredited era, is a credit to the regime. President Obasanjo's tenure was also marked by several international policy successes, the highpoint of which was a historic debt relief concession from the Paris Club that wiped out some \$30billion of Nigeria's \$37 billion external debt (Pham, 2007:16). Bilaterally, Nigeria also forged significant commercial and diplomatic ties with the emerging global powers viz, China and India during the regime. Nigeria opposed the American-led invasion of Iraq despite the fact that the country has been a partner in the US State Department-funded Trans-Saharan Counterterrorism Initiative (TSCTI) (Pham, 2007: 17). Under his leadership, Nigeria assumed leadership of several international organizations like the ECOWAS, African Union (AU) and G- 77. Nigeria also hosted several international summits including those of the Commonwealth Heads of States and the AU in 2004, the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) in 2005 and ECOWAS since 1999. In fact, the foreign policy thrust of Obasanjo administration was intended to redress the perceived inadequacies

inherent in Africa centeredness of Nigeria's foreign policy. The most visible was his deliberate decision to personally embark on shuttle political diplomacy which earned him the title of the most travelled Nigerian Head of State.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 8

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 3 minutes.

- 1. President Olusegun Obasanjo inherited a nation with a battered image-----(True/False)
- 2. The foreign policy posture of President Obasanjo was devoid of radicalism relative to the military regime of Murtala/Obasanjo -----(True/False)
- 3. Under President Obasanjo, Nigeria hosted the summit of the Commonwealth Heads of States in 2004-----(True/False)
- 4. What if the full meaning of the acronym NEPAD-----

1.3.10 The Era of Citizen's Diplomacy (2007-2015)

Alhaji Musa Yar'Adua was elected President after Obasanjo's eight years in office (1999 - 2007). His regime did not toe the part of dynamism or radical posture of Nigeria's foreign policy. It was rather more of a continuation of the foreign policy posture of Obasanjo's administration. Achievements of Nigeria's Foreign Policy under President Yar'adua include: reshaping and repositioning Nigeria's foreign policy by organizing a conference of Foreign Affair Ministers in 2008 and supporting peaceful resolution of the Zimbabwean election crises. On the 23rd of December Capt. Mousa Dadis Camara proclaimed himself President of Guinea Bissau in a bloodless coup after the death of President Lansana Conté. Nigeria under President Yar'Adua condemned the coup and demanded that the country be returned to a democratic government. The coup also attracted condemnation from the international community. On the 15 of October, 2009, Nigeria was elected a non-permanent member of the UN Security council. South Africa and Egypt were the two African countries that contested the seat with Nigeria, but Nigeria won with an overwhelming number of votes. Nigeria's economic image grew very rapidly and significantly in global arena such that Nigeria was among the developing countries invited to the G8 (Group of eight) industrial nation's summit held in Germany in 2007. Whereas foreign policy under Obasanjo was targeted at the rehabilitation of Nigeria and getting her back into the Community of Nations, Yar'Adua targeted to reap the gains of the reintegration through the protection of citizens' interest. On the 10 of February, 2010, Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan assumed office as acting president of Nigeria because of the persistent health challenges of administration President Yar'Adua. His made commendable achievements through the foreign policy posture it adopted. Under

Goodluck Jonathan's administration, Nigeria rebased its GDP for the first time in over a decade to become the largest economy in Africa, overtaking South Africa and Egypt in the process. It also became the first country in West Africa to host the World Economic Forum (WEF) in 2014. It was also the most successful WEF for Africa (WEFA) in history, boasting of a global reach of 2.1billion people according to estimates (provide references). Nigeria's foreign policy under President GEJ which, apart from emphasizing the need for holding national interest paramount in her international relations, also had the principle of reciprocity as a cardinal feature (Ohiri, 2014). Nigeria's post-independent foreign policy was considered to be more conciliatory and moralistic than realistic and so needed to be reappraised to bring it to per with the realities of today. In a nutshell, Goodluck Jonathan's foreign policy was geared towards attracting foreign investors as he believed that this would help reduce the rate of unemployment and curb youth restiveness.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 9

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 3 minutes.

- 1. On the 15 of October, 2009, Nigeria was elected a non-permanent member of the-----
- 2. Under Goodluck Jonathan's administration, Nigeria rebased its GDP for the first time -----(True/False)
- 3. It also became the first country in W/Africa to host the World Economic Forum (WEF) in-----

1.3.11 The Era of 'Buharism' (2015-Date)

President Buhari assumed the office of the President of Nigeria on 29 May, 2015. Unlike preceding administrations in Nigeria, Buhari's government does not have a slogan for its foreign policy. The personality traits of President Buhari earned him the support of Nigerians and the international community during his election because of pre-eminent values such as probity, incorruptibility, forthrightness and discipline which he appears to possess. The invitation to attend the G-7 summit in Germany even before he was sworn in as President is a pointer to the confidence that the group of the world's most powerful states have in the person of President Buhari. Therefore, the foreign policy decisions and direction of the Nigerian government are the resultant influence of the personality traits of the leadership (Bello, Dutse and Othman, 2017). The foreign policy thrust of Nigeria under President Buhari is anchored on a tripod - combating terrorism, fighting corruption and improving the economy. In pursuit of these, his administration is estimated to have travelled outside the country no fewer than thirty times within one year of his administration, with about 5 billion naira expended to attract desperately needed FDI to Nigeria (References needed to back up this

assertion). The diplomatic trips by President Buhari to Lake Chad after his ascension to office in 2015 were intended to garner support for the country's fight against the Boko Haram insurgency in line with his initial proclamation of prioritizing the pursuit of Nigeria and West African interests. Again, because of the confidence reposed in President Buhari, the fund that was looted by officials of previous governments in Nigeria are now being recovered. For instance, it was reported that N152 billion, \$386 million, 1.1 million pounds and 1.7 million Saudi Riyals were recovered between January and December, 2021 (Nwezeh, 2022). There is also the 50 million Euro loan facility from France to Nigeria for capacity building and power training facilities as well as the \$ 237 million agreement with the World Bank to improve power in Nigeria. Assumption of the rotational Presidency of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) for one month in 2015-which was the first time in the history of the UN that an elected member of the UNSC would assume the presidency for the fourth time in two separate tenures within five years, is a strong indication of Nigeria's improved international image (Bello, Dutse and Othman, 2017). Another positive foreign policy outcome of Buhari administration was Nigeria's instructive contributions to the successful conduct of general elections in Chad, Cameroon, and Burkina Faso between May 2015 and December 2016. So also was the spirited though, failed- nationalistic attempt by the president to force the hands of representatives of leading developed countries (G7) and the International Monetary Fund, into an independent foreign exchange programme for Nigeria in 2016. President Buhari attended and, in several, cases made presentations at the Nuclear Security Summit in USA, the 3rd Summit of the India-Africa Forum (October 2015), Gas Exporting Country Summit in Iran (November 2015) the China-Africa Conference in South Africa; the COP 21 Climate Change Summit in France, the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Malta (November 2015), the African Heads of State Government in Addis Ababa, World Future Energy Summit in UAE (January 2016), Plenary Session of the European Union (February 2016), 4th Nuclear Security Summit in Washington (March 2016), Anti-Corruption Summit London (May 2016), and the United Nations General Assembly among others. This is indicative of the fresh upbeat perception of Nigeria internationally (Provide references as appropriate). Other remarkable achievements of the Nigerian government under President Buhari so far include improvement in foreign relations with Nigeria's neighbours to help in combating the menace of the Boko Haram insurgency and other trans-border crimes; forging important diplomatic and economic relations with China, a global economic powerhouse, with a view to accessing the needed funds to cushion the effect of the infrastructural deficit; assumption and exhibition of leadership qualities in negotiating the peaceful return of democratically elected government in Gambia. This partly accounts for the appointment of President Buhari to lead the AU anti-corruption drive; improve

relations between Nigeria and the United States leading to a more strategic collaboration in the fight against Boko Haram and corruption in Nigeria (Taiwo and Lasisi, 2017; Bello, Dutse and Othman, 2017).

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 10

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 4 minutes.

- 1. Foreign policy thrust of President Buhari revolves around combating terrorism, fighting corruption and-----
- 2. President Buhari travelled to Lake Chad in 2015 to garner support for the country's fight against the Boko Haram -----------(True/False)
- 3. President Buhari was made the rotational President of the -----for one month in 2015.
- 4. President Buhari played a key role to facilitate the peaceful return of democratically elected government in-----

1.4 Summary

In this unit, you have seen that Nigeria's foreign policy witnessed a progressive upward and downward slide with each successive regimes adopting different strategies and approaches to promote Nigeria's national interest based on the country's aspirations and perceived stature.

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1.6 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

Answers to SAEs 1

- 1. True
- 2. False
- 3. False
- 4. True

Answers to SAEs 2

- 1. Communist
- 2. European Economic Community
- 3. Soviet bloc

Answers to SAEs 3

- 1. MPLA
- 2. African National Congress
- 3. British Petroleum Company
- 4. Zimbabwean liberation

Answers to SAEs 4

- 1. True
- 2. True
- 3. False

Answers to SAEs 5

- 1. Structural Adjustment Programme
- 2. 1990
- 3. True

Answers to SAEs 6

- 1. True
- 2. Sierra Leone
- 3. True

Answers to SAEs 7

- 1. Guinea-Bissau
- 2. Sierra-Leone
- 3. True

Answers to SAEs 8

- 1. True
- 2. True
- 3. True
- 4. New Partnership for African Development

Answers to SAEs 9

- 1. UN Security council
- 2. True
- 3. 2014

Answers to SAEs 10

- 1. improving the economy
- 2. True
- 3. United Nations Security Council (UNSC)
- 4. Gambia

Unit 2 Principles of Nigeria's Foreign Policy

Unit Structure

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Learning Outcomes
- 2.3 Principles of Nigeria's Foreign Policy
- 2.4 Objectives of Nigeria's Foreign Policy
- 2.5 Summary
- 2.6 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 2.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

2.1 Introduction

As a set of organized measures and purposeful actions utilized to meet practical problems inherent in inter-state interactions, foreign policy is guided by a set of principles, which provide direction to state and non-state actors as they interact with one another. Since independence, the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy has been guided by a set of principles despite different orientation and leadership styles of the successive government. This unit, therefore, provides you with discussion on the principles and objectives of Nigeria's foreign policy

2.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- Identify and discuss the principles of Nigeria's foreign policy
- Identify and explain the objectives of Nigeria's foreign policy
- Highlight the extent the principles and objectives guide the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy

2.3 Principles of Nigeria's Foreign Policy

The first principle of Nigerian foreign policy is the policy of non-alignment. It is a foreign policy principle which rejects formal military alliance with and routine political support for the West and the East in the post-World War II international System. During the entire period of the Cold War, Nigeria successfully resisted joining either the Eastern or the Western bloc of nations in their ideological struggle for power and influence. This policy was adopted by Nigeria and other newly independent states of Africa and Asia to help promote international peace and security. The second principle is the legal equality of states. This principle is aimed at protecting small and underdeveloped countries like Nigeria and other African countries, which are highly susceptible to control, domination and coercion by powerful and industrialized states.

The principle underscores the assumption that all states are equal in the comity of nations with equal opportunity to advance their views and interests through the media of international organisations. The third principle is non-interference in the domestic affairs of other states. Related to the principle of legal equality of states or respect for the independence and sovereignty of states was Nigeria's avowed commitment to non-interference in the national affairs of other nations. This was particularly emphasized to draw attention and distinguish Nigerian leaders as different from the leadership of those countries that are known for meddling in the affairs of other countries. It is however noted by Rosati (2006) that non-interference is not the same as nonintervention. Interference itself literally means an unwelcome involvement of an external or a second party in the national affairs of a sovereign state. Intervention, however, is an acceptable development in international politics to help a state restore peace or to save a nation from an internal crisis. Nigeria upholds this principle of non-interference as it relates to its West African counterparts. It has not had a case of undue interference in the affairs of other African states but has intervened at critical moments on many occasions. Among such instances are the unilateral and subsequent multilateral intervention in the Liberian crisis from 1990 to the restoration of democratic rule in 2005, and her intervention in the Sierra Leonean crisis. The fourth principle is that of multilateralism, that is membership of international organisations such as the United Nations, the Commonwealth of Nations. African Union, Economic Community of West African States, etc. Nigeria was an ardent and active promoter and participant in multilateral diplomacy. This accounts for Nigeria eagerly joining and belonging to several international organisations to enable her pursue her interest and contribute to the common goals of the organization. The fifth principle is that Africa is the centrepiece of Nigerian foreign policy. This is an important principle that has guided Nigerian foreign policy since independence. The principle emphasized Nigeria's commitment to the decolonization of Africa. Therefore, in the pursuit of this afro-centric foreign policy, Nigeria has assisted liberation movements in various parts of the continent, thereby dismantling the last vestiges of colonialism. Besides, Nigeria has shown commitment in the implementation of this policy through efforts at peaceful resolution of conflicts in the continent and the championing of the struggle to uplift the socio-economic wellbeing of the African people through continental programmes, such as the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) among others (Njoku and Nwafor, 2006; Akinboye, 1999; Ebegbulem, 2019).

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

- 1. Legal equality of states underscores the assumption that all states are equal in the comity of nations -----(*True/False*)
- 2. Nigeria upholds the principle of non-interference as it relates to its West African counterparts -----(*True/False*)
- 3. What is the full meaning of the acronym NEPAD -----

2.4 Objectives of Nigeria's Foreign Policy

Since the attainment of independence in 1960, successive administrations have broadly articulated the objectives of Nigeria's foreign policy. It was Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, the then Prime Minister, while addressing the Federal Parliament in 1960, identified the core objectives of Nigeria's foreign policy, on which others are anchored, to include the "promotion of the national interest of the federation and of its citizens." (cited in Akinboye, 1999). This, therefore, implies that the major goal of Nigeria's foreign policy is to protect and promote the country's national interest. Unfortunately, what constitutes Nigeria's national interest was not clearly defined until 1976 when the Adedeji Commission that was set up by General Murtala Mohammed to review the Nigeria's foreign policy, identified the elements of Nigeria's national interest, which also constitute the objectives of the country's foreign policy, to include:

- i. the defence of our sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity;
- ii. the creation of the necessary political and economic conditions in Africa and the rest of the world which will facilitate the defence of the independence and territorial integrity of all African countries while at the same time, foster national self-reliance and rapid economic development;
- iii. the promotion of equality and self-reliance in Africa and the rest of the developing world
- iv. the promotion and the defence of justice and respect for human dignity, especially the dignity of the Blackman;
- v. the defence and promotion of world peace (cited in Akinboye, 1999).

The objectives, to some extent, served Nigeria's national interest, in addition to providing a guideline which the foreign policy actors conformed to and regarded as principles guiding Nigeria's leadership role in Africa though some of them were unrealisable. This explains the slight adjustment in the provisions of the subsequent Nigerian constitutions regarding the country's foreign policy objectives. For example, Section 19 of the 1979 Constitution of Federal Republic of Nigeria, under the

Fundamental Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policy' clearly states that:

The state shall promote African unity, as well as total political, economic, social and cultural liberation of Africa and all other forms of international cooperation conducive of the consolidation of universal peace and mutual respect and friendship among all peoples and states and shall combat racial discrimination in all its ramification.

Section 20 of the 1989 Constitution spells out the Nigeria's foreign policy goals to include:

- i. promotion and protection of the National interest;
- ii. promotion of the total liberation of African from colonial rule and support for African unity;
- iii. promotion of international cooperation for the consolidation of universal peace and mutual respect among all nations and elimination of racial discrimination in all its manifestations;
- iv. respect for international law and treaty obligations as well as the seeking of settlement of international disputes by negotiation, mediation, reconciliation and adjudication; and promotion of a just world economic order

Apart from minor adjustments, both 1999 Constitution (Chapter 2, Section 1) and 1989 Constitution are guided by the same general foreign policy objectives. The implication therefore in that the substance of the foreign policy objectives has remained the same. What has rather changed over the years is the emphasis placed on the specific objectives and the style adopted by a particular regime in pursuit of the objectives (Akinboye, 1999).

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

- 1. The major goal of Nigeria's foreign policy is to protect and promote the country's-----
- 2. The defence and promotion of world peace is one of the elements of Nigeria's national interest identified by the Adedeji Commission-----(True/False)
- 3. Promotion and protection of the National interest is one of the Nigeria's foreign policy goals -----(True/False)
- 4. Aside from emphasis and style, the substance of Nigeria's foreign policy objectives has remained the same ------(True/False)

2.5 Summary

There are sets of principles and objectives that guide and direct the activities and actions of the Nigerian government in its quest to play active roles in global politics and by so doing foster and promote the country's national interest.

