



EDO UNIVERSITY IYAMHO



Department of Political Science and Public Administration POL 318: FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS

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COURSE AIM: The course provides the various conceptions used in foreign policy analysis; transactional flows, the interplay of domestic and external factors, ideological and national interest considerations, and techniques of foreign policy, application of these concepts to the examination of foreign policies of major powers; United States, United Kingdom, Russia, France, China and the emerging powers such as India, Japan, Pakistan, Iran and Israel; as well as African States.

Learner's profile

This is course designed for third year (300 level) students in the department of Political science and Public Administration who had completed two academic session in Edo University Iyamho.

EXPECTED OUTCOME

On completion of this course students should be able to:

- Explain the various conceptions used in foreign policy analysis
- Identify the range of analytic levels or approaches that can be employed in foreign policy analysis.
- Explain the problems of foreign policy analysis
- Identify the components of foreign policy
- Evaluate the unitary actor and rational decision making
- Identify capability factors and their impact on foreign policy decision making.
- Describe the organization, rational and bureaucratic politics of foreign policy decision making
- Acquire competence and skills in analyzing foreign policy of major and emerging Powers.

Course Assessment Marking Scheme

Assessment	Marks
In class test	5 marks
Assignment	10 marks
Quizzes/presentation	5 marks
Mid semester test	15 marks

End of semester examination	70 marks
Total	100%

Attendance: Attendance is compulsory, 70% class attendance to enable candidate seat for exams

Test/ Assignment Submission date: The mid-semester test will be conducted in the seventh week of the semester. Date for in-class test, submission of assignment and group presentation will be discussed in class with students.

Reading List

Adesola, F. (2004) *International Relations: An Introductory text*. Ibadan: College Press and Publisher Ltd.

Akinboye, O. S. & Ottoh, O. F. (2005). *A Systematic Approach to International Relations*. Lagos: Concept Publications.

Akindele, R.A. and Ate, B.A. (2000) *Selected Readings in Nigeria's Foreign Policy and International Relations*. Lagos: Nigerian Institute of International Affairs.

Baylis, J. & Smith, S. (Eds). (2001). *The Globalisation of World Politics – An Introduction to International Relations* (2nd ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Brown, C. and Ainley K. (2005) *Understanding International Relations*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Dougherty, J. E. & Robert, L. P. Jr. (1997). *Contending Theories of International Relations: A Comprehensive Survey*. New York: Longman.

Mingst, K. (1999) *Essentials of International Relations*. London: Norton and Company.

Olusanya, G.O. and Akindele, RA. (1990) *The Structure and Processes of Foreign Policy Making and Implementation in Nigeria 1960-1990*. Lagos: Nigerian Institute of International Affairs.

Pearson, F & Rochester, M.J. (1997). *International Relations: the Global Conditions in the Twenty-First Century*. New York: The McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc.

Rosenau. I.N. (ed.) (1969), *International Politics and Foreign Policy*. New York: Free Press.

Dauda Saleh (2002) *Foreign Policy: Formulation and Analysis*. Nigeria: Caltop Publications Limited.

Obi E. A. (2006) *Fundamentals of Nigerian Foreign Policy*. Onitsha: Book point LTD.

LECTURE ONE

TOPIC: What is Foreign Policy?

Topic Outline

1. What is foreign policy
2. The nature of foreign policy

Expected outcome

At the end of the topic, students should be able to;

1. Define foreign policy
2. Describe the nature of foreign policy

Readings/Reference

Adesola, F. (2004) *International Relations: An Introductory text*. Ibadan: College Press and Publisher Ltd.

Akinboye, O. S. & Ottoh, O. F. (2005). *A Systematic Approach to International Relations*. Lagos: Concept Publications.

Dauda Saleh (2002) *Foreign Policy: Formulation and Analysis*. Nigeria: Caltop Publications Limited.

Obi E. A. (2006) *Fundamentals of Nigerian Foreign Policy*. Onitsha: Book point LTD.