2.6 References/Further Readings/Web Sources

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2.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

Answers to SAEs 1

- 1. True
- 2. True
- 3. New Partnership for African Development

Answers to SAEs 2

- 1. national interest
- 2. *True*
- 3. True
- 4. True

Unit 3 Nigeria's Africa Policy

Unit Structure

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Learning Outcomes
- 3.3 Meaning and origin of Nigeria's Africa Policy
- 3.4 Factors that reinforced Nigeria's Africa Policy
- 3.5 Principles of Nigeria's Africa Policy
 - 3.5.1 Ending Apartheid and Decolonization of African Countries
 - 3.5.2 Supporting Unity and Development of Africa
 - 3.5.3 Promoting Peace and Security in Africa
- 3.6 Summary
- 3.7 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 3.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

3.1 Introduction

Nigeria's external relations with other African Nations since her independence in 1960 has depicted a consistent pattern showing Africa as the centrepiece of her foreign policy. It was Nigeria's former Prime Minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, in his addresses of August and October 1, 1960, who declared Africa as the centrepiece of Nigeria's foreign policy. Since then, Nigeria's African policy has remained a constant variable in the country's diplomatic engagements over the years. The policy is anchored on the supposed manifest leadership role nature placed on Nigeria. This made her leaders define Africa's interest as Nigeria's national interest. This unit, therefore, exposes you to the concept and principles of Nigeria's Africa policy

3.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- Discuss the concept of the Nigeria's Africa policy;
- discuss the factors that drive Nigeria's Africa policy; and
- identify and explain the cardinal principles of Nigeria's Africa policy.

3.3 Meaning and Origin of Nigeria's Africa Policy

Nigeria's Africa policy means a set of principles directing the formulation and implementation of Nigeria's foreign policy in a way that places a strong importance on the wellbeing of the African continent (Saliu, 2006). This conception clearly shows that Nigeria's Africa policy goes beyond just a set of policies towards Africa. As further observed by Saliu (2006),

Nigeria's foreign policy concentric circles approach, ranking Nigeria's policy objectives, including maintenance of world peace, defence and protection of the territorial integrity of Nigeria, promotion of the economic wellbeing of Nigerians and Africans, and eradication of all forms of colonialism and racism from the continent, showed that the country's foreign policy was more pro-African than pro-world. Nigeria's Africa policy is a foreign policy thrust which primarily and persistently accords utmost attention, total concentration and exclusive recognition to Africa in Nigeria's foreign policy making and implementation before thinking of the outside world (Imobighe, in NIPSS, 1981).

It is quite evident that shortly before and at independence in 1960, national roles conceived for Nigeria were Africa-centred. Addressing a public gathering in London on July 31, 1959, few months before the country's independence, Nnamdi Azikiwe hinted on national roles for Nigeria. According to him, "It should be the manifest destiny of Nigeria to join hands with other progressive forces in the world in order to emancipate not only the people of Africa but also other peoples of African descent from the scourge of colonialism" (Azikiwe, 1961: 64). Role conception by the founding fathers of independent Nigeria was therefore very clear and devoid of any ambiguity and Nigeria occupied the declared roles in Africa and these were evident in her foreign policy thrust since 1960. Therefore, Nigeria's Africa policy, as a foreign policy thrust, is as old as the Nigerian state itself. The notion that Nigeria was destined to lead the African continent and champion the cause of blacks all over the world actually predates its attainment of independence in 1960. This conviction has remained strong over sixty years after independence. Adigbuo (2005) has identified four principles of Nigeria's Africa policy to include support for the Organization of African Unity (OAU), an antiapartheid/anti-colonial preoccupation, intra-African cooperation, and commitment to the peaceful settlement of disputes and conflicts.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

- 1. Nigeria's Africa policy is a foreign policy thrust which primarily and persistently accords utmost attention Africa in Nigeria's foreign policy -----(True/False)
- 2. Nigeria's Africa policy, as a foreign policy thrust, began after the Nigerian-Biafran Civil War in 1970 -----(True/False)
- 3. Shortly before and at independence in 1960, national roles conceived for Nigeria were Africa-centred ------(True/False)
- 4. Nigeria's Africa policy goes beyond just a set of policies towards Africa ----- (True/False)

3.4 Factors that Reinforced Nigeria's Africa Policy

It is pertinent to note that despite the basic thrust of Nigeria's African policy, the Nigerian government in the First Republic was characterized by foreign policy inconsistencies and contradictions evident in the following actions of the government then: severance of bilateral relations with France over test of an atomic bomb in the Sahara desert in 1961; refusal to attend the maiden conference of the Non-aligned Movement in Belgrade; prevarication over the establishment of formal diplomatic ties with the Sino-Soviet bloc until December 1961; acceptance of the Anglo-Nigeria Defence Pact to train armed militia for Angolan national fighters waging a war against Portuguese colonialists despite popular resistance (Ezirim, 2010). This shows that Nigeria's foreign policy between 1960 and 1966 was basically conservative, reactionary, pro-Western under an uncertain and timid administration that was totally aligned to the West in every trade and diplomatic relations with monumental implications for socio-economic and political development of Nigeria (Ezirim, 2010). For instance, there was evidence of poor development of intra-Africa communications and trade as no fewer than ninety percent of the continent's recorded trade was done with countries outside Africa in 1962 (NIPSS, 1981).

However, although the activities of the Action Group opposition party and the upsurge of radicalism among the youth combined to force a change in foreign policy pattern of Balewa administration, resulting in the abrogation the Anglo Nigerian Defence Pact and adoption of a republican constitution in October 1963, in the First Republic, there was no deliberate and systematic attempt to put Africa at the centre of Nigeria's foreign policy until after civil war. The country's experience during the civil war contributed a great deal in putting Africa at the centre of Nigeria's foreign policy. The primary objective of Nigeria's external relations during the civil war was to secure the support of other African states against the secessionist and disintegrative forces. Nigeria therefore used the platform of the then Organization of African Unity (OAU) to lobby the member states for supports, secure the opposition of the organization' to the secessionists, and above all, elicit the endorsement of the federalists. This explains the overwhelming support which the Federal Government of Nigeria enjoyed among member states of OAU in her efforts to ensure the country's survival as one nation. As a result, Africa was accorded a pride of place in Nigeria's foreign policy thrust beginning with the administration of Yakubu Gowon that first identified Africa as the centrepiece of Nigeria's foreign policy. The involvement of some foreign powers such as France, Portugal and South Africa in the civil war on the side of the secessionists was another factor that catalysed Nigeria's attitude to African issues. Even Britain which was then regarded as Nigeria's traditional ally prevaricated at the initial stages of the war,

before committing itself, ultimately, in support of the Federal cause. Even then its decision to throw its weight behind Lagos was based on its own enlightened self-interest, namely, the necessity to retain access to the lucrative Nigerian oil industry. In fact, from 1970, Nigeria's commitment to Africa became more pronounced as it declared Africa the centre piece of its foreign policy. As Imobighe in (NIPSS, 1981) succinctly put it: The Organization of Africa Unity (OAU) was firm in its support for Nigeria's existence as a corporate entity. The OAU's enlightened approach to the crisis was evident in three key measures it took. First, the Organization insisted on non-interference in the crisis by foreign powers. Second, it gave firm recognition to the Federal Government as the only legitimate authority in the country. Third, it set up a Commission which worked closely with the Federal Government. These OAU measures effectively checked any open or direct big power involvement in the crisis. Thus, after the war, the Gowon's regime was so impressed that it declared Africa the cornerstone of Nigeria's foreign policy.

Another important factor that reinforced Nigeria's Africa policy was the prevalence of major economic developments that were favourable to a more assertive posture in Nigeria's external relations. In the first place, Nigeria's ability to fight a costly civil war without recourse to external borrowing amply demonstrated the basic resilience of the Nigerian economy. It was in this period that the revenue from oil began to increase by 1970, Nigeria's GNP had increased to N2.5 billion. By 1972, oil production had surpassed 2 million barrels per day, thus making Nigeria the sixth largest oil-producing country in the world. This highly favourable political and economic factor altered the environment against which Nigeria's African policy had, in the past, been formulated. With its new economic prosperity, Nigeria began to assume the role of leadership in Africa affairs to which it was entitled by virtue of its huge size and material resources. Through the commission of economic cooperation agreement with its neighbour Nigeria sought to widen its influence, particularly in the West African sub-region. More importantly, Nigeria's basic commitment to inter-African economic cooperation was demonstrated by its active and successful campaign for the creation of Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the economic corollary of its commitment to the political unity of Africa (Nwanolue, and Victor, 2012).

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

- 1. ----- over test of an atomic bomb in the Sahara Desert in 1961
- 2. Nigeria's foreign policy between 1960 and 1966 was basically conservative, reactionary-----
- 3. Africa was accorded a pride of place in Nigeria's foreign policy thrust beginning with the administration of ------
- 4. The prevalence of major economic developments reinforced Nigeria's Africa policy ----- (*True/False*)
- 5. Economic prosperity ha enabled Nigeria began to assume the role of leadership in Africa affairs----- (*True/False*)

3.5 Principles of Nigeria's Africa Policy

3.5.1 Ending Apartheid and Decolonization of African Countries

Apartheid was officially legalised as a state policy in South Africa in 1948 by minority Dutch Boers that mounted the political saddle after the withdrawal of British colonial masters. The basic ethos of Apartheid is racial superiority of minority whites who came into the country in 1652 against indigenous majority black and people of Asian descent known as coloureds. This made blacks and the coloureds second-class citizens whose existence was at the mercy of the minorities who made their way into the country by forced acquisition of lands and settlements. Initially, apartheid was resisted internally and externally. As the protests repeatedly fell on deaf ears, the oppressed changed their strategy by embarking on acts of sabotage and guerrilla warfare. At some point, most of the global community joined in the struggle against Apartheid. This became easy because it coincided with decolonization period and the new states within, and outside Africa sympathised with the cause of the majority (Danfulani, 2014).

Nigeria's Africa policy manifested in practice when it decided to take vigorous action towards the eradication of apartheid policy and decolonization of African countries that were suffering under colonial domination and racial segregation. For instance, in March 1960, about 69 black people were massacred in Sharpeville, South Africa, by the white apartheid police. The new leaders of Nigeria then vehemently condemned the Sharpeville massacre. Nigeria's Prime Minister, Abubakar Tafawa Balewa sent a letter to the African National Congress (ANC) militants on April 4, 1961, and emphasized Nigeria's commitment to fight against apartheid in South Africa. Thereafter, Sir Balewa lobbied for the effective expulsion of South Africa from the Commonwealth in 1961. Furthermore, the government of Balewa provided a direct financial aid to the ANC from

the early 1960s. It also set up a committee – the National Committee Against Apartheid (NACAP) in 1960 to disseminate the evils of the apartheid regime to all Nigerians, among other functions. For over three decades, the NACAP had successfully built alliances with labour movement, student groups, progressive elements and other international grassroots organizations within Nigeria. For effective anti-apartheid activities, Nigeria later unequivocally took over leadership of the anti-apartheid movement worldwide. Despite the volatile nature of Nigeria's politics and the passage of numerous military and civil leaders, Nigeria has never abandoned its unwavering commitment to the freedom of the blacks in South Africa (Koutonin, 2008). For instance, from 1960 to 1995, Nigeria alone spent over \$61 billion to support the end of apartheid, more than any other country in the world.

The intensification of anti-apartheid struggles in the seventies led to the emergence of the frontline states made up of Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. It was the persevering and unyielding determination and tenacity of these states that brought pressure to bear on Pretoria, which resulted in the collapse of apartheid regime in 1994 (Danfulani, 2014). The Frontline States turned out to be a powerful force in the struggle that reversed the long-entrenched iniquity in the region. Therefore, it is important to note from the foregoing analysis that Nigeria alongside other countries played a significant role in dismantling apartheid in southern Africa (Ukaogo *et al.*2020)

Aside from Nigeria's effort in ending apartheid in South Africa, Nigeria equally contributed immensely to the fight against colonialism that eventually culminated in the independence of Angola, Namibia, and Rhodesia (present-day Zimbabwe). Nigeria recognised and bankrolled the MPLA as the authentic Angolan government. It also deployed her resources to the services of African countries under the colonial yoke then. Nigeria also made a donation of 500,000 USD to Namibia's Southwest African Peoples' Organization (SWAPO). SWAPO and later granted the organization permission to open an office in Lagos, Nigeria (Ukaogo et al.2020). In December 1976, the military regime of Murtala-Obasanjo launched the Southern African Relief Fund and the money raised was sent to endangered states in Africa such as Angola, Namibia and South Africa to cushion their pains. With the formation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1963 and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) on 28 May 1975, Nigeria pledged to make available huge financial commitments to the new organization and demonstrated this by regularly providing one-third of its total annual budget. This further enhanced her efforts to end decolonization in Africa. In 1978, the military regime of Murtala-Obasanjo nationalized British Petroleum (BP) and renamed it African Petroleum (AP). The action was taken to discourage the British from

recognizing the puppet regime in Rhodesia (Ukaogo *et al.*2020). It must be noted that all these interventions came with a huge cost to Nigeria.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 3

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

- 1. Apartheid was officially legalised as a state policy in South Africa in ------
- 2. The government of Balewa did not provide a direct financial aid to the ANC from the early 1960s -----(*True/False*)
- 3. The intensification of anti-apartheid struggles in the seventies led to the emergence of the frontline states ------(*True/False*)
- 4. Nigeria played a significant role in dismantling apartheid in southern Africa ----- (*True/False*)
- 5. Nigeria recognised and bankrolled the -----as the authentic Angolan government.

3.5.2 Supporting Unity and Development of Africa

One of the principles that informed Nigeria's Africa policy is the strengthening of African unity and solidarity as well as supporting economic development through continental and regional organisations and institutions. Since independence in 1960, Africa has continued to be the primary focus of Nigeria's foreign policy and international relations. This is reflected in Nigeria's membership of and participation in various regional and continental organisations, including the Monrovia Group of African States, ECOWAS, AU, ECA, AfDB and more recently NEPAD and the African Unity such as the Lagos Plan of Action, the Final Act of Lagos (1980) and the Abuja Treaty (1991) which were all consummated in Nigeria (Ola, 2017). Nigeria's recognition of Africa as the centre-piece of her foreign policy also reflected in President Obasanjo's key roles in the transformation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to the African Union (AU). Obasanjo, who was the first chairman of the African Union, made efforts to bring the pitiable condition of Africa to the attention of the outside world which eventually attracted debt pardon from the foreign loaners such as the IMF, Paris Club and the London Club (Nwanolue, and Victor, 2012). In 2001, Nigeria established a Directorate of Technical Cooperation in Africa (DTCA) under the Ministry of Cooperation and Integration in Africa (MCIA) to promote an exchange programme of high-level technical experts in several areas, including Science and Technology, Humanities and Arts, Law, Agriculture, Mining, Medicine, Manufacturing, Industries, Nuclear Science and others. In June 1976, a cheque of \$250,000 was presented by the Nigerian government to the liberation forces of Rhodesia through Mozambiquan Foreign Minister, Joaquim Chissano in Mauritius during the OAU summit (Ola, 2017).

Nigeria later invited Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo, the joint leaders of the New Patriotic Front to Nigeria and made them pledge their commitment to the agreement reached between the parties at the Geneva Conference of late 1976 (Garba, 1991). In furtherance of her Afro-centric policy, Nigeria negotiated and sold oil at concessionary prices to South Africa, Namibia, Ghana, Niger and other Africa countries. Ghana and Togo particularly owed Nigeria over thirty million dollars from ninetyday concessionary sales of crude oil. In West Africa, Nigeria spearheaded the integration project of a regional gas pipeline to kickstart economic development of the sub-region. In 1972, Nigeria signed a pact with Niger Republic for Nigeria to supply 30,000 kilowatts of electricity to Niger from Nigeria's own hydroelectricity kanji Dam (Ola, 2017). Also worthy of mention is the country's Technical Aid Programme to African countries. Again, through bilateral and multilateral relations, Nigeria has been able to contribute to the economic development in Africa. In May, 1975, Nigeria spearheaded the formation of ECOWAS under the leadership of General Yakubu Gowon to foster economic integration of West Africa (Al-Hassan, 2016). Since the rebirth of civilian/democratic rule in 1999 also, Nigeria's foreign has focused on economic diplomacy with emphasis on attracting foreign direct investments from the West in order to engender economic development.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 4

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

- 1. Since independence in 1960, Africa has continued to be the primary focus of Nigeria's foreign policy ------(True/False)
- 2. ----- played a key role in the transformation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to the African Union (AU)
- 3. What is the full meaning of the acronym MCIA -----
- 4. Nigeria invited Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo, the joint leaders of the-----
- 5. In line with her Afro-centric policy, Nigeria negotiated and sold oil at concessionary prices to some African states ------(*True/False*)
- 6. Nigeria spearheaded the formation of ECOWAS under the leadership of------

3.5.3 Promoting Peace and Security in Africa

As regards the promotion of peace and security in Africa, Nigeria's role on the continent has been prominent. Nigeria has played a crucial role in ensuring that peace ensued in Africa by sending peacekeepers to various war-torn countries. Nigeria provided E15million pounds sterling to

peacekeeping operations in the Belgian Congo in the 1960s and underwrote OAU's \$80million peacekeeping operations in Chad in 1982 (Jega, 2010). When Nigeria's military and police contingents were sent to Congo, now Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Nigeria's General Aguiyi-Ironsi was the Commander of the UN Forces. In 1964, a contingent of military personnel was deployed in Tanzania to quell the insurgency and restore normalcy in the country after a mutiny. The Nigerian government equally contributed enormously to the ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), which mediated to end the civil war in Liberia among others. It is estimated that the Nigerian government spent about \$8 billion to restore peace and stability in Liberia (Ola, 2017). Nigeria's vast resources (human and material) committed to the final restoration of peace and democracy in Liberia and Sierra Leone have been acknowledged internationally. Beyond peacekeeping, Nigeria has played key roles in peaceful resolution of political conflicts and crises of succession in various countries of Africa such as Sudan, Mali, Sierra Leone, Gambia, Cote d'Ivoire, Togo and others (Ashiru and George, 2013). In Togo, for instance, Nigeria ensured that constitutional provisions were adhered to in installing a democratically elected government, after the death of President Gnassingbe Eyadema in February, 2005 (Nwanolue, and Victor, 2012). In Cote d'Ivoire, the intervention and determined efforts of the Nigerian government led by President Goodluck Jonathan saved the country from bloodbath after crisis of political succession in ensued 2010. When an attempt was made in 2003 to unconstitutionally change a democratic government in Sao Tome and Principe, it was the involvement of Nigeria that led to timely and successful restoration of democracy. The Nigerian government made a statement unequivocally condemning the coup in line with Article 4 of the Constitutive Act of the African Union which forbids the seizure of power by extra-constitutional means. Nigeria's principled position helped enormously in reversing the coup. Nigeria's dogged commitment to this article also led to the leadership position opposing the accreditation of Marc Ravalomanana at the 38th and last Summit of the OAU in Durban, South Africa in 2003. The latter had taken power unconstitutionally despite the disagreement that arose over the winner of the Presidential election in Madagascar. It is this principled position and commitment of Nigeria and other African countries to ostracize any person who assumes political power through unconstitutional means that has ensured that the provision of the Constitutive Act the AU on extra constitutional means is conscientiously adhered to discourage unconstitutional seizure and ascension to political power (Ashiru and George, 2013). Furthermore, timely contribution of Nigeria to the adoption of ECOMOG in 1998, as the preferred framework for conflict prevention, management and resolution and peacekeeping in West Africa and the successes recorded by the framework provided motivation and encouragement for the adoption of the Peace and Security Commission by the AU Commission

and the creation of an AU Standby Force to intervene in crisis situations in Africa. Nigeria's enviable contributions towards restoring unity in Africa could also be seen in various peace and mediation talks she hosted. For example, Nigeria mediated between various rebel factions in the Liberian crisis and eventually granted asylum to former Liberian President Charles Taylor to end crisis in that country. Prior to this, Somalia's Siad Barre and Yormie Johnson of Liberia were both granted asylum in Nigeria. Further to this, the restoration to power of the President of Sao Tome and Principe, Mr. Frederique Menezes, after military takeover in July 2003 was to the credit of the Nigerian government under President Obasanjo. Because of numerous involvements of Nigeria in promotion of peace and security in Africa, the country's capital territory, Abuja during the administration of President Obasanjo became the diplomatic melting point for peaceful resolution of many intra and interstate conflicts. This led Obasanjo to create an office in the presidency on conflict resolution with Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary and special Envoy on Conflict Resolution in Africa.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 5

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

- 1. Nigeria provided E15million pounds sterling to peacekeeping operations in the ------
- 2. In 1964, a contingent of military personnel was deployed in _______to quell the insurgency
- 3. President Charles Taylor was granted asylum in Nigeria to end political in -----
- 4. The restoration to power of-----, the President of Sao Tome and Principe, after military take-over in July 2003 was to the credit of President Obasanjo.
- 5. Nigeria's involvements in conflict mediations in Africa motivated President Obasanjo to create an office on conflict resolution in Abuja------ (*True/False*)

3.6 Summary

This unit has exposed you to the meaning and main factors that made Afro-centrism a central plank in Nigeria's Africa policy. The Afro-centeredness of Nigeria's foreign policy practically manifested in Nigeria's struggle against apartheid and decolonization, as well as her efforts to support peace, unity, security and development of African countries through the use of her vast financial, material and human resources. All these have contributed in boosting Nigeria's global image and according to her a position of pride both in Africa and the entire globe.

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3.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

Answers to SAEs 1

- 5. True
- 6. False
- *7. True*
- 8. True

Answers to SAEs 2

- 4. France
- 5. pro-Western
- 6. Yakubu Gowon
- 7. True
- 8. True

Answers to SAEs 3

- *5*. 1948
- 6. False
- *7. True*
- 8. True
- 9. MPLA

Answers to SAEs 4

- 4. True
- 5. President Obasanjo
- 6. Ministry of Cooperation and Integration in Africa
- 7. New Patriotic Front
- 8. True
- 9. General Yakubu Gowon

Answers to SAEs 5

- 4. Belgian Congo
- 5. Tanzania
- 6. Liberia
- 7. Mr. Frederique Menezes
- 8. True

Unit 4 Actors in Nigeria's Foreign Policy-Making and Implementation

Unit Structure

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Learning Outcomes
- 4.3 The Presidency
- 4.4 The National Assembly
- 4.4 Summary
- 4.5 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 4.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

4.1 Introduction

The quality of foreign policy-making and implementation is dependent on the quality of the extant institutions and structural arrangements that are statutorily responsible for decision-making and implementation. Nigeria has come a long way in foreign policy-making from the military era to the present democratic dispensation that began with the rebirth of civilian rule in 1999. Therefore, this unit provides you with in-depth explanations to enhance your understanding of the foreign policy actors, and the making and implementation of Nigeria's foreign policy.

4.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- discuss the institutional framework for Nigeria's policy-making and implementation;
- identify and discuss important actors in Nigeria's foreign policy-making and implementation;

4.3 The Presidency

In a democratic dispensation, two basic organs are constitutionally mandated to share tasks in foreign policy-making and implementation. These include the Presidency and the National Assembly. In a presidential system of government, the Executive branch is responsible for formulation and implementation. The power of the Executive branch is vested in the President who heads the foreign policy formulation group. The President is responsible for implementing and enforcing the laws written by the Legislature and, to that end, appoints the heads of the federal agencies, including the Cabinet. The Vice President is also part of the Executive, ready to assume the Presidency should the need arise (Nigerian Constitution, 1999).

The Executive branch conducts external relations. The President who is the arrowhead of the Executive branch has the power to negotiate and sign treaties, which must be ratified by two-thirds of the Senate. The President wields significant constitutional powers to initiate or propose ideas and programmes that could become policy decisions in the long run (Nwosu, 1991). In Nigeria, the executive branch, backed by the "general will" and constitutional powers, wields much influence based. The President is the major driver in the external diplomacy of a state, notwithstanding there are mechanisms and structures that compel the president and presidency to accommodate domestic pressures and constraints in foreign policy making (Folarin, 2010). The Nigerian 1999 Constitution, as amended, clearly states that the executive branch, personified by the president, is a key factor in Nigeria's foreign policy formulation and implementation (Fawole, 2004). The functions granted to the president in the executivelegislative list include conduct of foreign affairs where he also conducts summit diplomacy, negotiates and signs bilateral and multilateral treaties as well as agreements, receives ambassadors/high commissioners, and attends meetings (Osondu-Oti and Tolu, 2016). Ogwu (1986) also observes that the president is the pivot of the foreign policy process, and is entrusted with the formal executive authority to run the affairs of the nation on a day-to-day basis. In a democratic setting, however, several checks and balances on the decisions of the president exist. In Nigeria, for example, the president is the commander-in-chief of the armed forces but, based on Article 4(a) of the 1999 Nigerian Constitution, he cannot declare a state of war between the Federation and another country except with the sanction of a resolution of both Houses of the National Assembly sitting in a joint session. Undoubtedly, the Nigerian President is a key factor in the making of foreign policies. He sets and directs foreign policy agendas in conformity to his visions, his party's manifesto and programmes, and in line with the dynamics of global politics (Osondu-Oti and Tolu, 2016).

The Nigerian President is supported in the performance of his formal decision-making roles by his Cabinet. The Vice President, the Ministers and the Special Advisers to the Presidency make up the Cabinet. The Cabinet assists in shaping and fine-tuning the policy proposals and ideas of the President (Akinyemi, 2009). The ministries and relevant agencies that assist in foreign policy- making in Nigeria include: the Office of the Vice President, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) and the Foreign Service, Ministry of Defence, Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Culture and Tourism, Petroleum Resources, Education, Sports, the National Security Adviser and other Advisers to the President, Customs, Immigration Service, State Security Services (SSS), National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA), and the National Administration of Food and Drugs Control (NAFDAC), among others. These ministries and agencies play diverse roles in the foreign policy process in Nigeria (Akinyemi, 2004).

The President's small group of think-tank also actively participate in the formulation of foreign policies. The think-tank is made up of experts and experienced hands in the field of the country's international affairs. Members of the think-tank are drawn from the academia, diplomatic community, intelligence community, politicians and a few State Governors, leaders in the National Assembly, and a select few from the Federal Cabinet, including the Foreign Affairs Minister. Fundamentally, the role of the think-tank is to enlighten, recommend, advise, and possibly caution the chief executive on external relations policies (Akinyemi, 2004).

Aside from the think-tank, the President's Kitchen Cabinet in another important group involved in the formulation of foreign policies. This refers to an informal group but strong enough to influence the President's thought and position on foreign policy matters. The Kitchen Cabinet group may operate informally or in secrecy and its membership consists of President's very close aides only known by him. This differentiates the group from the think-tank. The President's Kitchen Cabinet plays a vital role in the running of the state and their decisions would probably take pre-eminence over the decisions of the real Cabinet. The members of the President's Kitchen Cabinet may include his most trusted friends and indispensable aides: Foreign Affairs Minister, directors of the national intelligence and security councils, Vice President, party chieftains, some members of his think-tank, some senior legislators, and even the First Lady, among others.

It pertinent to emphasize that the Presidency works closely with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to set foreign policy agenda, initiate and formulate policies, and implement them. The Ministry is particularly saddled with the responsibility of foreign policy implementation. However, the Minister is the President's arrowhead as he is most probably even a member of his think-tank and inner caucus or Kitchen Cabinet. Depending on the choice of the executive or the Minister's pedigree, he could be on the periphery of the inner caucus or not even be a member at all. Yet, the Minister could also be closer and more functional in the policy process than even the Vice President (Akinyemi, 2004). The Ministry of Foreign Affairs was created in 1960 as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations (1960-1963) and the Ministry of External Affairs (1963-1992). In 1989, it became the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with a mandate to conduct and manage Nigeria's external relations, establish and administer Nigeria's diplomatic missions abroad; represent Nigeria in foreign countries through the appointment of principal representatives by the President; represent Nigeria at international organisations such as the United Nations, Commonwealth and regional/sub-regional organisation such as the African Union, the ECOWAS etc; attend to consular matters including the protection of

Nigerians and their interests abroad; conduct and manage Joint Commission and Bi-National Commissions with other countries; issue passports, travel certificates and seaman book; relate with diplomatic and consular missions in Nigeria; promote Nigeria's cultural heritage at the global; and work with embassies abroad, relevant international/regional organisations and other internal ministries that would help in promoting the development of Nigeria's economy such as the Ministry of Trade and Investment for the promoting of foreign direct investment in Nigeria, among others (Osondu-Oti and Tolu, 2016). It is worthy to note that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been repositioned to function in line with Nigeria's foreign policy objectives. For instance, the mandate of the Ministry as approved in the 2007 Reforms, was to vigorously pursue:

the vital national interest of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, and the promotion of African Integration and Unity, international cooperation for the consolidation of global peace, security, a just world economic order and democratic values, through the formulation, articulation and implementation of Nigeria's foreign policy objectives for the benefit of Nigeria and its citizens by building the capacity to be a major role player in world affairs and earning the respect of the people of Africa and the larger international community (Ministry of Foreign Affairs Annual Report, 2012, as cited in Osondu-Oti and Tolu, 2016).

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in designing the strategy for the conduct of Nigeria's external relations, relies substantially on advice from and action by the country's Missions abroad. This explains why it is imperative for such Missions to be so organized and funded to enable them cope with their diplomatic tasks, especially policy implementation. All indications are that the internal reorganization exercise of 1972, 1981 and 1988 in the MFA, which addressed them to the general and specific institutional problems within the Ministry have, by and large, created a potentially resourceful institutional instrument for both policy implementation in foreign affairs (NIIA, 2005).

However, despite the core role of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in foreign policy matters, other ministries, agencies and departments make diverse input in foreign policy formulation but are not necessarily responsible for implementing foreign policy abroad, for that is at the exclusive domain of the Foreign Service. At the level of the Federal Executive Council, ministries such as Ministry of Trade and Investment, Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Defence, Ministry of Petroleum Resources, Ministry of Information and National Orientation, among others equally contribute to the discussions, debates and final approval of proposals before they become policies principally because foreign policy impacts significantly on the functions of other ministries and agencies. For example, to effectively drive the economic blueprint of the Nigerian

government between 2011 and 2015, the Ministry of Trade and Investment consistently engaged in sourcing for foreign direct investment with Ministry of Foreign Affairs in countries such as China, India and South Africa. The Ministry of Finance is another ministry that has great role to play in the management of its external relations its role in Nigeria's foreign policy has become visible. The Ministry serves as the warehouse of the nation's money. It is in-charge of disbursing money for approved expenditure, and it works with the president in the applying, negotiating and servicing of external loans. The Ministry of Finance represents Nigeria officially at international financial institutions such as World Bank, International Monetary Fund and African Development Bank and others. The Ministry of Defence, which has the primary duty of deploying troops and protecting the country against external attack, is also involved in foreign policy issues. As part of its involvement in foreign affairs, the Ministry also has military and defence attaches in different Nigerian Embassies and High Commissions abroad to oversee Nigeria's military relations with those countries. The Ministry of Information and National Orientation projects and promotes Nigeria's image through programmes in both print and mass media and other international outlets. The Ministry engages in organising international annual carnivals and fiesta, which is meant to expose the country's cultural heritage and tourist attractions to other nations among other functions (Osondu-Oti and Tolu, 2016).

Aside from the ministries, other parastatals, agencies and research institutes are also involved at various degree in foreign making, especially those that have consequences for the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy and relations. First in this regard is the Federal Executive Council (FEC) during which all ministries and parastatals submit proposals for deliberations, and decisions are approval, and such decisions guide all the ministries operations, including the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Other relevant agencies and institutions their duties touch on the country's borders include the Customs, Immigration Services, National Drug Enforcement Agency (NDLEA), National Agency for Food, Drug Administration and Control (NAFDAC), Standard Organisation of Nigeria (SON), among others. Oftentimes, officials of these agencies collaborate with similar agencies in other countries to address issues of common concern.