What is Foreign Policy?

Foreign policy studies is an integral part of the study of international relation. it is quite apt that we first understand what policy means. Policy can be viewed as a course of action or a reasoned choice emerging from the consideration of competing options. Thus, before a policy action is reached, there are competing actions that are considered by the principle of consensus known as choice. A policy cannot only be a range of actions, it also represents principles influencing those actions or the purposes. They are intended to serve. Interaction to effect these policies can be between and among individuals and can be between states (Akinboye, 2007:115).

Foreign policy like any other social science concept has defied one universally acceptable definition. There is no generally agreed decision on the definition of foreign policy. Hence different scholars have attempted to define the concept from their own perspectives. The definitions of foreign range from short to more detailed proportions. Akpotor, (2005:159) defined foreign policy as a well-documented programme of action with institutionally designated officials who seek to manipulate the international environment in order to achieve certain objectives. Grabb (1972) regards foreign policy to consist of national objectives to be achieved and means of achieving them. According to Dauda (2002) foreign policy is seen as that segment of public policy of a state that is concern with state relations to other states and international organization. Aluko defined foreign policy as an institution between internal and external forces. Osita posits that foreign policy could be understood as the actions and reactions of states targeted at the external environment. Nnoli (1978) foreign policy is a nations reactions to the external environment involving the organization as well as the changes in the international environment. From Nnoli's definition it is assumed that all international contact is related to foreign policy. However, this is not true, not all international contact can be really associated with foreign policy. This is because foreign policy covers only such activities which are sponsored, supported or are known by the government. It is therefore, clear that actions which are international in character but which are conducted without the knowledge of the government cannot be classified under foreign policy (Obi 2006:18).

Foreign policy can therefore be seen a type of policy that transcends the boundary of a given state. It is that type of action a state embarks upon in its interaction with other member states in the international environment, in the process of striving to attain its objectives and goals. Foreign policy can also be conceptualized as a set of principles that define the objectives a given state pursue in the international arena in the process of its interaction with other internal actors. It also represents the range of actions taken by various sections of the government of a state in its relations with other bodies or states acting on the international scene in order to advance the national interest of that particular state (Akinboye 2007:116).

In spite of the various definition of foreign policy, there is a common recognition that foreign policy is about national goals and the means and ways of propagating and achieving them. It also includes a common awareness that foreign policy is not only a byproduct of the external forces to which it is directed, but it is also as much determined by domestic factors and forces (Dauda 2002:2).

The Nature of Foreign Policy

According to Dauda (2002:3);

1. Foreign policy is designed to promote, protect and defend a nation's national interest such as preservation of national sovereignty, the defense of territorial integrity, the promotion of economic, military strategic and diplomatic interests, the increase and maintenance of power and prestige, to communicate ones capability to both potential allies and adversaries. Also to secure and determine the necessary external conditions for the cultural, social-economic as well as political development of her people
2. To pursue these objectives, states in the international system irrespective of their political orientation and levels of economic development use various methods and instruments of foreign policy to influence, sometimes even dictate the role, orientations, objectives and actions of others state.
3. Foreign policy must have a sound domestic base that is, there must be resources that would enhance the policy to achieve its objectives. If there is a poor synchronization at the resources level. It would be difficult for a policy to attain its objectives.
4. Foreign policy must rest upon conceptions of aims and objectives.
5. Foreign policy is not only the preserves of government. In contemporary international system, many multinational organization exist to promote business or cultural values. These organisations do articulate policies which are intended to influence the international system. Policies of these organization sometimes influence foreign policy of states.



LECTURE TWO

TOPIC: Foreign Policy and National Interest

Topic Outline

1. What is national interest
2. Categories of interest
3. National interest controversies: the debate
4. Linkage between foreign policy and national interest

Expected outcome

At the end of the topic, students should be able to;

1. Define national interest
2. Explain the categories of national interest
3. Analyse controversies surrounding national interest
4. Establish a link between foreign policy and national interest

Readings/reference

Adesola, F. (2004) *International Relations: An Introductory text*. Ibadan: College Press and Publisher Ltd.