Research institutes, especially the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIIA) and the National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies (NIPSS) are sometimes required to make inputs in Nigeria's foreign policy directions, challenges and the way forward. Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIIA) was established in 1961, following the efforts of some prominent Nigerians with the aim of providing a nursery of ideas on what direction Nigeria should take on international affairs. Since inception, the Institute has been organizing conferences, roundtables and

lectures with aim of addressing current foreign policy issues and anticipating others still on the horizon. The Institute is a specialized instrument of foreign policy formulation in Nigeria. It serves as an intellectual base upon which decision-makers rely for informed opinion and expert advice in order to make rational choices between contending policy options. The roles of NIIA's in foreign policy process includes research role. It makes research its primary role to the Nigerian foreign policy process. NIIA also performs technical role: Among the NIIA's corporate input to Nigeria's foreign policy process is her technical input. It is about the most sensitive NIIA feed in into the foreign policy process. Although this role is somewhat differentiated from research, technical input stems from research input, since technical input basically connotes expertise input and recommendations generated following intensive research or knowledge building. Technical role basically centres around feeding into decision making process, expertise advice, policy advocacies and information on the consequences of pursuing a range of foreign policy options in general (Agbu, 2000). NIIA also performs personnel role. It is involved in providing a steady stream of experts to serve in incoming administrations, such that it has overtime gained a reputation for supplying government with expertise especially with regard to foreign affairs.

The National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies (NIPSS) was established by Decree No. 20 of 1 January 1979 (now NIPSS Act CAP 262 of 1990) to conduct policy research for government and train senior executives in policymaking and implementation skills. NIPSS conducts policy research for government and train senior executives in policymaking and implementation skills. It also addresses issues associated with government business through action research and training of senior executives in the art of making policy and strategy. NIPSS undertakes policy research and analysis of interest of government; develops new ideas and policy guidelines. Again, the Institute provides strategic advice to existing policies, conducts in-depth studies of society in general, reviews government policies and measures from time and draw attention to those that are inconsistent with overall government objectives, and monitors plan implementation. It carries out policy research into the social, economic, political, security, scientific, cultural and other problems facing the country; and formulate and present in usable form (Ahmadu, 2015).

In addition to the foregoing national actors and structures, there is a category of sub-national actors whose activities impinge on Nigeria's foreign relations. Examples include the state governments that embark on policies and actions that impinge directly or indirectly on foreign policy and Nigeria's relations with the rest of the world. For example, the then Delta State Governor, Uduaghan signed a contract worth over \$12

million US dollars with Chinese government for the establishment of free trade zone and construction of a new power plant in Asaba (*Sahara Reporters*, October 8, 2010).

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 6 minutes.

- 1. The power of the Executive branch is vested in the-----who heads the foreign policy formulation group
- 2. The Nigerian President is supported in the performance of his formal decision-making roles by his-----
- 3. The National Drug Law Enforcement Agency is one of the agencies that assist in foreign policy-making in Nigeria ------(*True/False*)
- 4. The----- is made up of experts and experienced hands in the field of the country's international affairs.
- 5. The members of the President's Kitchen Cabinet may include his most trusted enemies and members of the opposition parties -----(*True/False*)
- 6. the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIIA) is one of the research institutes often required to make inputs in Nigeria's foreign policy directions-----(*True/False*)
- 7. The National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies provides strategic advice to existing policies -----(*True/False*)

4.4 The National Assembly

In a democratic dispensation, the National Assembly is another important institution involved in foreign policy decisions, aside from the presidency. The legislature, as provided in the constitution, is what is called the National Assembly and is made up of the Senate and the House of Representatives. In Section 11 of the 1999 Nigerian Constitution, as amended, 'the legislative powers of the Federal Republic of Nigeria were vested in the National Assembly to make laws for the peace, order and good government of the Federation or any part thereof with respect to any matter included in the Exclusive Legislative List set out in Part 1 of the Second Schedule to the Constitution.' This shows that the legislative branch of the government has many roles to play which can impact on foreign policy in several ways. One, the Nigerian Senate has the sole power to confirm President's appointments. The National Assembly screens the ambassadorial nominees list presented to it by the President and approves or disapproves of individuals on the basis of merit (Adelusi, 2009). A shining example in this regard was in 1999, when the Senate rejected the first list of prospective ambassadors submitted by President Olusegun Obasanjo because the lists did not have adequate federal representation (Fawole, 2004). Two, the National Assembly has the

power to approve military deployment abroad. The 1999 Constitution clearly states that 'while the president can declare war, only a Joint Session of the National Assembly can authorise a declaration of war by the president.' In conformity to this constitutional provision, the deployment of Nigerian troops to Mali in 2012 was thoroughly deliberated and approved by the National Assembly after President GoodLuck Jonathan's proposal. Three, the National Assembly has the power to domesticate international treaties and covenants. Chapter I, Section 12 of the 1999 Constitution states that 'no treaty between the Federation and other country shall have the force of law except to the extent to which any such treaty has been enacted into law by the National Assembly. The implication therefore is that treaties or covenant signed or ratified in international fora, summit or meetings cannot enter into force except when passed into law by the National Assembly. The National Assembly has the power to decide which treaties or covenants to be domesticated. In a nutshell, the National Assembly can exercise its powers on international covenants signed by the country either to domesticate or refuse to do so (Osondu-Oti and Tolu, 2016).

Apart from these specified powers, the National Assembly equally exercises general legislative oversight over all areas of governance through specialized committees on foreign affairs as provided for in Section 88 of the 1999 Constitution. There is the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations which scientifically examines technical matters and make recommendations to the Senate before there is a verdict on and what becomes of a foreign policy bill. Like in the Senate, the House of Representatives has a Committee on International Relations that carries the exact functions of the Senate Committee on same matters but differs in where it reports or to whom it recommends- the House. The House also has several sub-committees such as international trade, human trafficking and others that border on foreign policy. These sub-committees advise the Committee on those other specific technical matters so that the Committee would know the kind of advice to give the House on foreign affairs bills that have been presented by the Executive before it. Outside the committees and sub-committees of the National Assembly, the Nigerian Senate President is very influential in foreign policy making. His views count, and most times, on matters of national exigency. The Nigerian experience in the Fourth Republic as it was in the Second Republic was that the ruling party also produced the Senate President and even the Speaker of the House of Representatives. This has been an advantage for the Presidency who has little challenges realizing his foreign policy objectives (Adelusi, 2009).

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

- 1. Aside from the Presidency, the National Assembly is involved in foreign policy decisions -----(*True/False*)
- 2. The legislature as established in the Constitution is what is called the -----
- 4. The National Assembly lacks the power to decide which treaties or covenants to be domesticated-----(*True/False*)
- 5. The Nigerian Senate President is very influential in foreign policy making -----(*True/False*)

4.5 Summary

In this unit, you have been exposed to the actors and institutional framework for Nigeria's policy making and implementation and the significant role of think tanks in enhancing the quality of Nigeria's foreign policy making. There are many ministries/parastatals and sub-national actors that could contribute to the making and conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy even though foreign policy decisions are sometimes wrongly understood as mainly the president's affair, working with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The process of foreign policy decision making is also sometimes influenced by factors that are not only internal to the state, but also factors that are external to it.

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4.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

Answers to SAES 1

- 1. President
- 2. Cabinet
- 3. True
- 4. Think-tank
- 5. False
- 6. True
- *7. True*

Answers to SAES 2

- 1. True
- 2. National Assembly
- 3. True
- 4. False
- 5. True

Module 5 Nigeria's Multi-Lateral Global Relations

Unit 1	Nigeria Relations with Great Powers
Unit 2	Nigeria's Role in International Organizations
Unit 3	Nigeria and Non-Alignment
Unit 4	Globalization and Nigerian foreign policy

Unit 1 Nigeria's Relations with Great Powers

Unit Structure

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Learning Outcomes
- 1.3 Anglo-Nigeria Relations
- 1.4 Nigeria-United States Relations (US)
- 1.5 Nigeria-Russia Relations
- 1.6 Summary
- 1.7 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 1.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

1.1 Introduction

The contemporary international relations is characterized by bilateral relations among sovereign nation-states on issues of politics, economy and security among others. In her efforts to maximally advanced her national interests, successive Nigerian governments, since political independence in 1960, have made efforts to establish and sustain harmonious and robust bilateral relations with the great world powers. This unit identifies and explains some of the pertinent issues that undergird bilateral relations between Nigeria and the three great world powers, namely United Kingdom (UK), United States (U.S.), and USSR (Russia).

1.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- Analyse the political issues that affected Anglo-Nigeria relations
- Meaningfully discuss how issues of terrorism, trade and investment affected Nigeria-U.S. relations
- explain the security and economic dimensions of Nigeria-Russia relations

1.3 Anglo-Nigeria Relations

Since gaining its independence in 1960, Nigeria has maintained strong relations with the United Kingdom, its former colonial master. At the outset, the foreign policy thrust of the Balewa's regime was pro-Western as the regime hardly took any foreign policy decision without consulting with the British colonial master (Ezirim, 2010). During the civil war (1967-1970), the government of Balewa had expected military assistance from Britain as a permanent friend. Unfortunately, Nigeria's expectations of assistance from Britain yielded nothing, except traditional small arms. As a result, Nigeria greatly felt Britain's unnatural neutrality to be an unfriendly cut from a nation that Nigeria had classified as a permanent friend (Fawole, 2003).

Despite the attitude of Britain, the cordiality of bilateral relations and friendship was not entirely jeopardized as the British later changed their minds and came back to support Nigeria due to the looming influence of the Communists. This perhaps guaranteed Britain a still favourable rating in Nigeria's estimation. As a testimony to the restoration of cordial bilateral relations, General Yakubu Gowon paid a state visit to Britain where he was warmly received. He also invited the British monarch, Queen Elizabeth II to visit Nigeria and was making arrangements to receive her before the coup of July 29, 1975, overthrew his regime. The visit was diplomatically postponed indefinitely by the succeeding Murtala Muhammed regime (Fawole, 2003). The traditional cordiality of Anglo-Nigeria relations was put to sever test in February 1976 when Britain was accused of involvement in the abortive coup d'etat that resulted in the assassination of General Murtala Muhammed. The reason for this accusation of British involvement had to do with the fact that while the coup was still in progress, in the morning of Friday, February 13, 1976, the leader of the rebel, Colonel Bukar Suka Dimka, visited the British High Commission in Lagos. While there, he allegedly requested for the assistance of the diplomatic mission to contact overthrown Nigerian leader General Yakubu Gowon who was at the time in political exile in London. A series of events then occurred which further soured bilateral relations between the two friendly countries. The succession of unfolding events in Nigeria in the immediate aftermath of the coup attempt further drove a wedge into Anglo-Nigeria relations.

With the information that the coup plotters desperately wished to contact Gowon, the new government requested Britain to send back the former military head of state to Nigeria to face the military to answer charges of his involvement and complicity in the February 1976 coup. The British authorities denied the request for extradition on the grounds that no bilateral extradition treaty existed between Nigeria and Britain, and more importantly on the consideration that the prevailing sentiment in Nigeria

was unfavourable to fair trial. Meanwhile, the entry of General Buhari to power after overthrowing a civilian government was not particularly welcomed by the British. In the first instance, it was alleged that Britain had given sanctuary and asylum to scores of the ousted politicians who had been accused of looting the national treasury. This did not particularly endear the British to a government that inherited a badly depleted economy and required every assistance to recover the stolen money (Fawole, 2003). The failed abduction of Nigeria's former Transport Minister, Alhaji Umaru Dikko in London further soured the relationship almost beyond repair. Again, just like in the era of Muhammed and Obasanio, Nigeria looked the British eveball to eveball and refused to blink, and bilateral relations took a plunge for the worse. Anglo-Nigeria relation was able to survive this ugly episode largely because of the realization that both sides needed each other and should not allow this event to further worsen their relations. Both were prominent members of the Commonwealth and principal trading partners. Nigeria was Britain's largest trading partner in Africa with a balance of trade in Britain's favour British export to Nigeria was reportedly worth between £500 million and £800 million. Besides, there were not less than 12,000 British nationals in Nigeria and over 70,000 Nigerians resident in the United Kingdom (cite references).

Nonetheless, mutual suspicion and mistrust punctuated bilateral relations throughout until Buhari was overthrown in August 1985 (Fawole, 2003). Another issue that made Nigeria diplomatic relations with the Britain to go soured was the annulment of the June 12, 1993 Presidential election, the election which was globally acclaimed as the freest and fairest election in Nigeria since independence in 1960. The annulment of the election attracted immediate reactions from the international community. Britain rejected the annulment saying that it would harm the relationship between the two countries. It later went ahead to suspend all new military training courses for members of the Nigerian armed forces in the United Kingdom as well as all assistance to the National War College. Entry visa to the United Kingdom (UK) was also suspended for members of the armed forces, the National Guard and state security service, government officials going to the UK were not to be given preferential treatment in the issuance of visa. There was also move to freeze an outstanding 14.5-million-pound aid package due to Nigeria (Dauda, 2006). Another human rights abuse that further harmed the relations between the two countries was the hanging of the Ogoni activists in 1995 by Abacha's regime. These activists – and their leader, writer Ken Saro Wiwa - were hanged because of their persistent campaign for justice and fairness for oil-producing regions. These two major domestic human rights issues made the Great powers including Britain put a hold on bilateral relations with Nigeria, particularly as Abacha refuse to show remorse. However, Anglo-Nigeria relations was restored with the rebirth of democratic rule in 1999, when

Obasanjo assumed leadership as a civilian government. Nigeria's foreign relation after the successful transition to democratic governance was more of shuttle diplomacy to win over a world that had abandoned Nigeria and would rather not have anything to do with her (Ezirim, 2010). Regarding trade and commerce, Anglo-Nigeria relations have remained cordial. Key trade items include oil and gas, financial services and agriculture. In August 2010, the Deputy Chief Executive of UK Trade and Investment, Susan Haird, noted that trade in services from the UK to Nigeria in 2008 amounted to approximately GBP 1.27 billion, while exports from Nigeria to the UK, in 2009, stood at about GBP 600 million.

These figures reflect the towering significance of the UK's trade advantage over Nigeria. It is alarming that of the GBP 600 million exports from Nigeria to the UK, only a miserable GBP 12 million was derived from non-oil exports. These are agricultural products such as cocoa, coffee, tea and spices. Exports from the UK to Nigeria, in 2009, increased to GBP 1.3 billion; while exports from Nigeria to the UK remained at GBP 600 million, the bulk of which continued to be oil and gas (Alao, 2011). The increase in trade seems to be a result of both countries' realization of the potential to explore new areas in their relationship. The advent of democracy in Nigeria has encouraged improvement in their trade links. Figures are already showing an upward trend, with UK exports up 85% in the first two months of 2011, and Nigeria's exports to the UK up by 69% over the same period (Akinboye, 2013; Alao, 2011). Many UK companies continue to operate in Nigeria while many Nigerians are engaging in different economic enterprises in the UK (Alao, 2011). Britain's luxury goods are well-known and highly patronised in Nigeria and by Nigerians. British firms control reasonable shares in Nigeria's oil and gas industry, and UK runs several investments in other sectors of Nigeria's economy. According to IMF (2017) report, UK's exports over the years account for a greater share of Nigerian imports of merchandise goods. Collaborating this viewpoint, Hearne et al. (2019) opine that Nigeria is a major UK"s commodities exporter and importer and therefore remains a potential market to be reconsidered and explored by UK to grow its post-Brexit trade. Furthermore, the UK has been one of the key countries that has supported Nigeria's clamour for debt relief. It has also been involved in providing financial assistance to promote good governance and help Nigeria achieve the Millennium Development Goals. The UK has supported endeavours, including malaria prevention, girls' education and reform in the justice sector. Nigeria has also worked closely with the UK on efforts to recover money held in UK banks by corrupt Nigerian politicians. Both Nigeria and the UK acknowledge that relations have changed and that the UK's position of dominance in trade with Nigeria has decreased. With regard to security, the United Kingdom is now one of Nigeria's strongest allies as security issues in Nigeria are of great concern to London. Nigeria's struggles with home-grown

insurgents are considered a potential threat to global security. The UK, like many of Nigeria's allies, is worried that the increased presence of the Islamic State in the country could become a threat beyond Nigeria's borders. Of particular significance was the visit of the British Prime Minister, Theresa May, to Abuja and Lagos in August, 2018. The focus of her visit was to discuss improving bilateral relations between the two countries. Security was very much on the agenda and both countries signed a defence and security agreement (Tayo, 2019). In addition, the UK's Defence Secretary, Gavin Williamson, visited Nigeria in November, 2018 and reiterated the UK's commitment to the agreement stressing that it was in his country's interest to help keep Nigeria secure to avoid insurgents establishing a caliphate and plotting attacks against the West. More so, Nigeria remains a key area for defence engagement for the UK and most of the work involves training and intelligence sharing. The British Army and Royal Air Force send Short Term Training Teams (STTTs) provides infantry training to the Nigerian Army and Air Force. The provision of training and equipment is centred around protecting soldiers from the threat of improvised explosive devices (IEDs) and includes the gifting of a range of £775,000 worth of counter IED equipment to the Nigerian army (Tayo, 2019). Education has suffered as a result of the insurgency in the northern part of the country. Schools have been destroyed or closed due to incessant attacks by terrorists. Therefore, Nigeria and UK have entered into an agreement to work together on a £13 million programme to educate 100,000 children living in the affected areas of the region. The agreement also encompasses cooperation on improving policing (which is chronically under-resourced in Nigeria), tackling kidnapping, human trafficking and other organised crime, corruption (through the creation of a civil asset recovery task force to help recover stolen assets) and the ongoing issue of piracy in the Gulf of Guinea (Tayo, 2019).

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

- 1. The failed abduction of Alhaji Umaru Dikko in London further soured Nigeria's relations with Britain almost beyond repair -------(*True/False*)
- 2. The hanging of the Ogoni activists in 1995 improved Nigeria's relations with Britain -----(*True/False*)
- 3. Nigeria's foreign relation after the successful transition to democratic governance in 1999 was more of ------
- 4. Nigeria remains a key area for defence engagement for the UK-----(*True/False*)
- 5. The British Army and Royal Air Force send Short Term Training Teams (STTTs) provides infantry training to the-----and-----and-----

1.4 Nigeria- United States Relations (US)

The United States established diplomatic relations with Nigeria in 1960, following Nigeria's independence from the United Kingdom. From 1966 to 1999, Nigeria experienced a series of military coups, excluding the short-lived second republic between 1979 and 1983. The 30-month-long civil war, which ended in January 1970, resulted in 1-3 million casualties (references needed because there were disputes in the number of casualties). The period 1975-1979 laid the foundation for active Nigeria-US relations. Murtala Mohammed (1975-76) and Olusegun Obasanjo (1976-79) advanced a more assertive, activist foreign policy. Murtala and Obasanjo implemented a more militant pan-African foreign policy that was aimed at challenging the minority rule regimes of Southern Africa among other issues (Aluko, 1981). It was in pursuit of this policy that the relationship between Nigeria and the US experiences confrontation. Nigeria's relations with the United States of America further deteriorated with the intervention of Nigeria in the Angolan civil war, supporting the Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) against the USsupported National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) and National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) (Abegunrin, 2003).

The unfriendly trend in their bilateral relations continued until the emergence of a new US government of President Jimmy Carter which showed greater sensitivity to the feelings of Africans on the issues of apartheid and racism (Fawole, 2003). Annulment of the June 12, 1993 presidential election was another domestic political issue which received global condemnation and soured the d relationship between the country and the Great powers, Including the United States (US). Shortly before the country return to democracy in 1999, Nigeria again experiences soured relationship with United States (US) due to the abused of human rights by military government of Nigeria. One of the serious abuses, for instance, made the US government to impose a travel ban and sanctions on the Abacha's regime for hanging the Ogoni activists in1995. These activists – and their leader, writer Ken Saro Wiwa - were hanged because their persistent campaign for justice and fairness for oil producing regions conflicted with the interests of oil multinationals and the Nigerian government. Since the return of democracy in 1999, there have been increased trade links between the two countries. Optimizing the relationship to improve Nigeria's economy is central to Nigeria's policy. There have also been persistent calls for US investments in Nigeria. Presently, key US investors in the Nigerian oil sector include Exxon Mobil, Chevron and Western Geo-physical. Other US multinationals in Nigeria include the British American Tobacco Company, in the tobacco enterprise, and CitiBank, in the banking sector. Nigeria is eligible for preferential trade benefits under the African Growth and Opportunity Act

(AGOA). This was established by the US in May 2000 to provide dutyfree and quota-free market preferences for approximately 6 400 products from sub-Saharan African countries to US markets until 2015 (Office of the United States Trade Representative, nd; Condon and Stern, 2011). With the advent of democracy, Nigeria expected to receive dividends in the form of debt relief. At the time it owed approximately \$35 billion, largely to the group of countries known as the 'Paris Club.' The realization of this goal was a major foreign policy objective in its relations with the US (Ezeabasili, 2011). Successive US presidents have shown considerable interest in addressing Nigeria's debt question. During a visit to Nigeria in August 2000, President Clinton announced a \$100 million aid package to the country. This was aimed specifically at improving primary education and health care. In 2006, Finance Minister, Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala, secured the US Treasury Department's assistance to persuade the Paris Club to write off \$18 billion of Nigeria's foreign debt. The Bush administration was also involved in the sponsorship of many health-related issues in the country. Interestingly, Barrack Obama considered debt relief for Nigeria even before he became president (Dijkstra, 2013; Okonjo-Iweala, 2013).

The United States continues to support Nigerian institutions and the Nigerian people in their efforts to conduct free, fair, transparent, and peaceful elections, the results of which reflect the will of the Nigerian people. In April 2018, President Trump hosted President Muhammadu Buhari of Nigeria at the White House to discuss efforts to deepen our mutually beneficial relationship (Akinterinwa, 2018). Since 2010, under the U.S.-Nigeria Binational Commission (BNC), a forum for high-level discussions, the two countries have met regularly. The most recent BNC was held on February 3, 2020, in Washington D.C. and attended by an inter-agency delegation headed by Foreign Geoffrey Onyeama and Under Secretary of State David Hale. The BNC meetings have focused on key areas of mutual interest, including good governance and anti-corruption; trade and investment; development and food security; and security and counter-terrorism efforts. In April 2021, U.S. Secretary of State Anthony Blinken conducted a virtual visit to Nigeria, participating in meetings with President Buhari and Foreign Minister Onyeama and participating in a health partnership event, highlighting the United States' commitment to assisting Nigeria in combatting infectious diseases and advancing global health security (U.S. Department of State, 2021). The U.S. government has diversely assisted Nigeria and Nigerians. Through U.S. assistance in Nigeria, the U.S. Government works to protect Americans from terrorism and disease, create opportunity for trade and investment, and support a more stable and prosperous country that is a partner in advancing lobal priorities. Through U.S. foreign assistance, the U.S. Government is supporting Nigerian efforts to strengthen democratic institutions, promote good governance

and counter corruption, and improve security while addressing the factors that drive conflict and providing life-saving assistance to those affected by terrorism. U.S. assistance also aims to build institutional capacity in the provision of health and education services and increase agricultural productivity and food security U.S (Department of State, 2021) As an important U.S. security partner in Africa, Nigeria is engaged in intensive efforts to defeat terrorist organizations within its borders, including Boko Haram and ISIS-West Africa (ISIS-WA).

Nigeria is a vital member of the Defeat ISIS (D-ISIS) coalition and in October 2020, Nigeria co-hosted a virtual D-ISIS conference with the United States. At present, Nigeria is the largest economy and most populous country in Africa with an estimated population of over 200 million, which is expected to grow to 400 million by 2050 and become the third most populous country in the world after China and India. Nigeria had an estimated gross domestic product of 448 billion USD in 2019 (U.S Department of State, 2021) despite persistent structural weaknesses. The United States is the largest foreign investor in Nigeria, with U.S. foreign direct investment concentrated largely in the petroleum/mining and wholesale trade sectors. At \$3.2 billion in 2019, Nigeria is the second largest U.S. export destination in sub-Saharan Africa. United The States and Nigeria have bilateral commercial investment dialogue, led by the Department of Commerce, and was last convened at the ministerial level in February 2020. In 2019, the two-way trade in goods between the United States and Nigeria totalled over \$10 billion. U.S. exports to Nigeria include wheat, vehicles, machinery, kerosene, lubricating oils, jet fuel, civilian aircraft, and plastics. Nigerian exports to the United States included crude oil, cocoa, cashew nuts, and animal feed (U.S Department of State, 2021).

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 6 minutes.

- 1. The period 1975-1979 laid the foundation for active Nigeria-US relations.----(*True/False*)
- 2. Murtala and Obasanjo implemented a more militant and assertive pan-African foreign policy -----(*True/False*)
- 3. What is the full meaning of the acronym MPLA-----
- 4. Nigeria is eligible for preferential trade benefits under the ----
- 5. Barrack Obama considered debt relief for Nigeria even before he became president -----(*True/False*)
- 6. Nigeria is a vital member of the Defeat ISIS (D-ISIS) coalition-----(*True/False*)
- 7. The United States is the largest foreign investor in Nigeria-----(*True/False*)

1.5 Nigeria-Russia Relations

During the early 1960s, the main interest of the Soviet Union was to expand its political influence among the countries of Africa and have more states converted into socialist orientation in an ideologically polarized world. Nigeria being a capitalist state was not inclined to change its orientation. The colonial masters induced Nigerian leaders to launch heavy, unfriendly propaganda against Russia in Nigeria during the early and mid-1960s. The Nigerian Civil War, which opened the eyes of Nigerian leaders to the reality of world politics, marked a significant era of bilateral relations by the two countries as the USSR (Russia) opted to provide the Nigerian government with weapons to prosecute the war having been deserted by its traditional friends and allies in the West. Thenceforth, relationship with the Soviet Union became more cordial and friendly, with General Gowon paying a high-profile state visit to Moscow to personally express the country's gratitude for timely Soviet assistance at the critical period. The early 1970s witnessed influx of soviet diplomats and nationals doing business in the country. Cheap Soviet- made automobiles such as Lada, Moskvitch and Volga became common on Nigerian roads while other consumer items from behind the iron curtain also flooded the country's market. All the earlier restrictions placed on the movement and activities of Soviet personnel had been removed. The Soviets were awarded the contract for the construction of Nigeria's multimillion-dollar Iron and Steel Industry at Ajaokuta in Kogi State.

This was in addition to a range of bilateral commercial, cultural and educational agreements that blossomed in the early and mid – 1970s (Fawole, 2003). However, Ofoegbu (1980) further observes that the fact that, soon under General Yakubu Gowon, Nigeria drifted back to Britain and the USA frustrated the Russians exceedingly. Even when the second military government in Nigeria was overthrown and USSR expected the creation of those conditions, which it had long anticipated for friendship with Nigeria, it was disappointed by the strenuous efforts of the leaders of the third military government to explain that they would not impose any ideology on the people of Nigeria and would not adopt socialism as their working philosophy; economic and fiscal measures which reassured capitalists of predominant roles in the Nigerian economy; government's measures that weakened the working class and their union as a worker movement; pen hostility towards Russians in parts of Nigeria which accused the USSR of favouring the quick-kill rather than the peace talks policy during the civil war among others (Ofoegbu, 1980). However, in March 2001, President Obasanjo visited Russia and both countries signed a Declaration on the Principles of Friendly Relations and Partnership, and a Programme on Cultural and Scientific Cooperation. The relationship continued to progress, and in 2008, the two countries signed a series of Memorandum of Understandings (MOUs). The first of these agreements

was to regulate the peaceful use of nuclear energy, while the second envisaged the participation of Gazprom, the Russian-based energy corporation, in the exploration and development of oil wells and gas reserves in Nigeria. By 2009, both countries had begun talking about further developing their relationship. Nigeria's former foreign minister, Ojo Maduekwe, and his Russian counterpart, Sergei Lavrov, met to discuss various areas of collaboration (Agubamah, 2014; Alao, 2011). Specifically, Russia was interested in projects related to the development of Nigeria's infrastructure, and the extraction of hydrocarbon and other raw minerals. For its part Nigeria was interested in the electricity sector. Russian President Dmitry Medvedev's visit to Nigeria in 2010, the first such visit from a Kremlin leader to Africa's most populous nation, boosted their relationship significantly. Both countries signed a deal to co-operate in developing nuclear energy, especially for the purpose of electricity.

Another major project of interest to the Russians was the Trans-Saharan Gas pipeline, a project aimed at sending Nigerian gas to Europe and supported by the EU as a way to diversify its energy resources. (Alao, 2011). This is of considerable interest to Gazprom because of its belief that it is far behind its foreign competitors in Africa, especially when compared with companies such as Royal Dutch Shell, Chevron and Exxon Mobil (Alao, 2011). By 2010, both Nigeria and Russia had also started exploring discussions on space technology, nuclear energy and partnership in other technical fields. The countries have signed a nuclear agreement between the Nigerian Nuclear Regulatory Authority (NNRA) and the Russian State Atomic Corporation (RSAC) to explore and develop gas and hydrocarbon related projects in Nigeria. In the same year trade, between the two countries reached \$300 million, and Nigeria became Russia's second-largest trading partner in sub-Saharan Africa after South Africa. It is believed that Russia's focus in its relations with Nigeria is on nuclear energy, gas and oil exploration. (Alao, 2011). One of the investments in Nigeria originating from Russia is a financialinvestment consultancy Group, Renaissance Capital. Renaissance Group began operations in sub-Saharan Africa in 2006, from its operational office in Lagos, Nigeria (Russian Academy of Sciences: 2015). Recently, relations of Russia with Nigeria have been developing steadily. Many Russian companies are implementing extraction, metals and farm mechanization. Long-term prospects between the two countries include collaboration in the peaceful uses of atomic energy and in space exploration As at 2008 despite the global economic downturn, there was growth in the volume of trade between Nigeria and Russia which doubled in that year to \$300 million According to the Central Bank of Nigeria, this figure was put at \$1.5 billion, taking into consideration other indirect transactions between the two economies (CBN, 2008 as cited in Waliyullahi, 2016). Russia and Nigeria also engage in a joint venture to

exploit Nigeria's vast gas reserves. There is Memorandum of understanding between Russian Space Agency and Nigeria's National Space Research and Development Agency (NASRDA), under which agreement Russia will provide the human capacity building for Nigeria to achieve her plan to launch the first satellite outer space between 2015 and 2018 (Waliyullahi, 2016). as Also, President Goodluck Jonathan requested the Russian government to assist in combating the menace of terrorism as both nations signed a memorandum on interaction and cooperation between their security councils. In 2017, Russia and Nigeria signed an agreement on military cooperation. Nigeria is interested in buying Russian military equipment, in addition to a signed contract for the purchase of Mi-35 helicopters, six of which have already been delivered. In August 2021, Nigeria and Russia signed yet another agreement for the Russian Armed Forces to train the Nigerian Armed Forces. It was signed in Moscow by Nigerian Minister of Defence Bashir Salihi Magashi and d Russian FSVTS Dmitry Shugaev (Waliyullahi, 2016).

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 3

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 6 minutes.

- 1. During the early 1960s, one of the main interests of the Soviet Union was to have more states converted into,-----
- 2. The early 1970s witnessed influx of soviet diplomats and nationals doing business in Nigeria -----(*True/False*)
- 3. Nigeria and Russia signed a series of Memorandum of Understandings (MOUs) in -----
- 4. Russia and Nigeria are cooperating in a joint venture to exploit Nigeria's vast gas reserves ------(*True/False*)
- 5. The acronym NASRDA means -----
- 6. In 2017, Russia and Nigeria signed an agreement on -----

1.6 Summary

The Anglo-Nigeria relations were chequered in the four decades following Nigeria's independence in October 1960. While political issues had soured the bilateral relations between the two countries, economic and security interests have harmonized and united them. Only a slight difference is discernible in the level of closeness between both countries when Nigeria was under democratic governments and under military dictatorships. The fact that Nigeria was governed by authoritarian military regimes for much of the period from 1960-1999 did not therefore substantially affect relations even though British foreign policy has not only emphasized opposition to dictatorial governments and military juntas for centuries, but has also defended the values of liberal democracies. Nigeria-United experienced States relations has

confrontations and harmony, with political issues often souring the relations and economic interests harmonizing them. Nigeria-USSR (Russia) experience has essentially moved from harmonious to unfriendly bilateral relation.

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1.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

Answers to SAES 1

- 1. True
- 2. False
- *3.* shuttle diplomacy
- 4. True
- 5. Nigerian Army and Air Force

Answers to SAES 2

- 1. True
- 2. True
- 3. Movement for the Liberation of Angola
- 4. African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA)
- 5. True
- 6. True
- 7. True

Answers to SAES 2

- 1. socialist orientation
- 2. True
- *3*. 2008
- 4. True
- 5. National Space Research and Development Agency
- 6. military cooperation

Unit 2 Nigeria's Role in International Organizations

Unit Structure

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Learning Outcomes
- 2.3 Nigeria and the United Nations Organization (UNO)
- 2.4 Nigeria in Commonwealth of Nations
- 2.5 Summary
- 2.6 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 2.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

2.1 Introduction

It is very important to remind you that the use of international organizations as an instrument for furthering Nigeria's international diplomacy and interests is firmly inscribed in the 1999 Federal Constitution (as amended). Thus, some of the basic principles of Nigeria's foreign policy are seeking membership of multilateral organizations in order to promote international cooperation for the consolidation of universal peace and mutual respect among all nations, as well as the elimination of discrimination in all its manifestations using multilateral diplomacy. Against this backdrop, this unit provides you with discussions on the contributions and benefits of Nigeria as a member state of the United Nations Organization (UNO) and Commonwealth of Nations since her independence in 1960

2.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- Identify and explain the contributions of Nigeria to the UNO
- Meaningfully discuss Nigeria's benefits as a member of the UNO
- Analyze Nigeria's contributions and benefits as a member state of the Commonwealth of Nations

2.3 Nigeria and the United Nations Organization (UNO)

The victorious allies of World War 11 met in San Francisco in USA in 1945 to establish the United Nations (UN) in order to save succeeding generation from the scourge of war through collective security. So, Nigeria at independence became the 99th member of the UN. Alhaji Tafawa Balewa, the then prime minister who doubled as foreign minister, addressed the UN in October 1960 declaring among other things, friendship with "our trading partners" and other democratic countries in the world. The Prime Minister also said Nigeria will defend the interest

of all black peoples where ever they might be and would not compromise with forces of colonialism, racism and apartheid regime in South Africa. In this speech, Nigeria set the trajectory of its foreign policy (The Nation, Feb 7, 2019). Since then, Nigeria has been actively involved in the United Nations activities. As one the 6th largest African contributors to the UN budget, in addition to South Africa, Egypt, Algeria, Libya and Morocco, Nigeria has made immense contributions towards the survival, substance and effective functioning of the organization. Nigeria is also committed to its obligations to the United Nations. Nigeria contributes to the UN regular budget. She has been paying her dues promptly as a demonstration of her respect and commitment to the objectives of the world body. As regards peace-keeping efforts, Nigeria has made voluntary contributions and has contributed peace-keeping troops to the UN. Nigeria first provided UN peacekeepers to Congo (ONUC) from 1960 to 1964. Since then, Nigeria has been an active participant in UN peacekeeping missions, deploying military contingents, unarmed military observers, military staff officers, formed police units, police advisors and civilian experts to over 25 UN missions (Adeniyi, 2015).

Some of the United Nations Peacekeeping Operations with Nigeria's participations since independence also include: United Nations Security Force in West New Guinea (UNSF) 1962-1983; United Nations India-Pakistan Observer Mission (UNIPOM) 1965-1966; United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) 1978-1983; United Nations Iran-Iraq Military Observer Group 1988-1991; United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM I) 1989-1991; United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) in Namibia 1989-1990; United Nation Iraq-Kuwait Observer Mission (UNIKOM) 1991; United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) 1992-1993; United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Yugoslavia 1992-1993; United Nations Operation in Mozambique (UNOSOZ) 1992-1995; United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNOMSIL) 1992; United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (UNMIBH) 1993; United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR) 1993-1995; United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia (UNCRO) 1993-1995; United Nations Prevention Deployment in Macedonia (UNPREDEP) 1995-2000; United Nations Observer Mission in Previakia (UNMOP) 1996-2000; United Nations Mission in Sudan (AMIS) 2004; United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH) 2004; United Nations African Union Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID) 2007; United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo 2010; United Nations Organization in the Republic of South Sudan 2011; United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali 2013; and United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic 2014 (Chigozie and Ituma, 2015). Nigeria's role in the UN has been visible in the areas of

decolonization, apartheid, New International Economic Order (NIEO), disarmament. Nigeria chaired several committees on apartheid and decolonization and was elected into the Security Council in nonpermanent capacity between 1978 and 1979. Nigeria is also a member of UN specialized agencies and has featured in high level of appointment in the UN. For example, three Nigerians – Prof. Ibrahim Gambari (Joint AU-UN Special Representative and Head of the UN Mission in Darfur [UNAMID]), Olu Adeniji (Central African Republic (CAR) and Sierra Leone), and Margaret Vogt (CAR), have served as Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General. Aside from this, six Nigerians have served as UN force commanders: Major General Johnson Aguiyi-Ironsi (ONUC Congo), Major General Chris Garuba (Angola), Lt. Gen. Isaac Obiakor (UNMIL Liberia), Major General Joseph Owonibi (Liberia), Gen, Martin Luther Agwai (UNAMID Darfur), and Maj. Gen. Moses Obi (UNMIS South Sudan). Generals Obiakor and Agwai also served as Chief Military Adviser and Deputy Military Adviser at UN Headquarters respectively (Adeniyi, 2015) Nigeria has benefitted from Aid programmes of UN agencies such as World Health Organization (WHO), UNESCO, FAO, UNICEF, UNDP and so on (Njoku, 2005).

Between 1988 and 1990, Nigeria championed the cause of prohibiting trans-boundary transportation of nuclear and hazardous wastes. Intellectual contributions to the United Nations. Nigeria is known to have made high level intellectual contribution which undoubtedly has helped to shape the policy of the United Nations. Eminent Nigerians such as the late Dr. Teslim Elias was President of International Court of Justice, while two others Daddy Onyeama and Bola Ajibola serves on the World Court. Scholars such as Professors Bolaji Akinyemi and Dr. Ibrahim Gambari have served the United Nations in various capacities made valuable contribution in terms of ideas which have helped to shape the policy of the world body (Arowolo, 2008). Nigeria as a member state of the United Nations has been in forefront in the campaign for a new world order and has also called for a decade of reparation and restitution as a Masterplan for African economic development and recovery as well as reforms in international organizations such as the United Nations, International monetary Fund (IMF), The World Bank and World Trade Organization (WTO) to adequately accommodate the interest of the developing nations. Nigeria is seeking for a permanent seat in the Security Council alongside South Africa and Egypt in Africa, despite that the two countries surpass Nigeria in assets and contributions to the UN (Ogwu, 2005). Nigeria's troops and police contribution to UN peace-keeping and peaceenforcement operations all over the world has been third only to India and Bangladesh. Nigeria's championing of ECOMOG operations at an estimated cost of \$6-8 billion US dollars and hundreds of lives lost, in additions to her efforts and contributions to restore peace and security in conflict-prone areas in Africa, have been able to sway the support of the

Security Council to her favour, despite that ECOMOG operation is not a strictly authorized UN peace-keeping mission (Njoku, 2005). In 2013, Nigeria contributed the fifth largest number of peacekeepers to United Nations peacekeeping operations (Agbakwuru, 2014). Additionally, Nigeria performs certain humanitarian functions to complement the effort of the United Nations. For instance, Nigeria established National Commission for refugees (NCR) and founded National Refugee Centre (NRC) at Oru, Ogun State where thousands of refugees from different countries of Africa were resettled (Njoku, 2005). Nigeria has also benefitted immensely from her membership of the UN. Nigeria currently enjoys considerable international prestige partly as a result of her membership of the United Nations. The United Nations equally provides much-needed forum for Nigeria to interact with other nations in the international arena. Nigeria as a member state has benefited tremendously from the technical programmes of the specialized agencies of the United Nations. This is especially in the areas of agriculture, erosion control, food processing and preservation and rural development are partly financed by the United Nations agencies operating in the country (Ifidon, 2012).

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 6 minutes.

- 1. The victorious allies of World War 11 met in----- in USA in 1945 to establish the United Nations
- 2. Nigeria is one the 6th largest African contributors to the UN budget -----(*True/False*)
- 3. Nigeria's role in the UN has been visible in the areas of decolonization, apartheid, disarmament *and others* ------(*True/False*)
- 4. Between 1988 and 1990, Nigeria championed the cause of prohibiting trans-boundary transportation of nuclear and -----
- 5. Professors Bolaji Akinyemi and Dr. Ibrahim Gambari have served the United Nations in various capacities ------(*True/False*)
- 6. Nigeria established----- for refugees.
- 7. Nigeria has not benefitted from her membership of the UN----- (*True/False*)

2.4 Nigeria in Commonwealth of Nations

Historically, the Commonwealth was an evolutionary outgrowth of the British Empire. The evolution of the organization started in 1867 when Canada attained dominion status. However, it was in 1931 when the statute of Westminster was passed that the organization was known as the

British Commonwealth of Nations (Osuntokun, 2003). The Commonwealth is a free association of former British colonies held together by language, history and their legacies of colonialism and who acknowledge the British Monarch as the symbolic head of their association. Thus, the ties that bind the Commonwealth are highly diverse. Blood ties provide sentimental attachments to Britain while common judicial and educational systems, as well as the use of the English Language as official language provide strong ties for others. These ties were further cemented and strengthened by trade and investment, currency agreements, population, migrations and sports. The informal links between the countries of the Commonwealth were further consolidated when in 1965 a Commonwealth Secretariat was established in London and a lean bureaucracy was developed to assist the Secretary-General of the Commonwealth in responding to questions of peace, democracy and development, particularly in the developing member countries in Asia, Pacific, Africa and the Caribbean. Therefore, what began as Great Britain and the white dominions has gradually metamorphosed into a multiracial Commonwealth of fifty-four nations and territories.

Nigeria, upon attaining political independence in 1960, automatically and almost naturally acceded to the Commonwealth of Nations, and in 1963 became a republic within the Commonwealth of Nations. Since then, Nigeria has actively used the organization as a multilateral framework to advance economic, technical and political and educational cooperation with the member states and Britain. In 1961 Nigeria played a key role in the events that led to the withdrawal of South Africa from the membership of the organization, despite Britain's active support for the apartheid country. In subsequent Commonwealth meetings Nigeria maintained her strong opposition against re-admission of South Africa into the Commonwealth until she dismantled the apartheid system. Nigeria's stance against the apartheid system in South Africa within the Commonwealth of Nations helped immensely in stepping up opposition against the despicable system, which eventually led to its collapse in 1994, and the enthronement of majority rule with Nelson Mandela as President.

Nigeria has contributed intellectually to member countries of the Commonwealth particularly when Chief Emeka Anyaoku was the Secretary-General of the Commonwealth. For instance, the organization intellectually assisted member countries in strengthening democracy, accountable administration and the rule of law, observer mission to parliamentary and presidential elections, and training in constitutional drafting and particularly in securing the end of apartheid in South Africa. Other important role played include preparation of many declaration, some of which are Lusaka Declaration of the Commonwealth on Racism

and Racial Prejudice 1979; the Okanagan Statement and Programme of Action on Southern Africa 1987 and the Commonwealth Accord on Southern Africa 1985, which was later known as Nanssan Accord. This played a pivotal role in the pressure to end apartheid, through the establishment of the Eminent Persons Group (EPG) and initiating multilateral agreement on the imposition of economic sanctions (Ezirim, 2010). Furthermore, General Olusegun Obasanjo as a member of Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group (EPG) in 1979 participated in facilitating South Africa transition to non-racial democracy (Compell, 2013). During the successive military regime in the period 1984–1999, Nigeria acquired the status of a pariah state in the face of international hostility. Nigeria was suspended from the membership of the Commonwealth in 1995 during the regime of General Sani Abacha. Abacha regime attracted international hostility when it decided to hang Ken Saro Wiwa and his other eight Ogoni kinsmen accused of murdering fellow five Ogoni citizens suspected to be sabotaging their efforts of attracting sympathy for the Ogoni cause (Uneke, 1999). However, in 1999, following a successful general election and the institution of a civilian government, Nigeria was readmitted into the fold of the Commonwealth. Since then the country has resumed its role in the organization as a senior member and her foreign minister, in a reversal of roles, sits in CMAG to deliberate on compliance with the Harare Declaration by countries such as Zimbabwe and Pakistan. In 2003, Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting was held in Abuja and in pursuance of Nigeria's national interest in the context of the adopted principles of the Commonwealth of Nations, the issues of democracy, development and prosperity were brought in front burner (Okwor, 2005).

Nigeria has benefited a lot as a member Commonwealth of Nations. Due to her Commonwealth ties, Nigeria has generously received technical support from Canada, the United Kingdom and other member states of the Commonwealth. The Commonwealth Development Corporation also has substantial investment in Nigeria. On the other hand, Nigeria, as a result of vast financial resources coming from petroleum also began to extend financial support to some indigent Commonwealth countries in the Caribbean. The country, within the same period, also increased the number of scholarships available to Commonwealth students in her universities (Ogwu, 2003). Again, Nigeria's membership of the commonwealth has been beneficial to the country in terms of economic and financial aids for development from developed members of the organization. Membership of the commonwealth places Nigeria on a vantage position over Biafra during the Nigeria-Biafra war of 1967-70. For instance, Britain and some other member nations of the Commonwealth provided necessary diplomatic and military supports to Nigeria which largely resulted in the victory against Biafra. It can

therefore be said that Nigeria's membership of the Commonwealth of Nations has helped her maintain the unity and corporate existence of the country. More so, the successful hosting of CHOGM at Abuja in November 2003 was not only a diplomatic victory for Nigeria, but has greatly enhanced the prestige of the country among the member states of the organization and, indeed, in international community. It significantly marked the country's re-entry into the world community on an equal and friendly basis. It can also be rightly stated that the hosting of CHOGM by Nigeria in 2003 was a grand diplomatic design by the administration of President Obasanjo to begin to seek new relevance for the country in the international community. It must be noted that the necessity of charting a new course by hosting CHOGM and upholding the ideas of the Commonwealth stemmed from the immediate past diplomatic experience of the country. The hosting of the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting by Nigeria in 2003, which was attended by Queen Elizabeth II, the titular head of the Commonwealth, and most member states was therefore a great milestone in the effort of the administration of President Obasanjo to return the country on the path of honour, integrity and trust in the international community (Uneke, 1999). Furthermore, membership of the Commonwealth has helped to sustain the prestige of Nigeria in the international community. It has not only created permanent political and diplomatic links between Nigeria and other member states of the Commonwealth, but has helped to project the image of the country in international arena (Okwor, 2005).

Nigeria joined the Commonwealth of Nations due to the projected ideals which it holds, and which are ultimately in consonance with the foreign policy objectives of the country. However, several decades after her membership of the association, Nigeria is still uncertain about her roles and position in the association, especially its codes of ethics which include commitment to human rights, racial and economic justice, democracy and peaceful settlement of disputes. Unfortunately, the achievements of Nigeria in the Commonwealth arena, at a point, were not matched with developments at home. For instance, despite signing the Harare Declaration at the CHOGM of 1991 to uphold the rule of law and democracy, Nigeria, in 1993, relapsed once more into another period of military profligacy after an election adjudged to be the best in the country was annulled by Ibrahim Babangida, the Head of the military junta then. Thereafter, all efforts to resolve the problem failed in the face of unbridled and uncouth ambition of Sani Abacha who not only seized power in 1993 but also embarked on outright looting of the national treasury and violation of human rights. This came to the climax when the government of Abacha, on the eve of 1995 CHOGM in New Zealand, executed nine Ogoni activists, including a renowned playwright- Ken Saro-Wiwa, notwithstanding the appeal for clemency by members of the international community. Nigeria was immediately suspended

Commonwealth and a Commonwealth Ministerial Action Group (CMAG) was established to monitor her compliance with the Harare Declarations. On account of the execution of Ogoni nine, the Commonwealth sanctions were imposed on Nigeria in 1996, these included an arms embargo, freezing of accounts of government leaders ban on sports links and an unsuccessful attempt to boycott the purchase of Nigeria's oil. This was the lowest depth in Nigeria's relations with Britain in particular and the Commonwealth as a whole (Osuntokun, 2003).

Meanwhile, following the leadership of Chief Emeka Anyaoku as Secretary General, the Commonwealth of Nations was redefined as a club of democracies. This redefinition, which followed the end of apartheid and Soviet communism, was to contrast a full democracy with government elected by racial minorities, with governments which were controlled by the military (Bourne, 2004). This has actually paid off since there are virtually, today, no Commonwealth states which are lacking in democratic credentials. The Commonwealth Secretariat is now even managing a "Deepening Democracy" programme, and the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association has been running workshops for parliamentarians to educate them in their roles (Kura, 2019).

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 6 minutes.

- 1. The Commonwealth was an evolutionary outgrowth of the-----
- 2. The Commonwealth is a free association of former British colonies -----(*True/False*)
- 3. In 1961 Nigeria played a key role in the events that led to the withdrawal of------ from the Commonwealth.
- 4. In 2003, Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting was held in ------
- 5. Membership of the Commonwealth has helped to sustain the prestige of Nigeria in the international community ------(*True/False*
- 6. The acronym CMAG means-----

2.5 Summary

Membership and active participation of Nigeria in the activities of the UNO have contributed to the survival and effective functioning of the organization. Nigeria has remained outstanding in respecting the principles of the U.N Charter; regular payment of dues and active involvement in peace-keeping operations of the United Nations. Nigerian nationals have actively participated in the United Nations committees and

allied groups. At the same time, Nigeria has benefited from her numerous involvement in the activities of the UN. Similarly, Nigeria has used the multilateral platform her membership of the Commonwealth of Nations affords to advance economic, technical, educational and political ties with Britain and other member states of the Commonwealth.

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2.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

Answers to SAES 1

- 1. San Francisco
- 2. True
- 3. True
- 4. hazardous wastes
- 5. True
- 6. National Commission
- 7. False

Answers to SAES 2

- 1. British Empire
- 2. True
- 3. South Africa
- 4. Abuja
- 5. True
- 6. Commonwealth Ministerial Action Group

Unit 3 Nigeria and The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM)

Unit Structure

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Learning Outcomes
- 3.3 Policies and Ideology of the NAM
- 3.4 An overview of Nigeria's Non-aligned Policy
- 3.5 Summary
- 3.6 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 3.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

3.1 Introduction

The adoption of non-alignment as a principle of Nigeria's foreign policy was aimed at insulating Nigeria from the ideological rivalries between the power blocs, while taking very active part in global politics. This unit examines the policies and ideology of the Non-Aligned Movement, as well as Nigeria's non-aligned policy since independence in 1960.

3.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- Trace and analyse the historical antecedents that gave rise to the NAM
- Highlight and discuss the policy thrust and orientation of the NAM in the post-Cold War era of international politics
- Evaluate the application of nonaligned policy by successive Nigerian governments

3.3 Policies and Ideology of the NAM

The conference of nonaligned countries that was held in Belgrade in September, 1961, marked the formal inauguration of the Non-Aligned Movement, Prior to the Conference in Belgrade, nonalignment had already been identified as a phenomenon associated with the foreign policies of India, Egypt, Ghana, Indonesia and others. India, for instance, played a key role in the history of the nonalignment phenomenon. India's Jawaharlal Nehru was very central and decisive in determining how nonalignment developed, both as a concept and as a movement. For Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, his passion for Pan-Africanism and his interminable concern over the phenomenon of neo-colonialism were among the crucial factors that shaped Ghana's nonaligned foreign policy. Similarly, the circumstances under which Indonesia attained its independence, its struggles to maintain its sovereignty and territorial

integrity, regional problems with Malaysia, and how it perceived the actions of other international actors in relation to these issues, ignited the commitment of the country's nonaligned foreign policy under Sukarno (Inamete, 1983; Ifidon, 2012).

The Non-Aligned Movement emerged in the context of the wave of decolonization and Cold War that followed World War II. Its formal inauguration as a collective international phenomenon dedicated to representing the interests and aspirations of developing countries took place at the Belgrade Conference of Non-Aligned Countries in 1961 under the leadership of Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia, Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt, Jawaharlal Nehru of India, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, and Sukarno of Indonesia. Since then, NAM, as a movement of 120 member states has continued to grow in terms of conceptualization, goals, and institutionalization and conferences have been held in Cairo (1964), Lusaka (1970), Algiers (1973), Colombo (1975), Havana (1979), and New Delhi (1983), among others to align the objectives and policies of the Movement with the contemporary issues in global politics. At the 1955 Bandung Conference (the Asian-African Conference), attendees, many of whose countries had recently gained their independence, called for "abstention from the use of arrangements of collective defence to serve the particular interests of any of the big powers." (Inamete, 1983; Munro, 2017, nd).

Unlike the United Nations (UN), the Non-Aligned Movement has no formal constitution or permanent secretariat. All members of the Movement have equal weight within its organization. The movement's positions are reached by consensus in the Summit/Conference of Heads of State or Government, which usually convenes every three years. The administration of the organization is the responsibility of the country holding the chair, a position that rotates at every summit. The ministers of foreign affairs of the member states meet more regularly in order to discuss common challenges, notably at the opening of each regular session of the UN General Assembly. As a condition for membership, the states of the Non-Aligned Movement cannot be part of a multilateral military alliance like the North Atlantic Organization (NATO). However, the idea of nonalignment does not signify that a state ought to remain passive or even neutral in international politics. On the contrary, from the founding of the Non-Aligned Movement, its stated aim has been to give a voice to developing countries and to encourage their concerted action in world affairs. Memberships of the Non-Aligned Movement requires that the prospective country has displayed practices in line with the ten "Bandung principles" of 1955, namely: respect for fundamental human rights and for the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations; respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations; recognition of the movements for national independence; recognition of the equality of all races and of the equality of all nations, large and small; abstention from intervention or interference in the internal affairs of another country; respect for the right of each nation to defend itself singly or collectively, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations; refraining from acts or threats of aggression or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country; settlement of all international disputes by peaceful means, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations; promotion of mutual interests and cooperation; and respect for justice and international obligations (Munro, 2017).

Consisting of many governments with vastly different ideologies, the Non-Aligned Movement is unified by its avowal commitment to world peace and security. At the seventh summit held in New Delhi in March 1983, the movement described itself as "history's biggest peace movement". The Movement places equal emphasis on disarmament. It recognises that there exists a vital link between struggle for peace and endeavours for disarmament. The Non-aligned countries had made a major contribution to the effort of the United Nations Organization to establish peace. It was on the initiative of Non-aligned countries that two special Disarmament Sessions of U.N. General Assembly, were called in 1978 and in 1982. In the General Assembly, India submitted a draft resolution declaring that the use of nuclear weapons would be against the charter of the United Nations and a crime against humanity and should therefore be prohibited. As all decisions meant to be taken by consensus, India did not press its draft to vote. However, at the following session of the General Assembly in 1978 the draft was submitted again co-sponsored by 34 countries mostly Non-aligned and adopted by a vote of 103 to 18 (United States and other western countries) with 18 abstentions (USSR and other Eastern European countries) (Inamete, 1983). At the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to Disarmament in 1982, the draft entitled convention of prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons initiated by India and co-sponsored by many Non-aligned countries, requested the committee on Disarmament to undertake on priority basis negotiations with a view to achieving agreement on an international convention under any circumstances, taking as basis the text of a draft convention annexed to the draft resolution. It was adopted by a vote of 1 17 to 17 (western States) with 8 abstentions. The draft entitled prevention of Nuclear War, was also sponsored by Non-aligned countries. During the 1970s and early 1980s, the NAM also sponsored campaigns for restructuring commercial relations between developed and developing nations, namely the New International Economic Order (NIEO), and its cultural offspring, the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO). The latter, on its own, sparked a Non-Aligned initiative on cooperation for communications, the Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool, created in 1975 and later converted into the NAM News Network in

2005. The Non-Aligned Movement espouses policies and practices of cooperation, especially those that are multilateral and provide mutual benefit to all those involved. Almost all of the members of the Non-Aligned Movement are also members of the United Nations. Both organisations have a stated policy of peaceful cooperation. African concerns about apartheid were linked with Arab-Asian concerns about Palestine and multilateral cooperation in these areas enjoyed moderate success. The Non-Aligned Movement has played a major role in various ideological conflicts throughout its existence, including extreme opposition to apartheid governments and support of guerrilla movements in various locations, including Rhodesia and South Africa. The movement has been outspoken in its criticism of current UN structures and power dynamics, and advocating for the reforming of the United Nations Security Council, stating that the organisation has been used by powerful states in ways that violate the movement's principles (Ifidon, 2012; Munro, 2017).

The movement is publicly committed to the tenets of sustainable development and the attainment of the Millenium Development Goals. It believes that the international community has not created conditions conducive to development and has infringed upon the right to sovereign development of each member state. Issues such as globalization, the debt burden, unfair trade practices, the decline in foreign aid, donor conditionality, and the lack of democracy in international financial decision-making are cited as factors inhibiting development. In recent years the organization has criticized certain aspects of US foreign policy. The 2003 invasion of Iraq, the War on Terrorism, its attempts to stifle Iran and North Korea's nuclear plans, and its other actions have been denounced by some members of the Non-Aligned Movement as attempts to run roughshod over the sovereignty of smaller nations. In conclusion, the movement has continued to advocate for international cooperation, multilateralism, and national self-determination. More so, it has been increasingly vocal against the inequities of the world economic order, However, one of the key challenges of the Non-Aligned Movement in the 21st century has been to reassess its identity and purpose in the post-Cold War era (Munro, 2017).

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 6 minutes.

- 1. Before the Conference in Belgrade, nonalignment had already been associated with the foreign policies of India, Egypt, Ghana and-
- 2. The Non-Aligned Movement emerged in the context of the wave of decolonization and----- that followed World War II.
- 3. the Non-Aligned Movement is unified by its avowal

commitment to----- and -----

- 4. The Non-aligned countries had made a major contribution to the effort of the----- to establish peace
- 5. The Non-Aligned Movement has played a major role in various ideological conflicts throughout its existence------(*True/False*)
- 6. In recent years, the Non-Aligned Movement has applauded certain aspects of US foreign policy such as the War on Terrorism ---- (*True/False*)

3.4 An Overview of Nigeria's Non-Aligned Policy

of Nigeria became member the Non-Aligned Movement at the independence in 1960. Meanwhile, the tone of Nigeria's non-aligned policy was laid by Prime Minister, Abubakar Tafawa Balewa in a speech he made on 7th October 1960, six days after Nigeria's independence. In the speech, he declared that Nigeria would not join any power bloc and that Nigeria would follow an independent line and "no matter from where the truth comes whether it is from the East or from the West, Nigeria will go to the path of truth" (cited in Morton, 2017: np). By this, Tafawa Balewa meant that Nigeria would not tie herself down to either the western bloc led by the United States or the socialist countries dominated by the former Soviet Union. Notwithstanding the official policy of the government that Nigeria was nonaligned, the Balewa government was decidedly pro-West and was neither nonaligned nor neutral in its policies. According to Akinyemi (1984), the "consensus among Nigerian scholars now is that the 1960 – 66 foreign policy was politically and economically aligned." Thus, the nonaligned posture of the Tafawa Balewa government was a smokescreen for adherence to a pro-West position. Evidence abounds to support this assertion. First, the capitalist nature of the Nigerian state reinforced her alignment to western powers such as Britain. Second, the foreign capital and aid which sustained the Nigerian economy came largely from the western financial markets and the government had a responsibility to develop "friendly" policies that would not drive the capital away. To demonstrate its commitment to the West, the Balewa government signed the Anglo-Nigerian Defence Pact with Britain in 1960. On issues that related to disarmament, Nigeria has always supported the western powers. Nigeria was also one of the Commonwealth countries that insisted that South Africa must be expelled from the body when she became a republic in 1962. Again, in 1960 Nigeria rejected the Soviet Union's offer of a loan at 21/2 percent and without strings to Nigeria on the ground that it is better to deal only with those we are accustomed to (Morton, 2017). The succeeding Ironsi government, though very brief and crisis-ridden, was also found to manifest nonalignment phenomenon in

the same way as did the First Republic. The pro-West policy of the Tafawa Balewa government was slightly altered by the Yakubu Go won government during the Nigeria-Biafra civil war. The failure of her western friends to support the country politically and militarily during the war made Nigeria to seek for help in Eastern Europe. Nigeria thus signed several military, economic and cultural agreements with many East European socialist states and signed an agreement with the former Soviet Union for the establishment of an iron and steel industry in Nigeria (Waliyullahi, 2016).

The Murtala Mohammed government which overthrew the Gowon government in July 1975 was a bit more decisive in its non-alignment policy. Despite the pressure mounted on the government by the United States of America government, the Murtala regime recognized the MPLA (Popular *Movement for the Liberation of Angola*) during the Angola crises and financial and military supports to the MPLA government and launched a diplomatic blitzkrieg among African states on behalf of the MPLA for recognition. As expected, this radical policy thrust brought the Murtala/Obasanjo regime into confrontation with the Ford Administration of the United States which insisted that Nigeria must toe the western position on Angola. Notwithstanding threats from western governments, the Murtala government maintained its neutralist position on Angola and other foreign policy issues.

The assassination of General Murtala Mohammed on February 13, 1976 did not result in a radical change in the country's newly found dynamism in her non-alignment policy. The dynamic position of the Murtala / Obasanjo regime apparently manifested itself in the nationalisation of British Petroleum (BP) over its business connection with companies in apartheid South Africa. The regime even adopted a low profile and self-reliance policy which discouraged importation of goods especially from the industrialised western countries. The Second Republic nonalignment phenomenon was, more or less, a replication of the First Republic dynamics and posture. Successive Nigerian military governments adopted the non-alignment policy as an article of faith although there were subtle variations in the application of the policy. For the Buhari regime rejected the directives of the inspired international financial institutions that it should adopt Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), a demand which the Babangida regime enthusiastically embraced (Inamete, 1985). The application of the policy by the civilian governments of Chief Olusegun Obasanjo, Alhaji Umaru Musa Yar'Adua, Dr. Goodluck Jonathan and Muhammadu Buhari is essentially reflective of the position of Tafawa Balewa or Shehu Shagari on non-alignment. Admittedly, the situation is not helped by the emergence of a unipolar world since the end of the Cold War and the gradual decline of non-alightment itself. The nature of the

country's foreign policy, especially nonalignment policy, is determined primarily by its domestic policies. Therefore, amidst the application of nonalignment policy by successive Nigerian governments, there are still some isolated actions of the government that suggest that the policy has not been entirely discarded in the country's foreign policy. These include:

- Belief in the policy of non-interference and commitment to global peace and stability: One of the factors that proofs that Nigeria is a member of the Non-Aligned Movement is Nigeria's policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of other nations. For example, Nigeria did not lend her support to the invasion of Afghanistan by Russia or the invasion of Panama by the United States of America. The country is also committed to global peace and stability. For example, Nigeria's representative at the recent Youth Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) member states, Bello Bala Shagari, called for more collaborations among member states to achieve global peace and stability by leveraging the opportunities technology offers in ensuring the objectives of NAM are achieved (Vanguard 26 july, 2022).
- Opposing the proliferation of arms: Another factor that shows that Nigeria is a member of the Non-Aligned Movement is the fact that Nigeria is opposed to the proliferation of arms, the arms race among the super-powers of the world and more importantly nuclear weapons. For example, Nigeria condemned France when the later tested an atomic bomb over the Sahara Desert. To drive home her abhorrence of the test, Nigeria severed diplomatic relations with France (references will be good here).
- Maintaining relations with both the East and the Western bloc: Also, to prove that Nigeria is a non-aligned nation, Nigeria has, over the years, maintained diplomatic relationship with countries in both the Western and the Eastern bloc of the Cold War. Nigeria has continued to maintain diplomatic missions in both America and Russia. Nigeria also has a High Commission in Britain.
- Participating in international sports: Another reason why Nigeria is regarded as a non-aligned nation is her participation in international sports, regardless of whether it is organized by a country from the eastern bloc or a country from the Western bloc. In 1980, an Olympic game was hosted in the Eastern bloc city of Moscow and though the event was boycotted by some countries from the western bloc, Nigeria participated in the games. Four years later, when a similar event was organized in the Western bloc city of Los Angeles, Nigeria was in attendance though it was

boycotted by some countries from the Eastern bloc (References needed).

• Trading with both the Eastern and Western blocs: Also, Nigeria can prove her membership of the non-aligned movement with the fact that she trades with countries from the Western and Eastern blocs, regardless of their ideological leanings. It is a policy of the Non-Aligned Movement that countries from the developing world should take advantage of what is offered them from either the East or the West in order to ensure the accelerated development of their respective countries (Morton, 2017).

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 6 minutes.

- 1. The non-aligned posture of the Tafawa Balewa government was a smokescreen for adherence to a pro-West position -----(*True/False*)
- 2. Despite the pressure mounted on the government by the United States of America government, the Murtala reg ime recognized the ------
- 3. Nigeria is opposed to the proliferation of arms a member of the Non-Aligned Movement ----- (*True/False*

3.5 Summary

The Non-Aligned Movement emerged in the context of the wave of decolonization and Cold War that followed World War II. However, with the collapse of former U.S.S.R and the consequent de-ideologization of international politics, the policies of the Non-Aligned Movement are now avowedly committed to the tenets of sustainable development, restructuring of commercial relations between developed and developing nations and attainment of global of peace and security, among others. Although the nonaligned content of the Nigerian foreign policy varied with different political regimes, all of them were found to have manifested, to some extent, an Afro-centric conceptual perspective, and foreign policy mechanism dimension of nonalignment.

3.6 References/Further Readings/Web Sources

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3.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

Answers to SAES 1

- 1. Indonesia
- 2. Cold War
- 3. world peace and security
- 4. United Nations Organization
- 5. True
- 6. False

Answers to SAES 2

- 1. True
- 2. MPLA
- *3.* True

Unit 4 Globalization and Nigeria's Foreign Policy

Unit Structure

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Learning Outcomes
- 4.3 Globalization and Foreign Policy Analysis
- 4.4 Globalization and the Challenge of Nigeria's Foreign Policy
- 4.5 Summary
- 4.6 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 4.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

4.1 Introduction

International relations were once conceived of as an arena where powerful nations crudely pursued their national interests unfettered by constraints of democracy and the rule of law (Ota and Ecoma, 2022) This notion seems to have been altered by the forces of globalization, which challenges the dominance of the states as the sole actors in international relations since the emergence of new private and transnational actors. In the 1960s, proponents of Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA) also questioned this notion. The scholars maintained that the international and the domestic issues were closely intertwined and to understand foreign policy decisions and, eventually international politics, one need to accord adequate attention not only to billiard ball-like states, but also to bureaucracies, interest groups and, ultimately, individuals (Baumann and Stengel, 2010). What this implies is that the focus of international relations has moved from the state to man and social forces. Thus, there are clear trends of denationalization of governance, which encompasses internationalization, privatization and transnationalization. In this unit, we outline how these trends affect foreign policy making and implementation in Nigeria.

4.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- Explain the meaning and components of contemporary globalization
- Discuss how the trends in contemporary globalization affect Nigeria's foreign policy
- Meaningfully analyse the foreign policy responses of the successive Nigerian governments to the changing character of the state

4.3 Globalization and Foreign Policy Analysis

In the last three decades, the concept of globalization has remained one of the central buzzwords in social science discourse. It is broadly understood as "the extension of boundaries of social transactions beyond national borders" (Zangl and Zürn 1999, as cited in Baumann and Stengel, 2010). Put simply, globalisation implies the emergence of a new economic order in which nation-states are no longer the dominant actors in economic activities as was the case before the end of the Cold War. The state has become transformed into an instrument of global capital (Ihonybere, 2001) Globalisation signals the domination of the global economy by transnational corporations (Babawale and Odukoya, 2004). Not only are economic activities internationalised, but they have also become more integrated without being subjected to limitations of time and space. Three components of globalisation exist, namely, political, economic and social globalisation. Political globalisation involves the transnational and territorial irrelevance of political power and hegemony politics. It is a practical demonstration of the theoretical postulation of the two-faces of power: overt and covert power. With regard to the Third World countries, political globalization, at the domestic level, advocates the institutionalization of democracy and good in place of authoritarianism. Economic globalization denotes neo-imperialism. This places emphasis on market fundamentalism anchored on the principles of liberalization, privatization, commercialization, and deregulation of public enterprises to pave way for the ascendency of market forces. However, though the market can be efficient, it is not a strategic instrument for the management and equitable distribution of social packages. Based on this inherent weakness and pervasive failure attendant to the workings of the market mechanism, the state is entrusted with the primary role of development and industrialisation. Social globalisation refers to the homogenisation and proselytization of culture and values globally, particularly the cultural values of the dominant western powers. In this regard, while the western values and tendencies are popularized and externalized, local identities are ignored and overlooked. This has seriously engendered crisis of identity and localisation of politics with people struggling for self-determination. One aspect of social globalisation that is often not accorded adequate attention is the impact of technology and the internet on the emerging global social relations. In sum, social globalisation is underlined by a new relation of power on a global scale, defined and constructed using advance technology and the internet, and beneath this electronically directed and constructed social intercourse and power configuration is Americanisation, Westernisation and imperialists power calculus (Babawale and Odukoya, 2004).

From an African point of view, globalisation can be seen from two perspectives. First, is the neo-liberal perspective which sees globalisation

as the triumph of political and economic liberalism and unfettered interplay of market forces (Jinadu, 1999). Based on this perspective, globalisation is seen to facilitate integration of national economies; increased cross-border flows of goods, investment and financial capital; rapid disappearance of geographical limitations for economic activities; purchase of more foreign goods by consumers; increase in the number of firms that operate across national boundaries; and increased investment by the owners of capital in far-flung places, among others. Second, is the radical Marxist perspective which views globalisation as a new form of imperialism in which national, regional, and global inequalities characterised by social injustice and unequal exchange are becoming more pronounced and vicious (Babawale and Odukoya, 2004; Jinadu, 1999).

Basically, there are two important aspects to the globalization debate. The first aspect is the number of cross-border transactions, which has increased significantly roughly since the 1970s. The second aspect refers to the effects of denationalization on the nation states (Baumann and Stengel, 2010). Three positions can be distilled from the denationalization debate. The first group of scholars hold that the state's power is in decline. In order words, there is a clear trend in power shift from the state to nonstate actors and market forces such as Multi-National Enterprises (MNEs) and Nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs). The second group of scholars, the "state-centrists" opposes strongly the views espoused by the first group. To them (the state-centrists), the extent and effects of globalization have been exaggerated. The state remains strong despite that cross-border flows have increased interdependence (Baumann and Stengel, 2010). The third group, the state transformationists, argue that the problem is much more complicated because while the claim of the first group of scholars is overstated and too simplistic, the second group of scholars (the state centrists) equally miss significant points. In effect, the state transformationists hold that denationalization affects the state. In this context, denationalization is seen as "societal interconnectedness to the extent that societal borders lose importance or even dissolve, indicating the merging of formerly nationally defined units" (Zürn 2002 as cited in Baumann and Stengel, 2010). Therefore, rather than the demise or the unchanged posture of the nation state, as advanced by the first and second groups of scholars, the authority of the state is transferred to nonstate actors or market forces through internationalization, privatization and transnationalization. Internationalization here refers to the transfer of authority to international actors or supranational institutions such as the United Nations and the European Union on the one hand, and the growing importance of international bodies such as international courts and quasijudicial bodies in settling international disputes by means of binding rulings. On the other hand, privatization means to transfer the authority of the state to private or non-state actors. That is, a transfer of the authority

of the state to sub-state entities. It is based on this logic that publicly owned companies or enterprises are increasingly privatized, deregulated, liberalized and commercialized. Finally, transnationalization refers to a transfer of authority of the state to transnational actors cum private entities such as NGOs and MNEs that exercise authority across borders. Transnational actors have been able to increase decision-making authority as well as organizational power unlike international and private actors (Baumann and Stengel, 2010).

The nature of foreign policy-making, and implementation makes the state vulnerable to external influences (Sesay and Ojo, 2002). The international system comprises basically the states and non-state actors with competing and sometimes opposing interests. These actors are in constant interaction with one another with a view to fostering and maximizing their interests. In the international system, there are rules and established norms that guide the behaviour and interactions between and among actors. The existence of international law and international ethical norms, for instance, limits the freedom of political leaders to act arbitrarily. Repressive regimes and political leaders of nation-states are sometimes taken to ICJ for human rights abuses and acts of impunity. Thus, sovereign state and other global actors are wary of policies they make that could attract international scrutiny and even sanctions. In a nutshell, foreign policy options are shaped by membership of international organisations and the general structure of international system (Enuka and Ojukwu, 2016).

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 6 minutes.

- 1. Globalisation implies the emergence of a new economic order in which nation-states are no longer the ------
- 2. Globalisation signals the domination of the global economy by
- 3. Economic globalization denotes -----
- 4. Social globalisation is underlined by a new relation of power on a global scale ----- (*True/False*
- 5. There is a clear trend in power shift from the state to non-state actors and market forces ----- (*True/False*
- 6. The nature of foreign policy making and implementation makes the state vulnerable to external influences----- (*True/False*

4.4 Globalization and the Challenge of Nigeria's Foreign Policy

The myth being peddled by supporters of globalisation is that it has come with new alliances that are purely economic and not ideological. However, the fact remains that the same forces of international capitalism

that control nation-states equally control the transnational corporations that are now the key actors in the contemporary global economy. Their primary target remains the elevation of economic liberalism and capitalist competition, as well as the institutionalization of the capitalist ideology as the global ideology (Fukayama, 1989). During the Babangida regime, for instance, economic development dominated Nigeria's foreign policy. The government decided to let its foreign policy reflect the concern for domestic economic development. The economy was later restructured to allow the market to determine the rate of exchange and market prices, based on the recommendations of the IMF and the World Bank. The economic pressures that were exerted on the Nigerian economy because of the introduction of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) brought severe hardship which virtually wiped out the middle class. The focus of SAP was on export promotion, encouragement of direct foreign investment, debt rescheduling, embracing of neo-liberal economic measures and deep involvement in the interplay of the capitalist international political economy. It was in these circumstances that Nigeria decided to put the weight of her foreign policy behind her economic development under the policy rubric of economic diplomacy. Nigeria embarked on South-South cooperation and intensification of economic contact with the emerging economies of China, India, Korea, Brazil and Argentina and others. Ministerial delegations were sent to massively lobby for investments and to drum up support for the Nigerian economy (Oforle and Maduekwe, 2018). Aside from promoting South-South trade, Nigeria's traditional allies in the West were encouraged to invest in Nigeria via the policy of deregulation. The government also created the Corporate Affairs Commission so that incorporation of companies could be done in one office instead of going to several offices to secure signatories before simple incorporation of companies could be done. The indigenisation decree which barred foreign interests from certain category of business was abrogated. Altogether, Babangida's regime was credited with the following achievements: (a) The revival of Nigeria's active commitment to ECOWAS by lifting boundary closures and restoring free movement within ECOWAS countries. (b) Nigeria's active intervention in inter-African affairs and conflicts, especially in West Africa, in the border wars between Mali and Burkina Faso and in the strained relations between Sierra Leone and Liberia. (c) The establishment and funding of Nigeria's Technical Aids Corps (TAC) which provides highly trained Nigerian personnel at little or no costs to needy African states (Oforle and Maduekwe, 2018).

Under General Sani Abacha, the country set out to restore peace and stability in Liberia and Sierra Leone at the expense of the wellbeing of Nigerians who had suffered untold economic deprivation. The demise of General Abacha opened a window of opportunity for carefully assessing the future of our foreign relations as well as underscoring the fact that

foreign and domestic policies cannot be separated. The coming to power of General Abdulsalami Abubakar as Head of State and his determined effort to take Nigeria back to the International Community through freeing several detainees and prisoners from Abacha's gulag was remarkable. His effort was reciprocated by the International Community through the visits of the European Union (EU) and American delegations and Chief Emeka Anyaoku and Kofi Annan, Secretary Generals respectively of the Anglophone Commonwealth and the United Nations. Abdulsalami Abubakar visited South Africa twice to see Mandela and to attend the Non-Aligned conference. He also visited Great Britain, France, the United States and the U.N. where he committed himself to democratisation of the country. True to his promise, Nigeria was returned to a civilian rule in 1999.

At the outset, President Olusegun Obasanjo was involved in extensive diplomatic travelling in a desperate bid to launder Nigeria's battered image abroad on the one hand, and to meet with Nigerian citizens in diaspora on the other. Again, citizen diplomacy, which has constituted the foreign policy thrust of the Nigerian governments since the rebirth of democratic governance in 1999 was introduced. It was spearheaded by President Olusegun Obasanjo and has been in place since then. Citizen diplomacy holds that Nigerian citizens are the primary focus of Nigeria's foreign policy. Citizen diplomacy strives to protect Nigerians abroad from discrimination by foreign governments. For example, the response of the Nigerian government to deportation of her citizens by the government of South Africa was in line with her citizen diplomacy (Games, 2013). In 2012, no fewer than 125 Nigerians travellers were deported in one day from Johannesburg for alleged infraction of yellow fever certificate. In a swift response, the Nigerian government began deporting South African travellers with a threat to take action against South African companies in Nigeria. South Africa's apology for the handling of the deportations by airport officials defused the situation and created space for frank political engagement on the issues (Oforle and Maduekwe, 2018). Over the past two decades also, the thrust of Nigeria's foreign policy has shifted to accommodation of international governmental and nongovernmental organizations, as well as the private individuals. Amnesty International has turned into a watchdog against human rights violations not only in Nigeria but the world at large.

Nigeria's fight against Boko Haram insurgency has been constrained by the prying eyes of the organization which has severally accused the Nigerian military of human rights violations in their fight against the insurgents. Transparency International has developed a yardstick for measuring how corrupt Nigeria is. WTO oversees trade relations, while UNO, EU, AU, ECOWAS and the likes have assumed or on the road to assuming the status of supranational organizations. Free movement policy

of ECOWAS within member states, for instance, could justifiably be blamed for the introduction of the Ebola virus in Nigeria which claimed many lives (Oforle and Maduekwe, 2018). New economic powerful countries that emerged after the cold war constituted new actors too in Nigeria's foreign policy. These new powers have great economic influence to the extent that Nigeria has entered into agreements with them. The rise of new economic powers such China and India outside the traditional economic centres of Euro-America has altered the landscape of international political economy and economic partnership arrangements (Jonathan, 2011). As regards conflict resolution and peacebuilding, the implementation of globalization-induced foreign policy objectives picked momentum with bold condemnation of the coup d'état in Mali. In Cote d'Ivoire, it was Nigeria's strong voice to uphold democracy and daring support to the winner of the presidential election, Mr. Alassane Ouattara, that prevented a bloodbath (Ashiru, 2013).

However, the major challenge of Nigeria's move towards globalisation lies in over-emphasis on marketisation at the expense of a social economy, which Nigeria requires at the moment, given the distressed state of her economy. The social economy is anchored on a development process that is participatory, socially just; economically productive, politically stable, ecologically sustainable, and culturally vibrant. Again, Nigeria's excessive reliance on external forces for the revival of the economy through investments also constitute a huge challenge. The location of the country in the international division of labour as an exporter of raw materials and agricultural products remains unchanged. This accounts for Nigeria's dependence on external forces and foreign capital to drive her economy. This scenario is the singular reason why Nigeria's deplorable position in the periphery of global economy and its status as a dependent segment of the world community with an economy that is disarticulated, and poverty-generating remains unaltered. Therefore, what globalisation holds for Nigeria is further integration and marginalization in the capitalist driven global economy with all its attendant negative consequences evident in unequal exchange, unfair terms of trade between the North and South, foreign exchange crisis, economic underdevelopment and others (Babawale and Odukoya, 2004).

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 6 minutes.

- 1. The acronym SAP means-----
- 2. During the Babangida regime, -----dominated Nigeria's foreign policy.
- 3. Abdulsalami Abubakar visited South Africa twice to see Mandela and to attend the Non-Aligned conference------(*True/False*)

- 4. -----has constituted the foreign policy thrust of the Nigerian governments since the rebirth of democratic
- 5. The challenge of Nigeria's move towards globalisation lies in the over-emphasis on -----

4.5 Summary

Nigeria, like other sovereign states, is not totally independent of other global actors. The current wave of globalization has made finance, capital, labour and goods highly mobile. Again, the world has swiftly shrunk due to rapid change in information dissemination. This growing interdependence has posed formidable challenges to Nigeria's foreign policy because the balance tilts in favour of developed countries that enjoy favourable balance of trade and more economic power than Nigeria. This situation makes Nigeria vulnerable to manipulation by industrialized countries.

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4.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

Answers to SAES 1

- 1. dominant actors
- 2. transnational corporations
- 3. neo-imperialism
- 4. True
- 5. True
- 6. True

Answers to SAES 2

- 1. Structural Adjustment Programme
- 2. economic development
- *3.* True
- 4. citizen diplomacy
- 5. marketisation