Akinboye, O. S. & Ottoh, O. F. (2005). *A Systematic Approach to International Relations*. Lagos: Concept Publications.

Dauda Saleh (2002) *Foreign Policy: Formulation and Analysis*. Nigeria: Caltop Publications Limited.

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What is National Interest?

It is generally believed that the formulation and execution of foreign policy is determined to a large extent, by the national interest of a nation. National interest and foreign policy are the root of the study of international relations. It is believed that countries engage in international politics in order to protect or further their national interest. The total of the actions, means and processes through which the national interest of a state are pursued constitutes that states foreign policy (Obikeze and Obi, 2003). It is therefore quite apt to state that national interest is the starting point in foreign policy making. National interest itself is an inclusive term which has been described in various ways. Many scholars have disagreed on what actually constitutes a national interest.

According to Padelford et al (1976) national interest are centered on core values of the society, which includes the welfare of the nation, the security of its political belief, and national way of life, territorial integrity and self-preservation. Mahan sees national interest as self-interest. He asserts that self-interest is not only a legitimate, but a fundamental cause for national policy. Akpotor (2005: 160) defined national interest as the sum total of the values which a nation stand for and which it pursues or projects objectively in its interactions with other nations in the international arena for the common goal of the country.

In his work Morgenthau (1952) see national interest as aimed at promoting national image, prestige and respect both at home and abroad. According to him, national interest is determined by the political traditions and the total cultural contexts within which a nation formulates its foreign policy. He insists that the main requirement of a nation state is to protect its physical, political and cultural identity against encroachment by other nation-state. He also believe that the objectives of foreign policy must defined and situated in terms of national interest for this reason, national interest is the standard by which political actions must be judged (Obi 2003: 10).

National interest serves two primary purposes. These are as an analytical tool and as instrument of political action. As an analytical tool, it serves as a conceptual guide by providing the objectives often considered by a state while weighing an intended foreign policy option. As an instrument of political action. It serves to justify or repudiate a state's foreign policy option and action in the international system.

On a general level states could be said to have a variety of goals/objectives which they seek to promote at all times in their relations with other states in the international system. These interest can be divided into several categories.

1. Vital or core interest: vital or core interest usually include things that a state already possess thought it could also include new state of goals which the state may want to pursue either in the short, medium or long term. These objectives are the protection of the territory integrity of the state protection of the lives of all its citizen against external aggression as well as protection of its political, economic, religious or social institutions.
2. Secondary or variable interest: unlike vital interest are less stable or permanent. They change more frequently in tune with the dynamic world. The most notable secondary interest is the protection of nationals living abroad. This duty fall within the schedule of foreign embassies.
3. General / complimentary interest: which are also called international interests, are ones which a state can apply to a large geographical area, to a large number of nations of in several specific fields e.g. economics, trade, disarmament or eradication of the trade in hard drugs. General interest have a wider scope that often times go beyond the borders and capacity of a single nation to support of others in this pursuit.

National interest controversies: the debate

The concept of national interest despite its centrality and importance in foreign policy making is still seen as one of the most controversial in contemporary international relations. The reasons behind the controversial nature of the concept has to do with the fact that first, the concept has been and continues to be the subject of various interpretations, second is the abuse of the concept particularly by politicians and decisions makers. Third, the concept is not easily susceptible to rigorous academic analysis. Finally, there is yet no universally acceptable single definition of what constitutes the national interest of a state (Ojo& Sesay 2002).

Based on the above, some scholars argue that the concept is no longer useful in foreign policy analysis. Roseau (1971) arguing in this wise gave some reasons why the concept is inadequate. The first point has to do with the fact that every nation is a complex association of individual and as such it is difficult to specify whose interest the policy makers would pursue. Secondly, the criteria for determining the existence of the national interest is elusive. Thirdly, there is a total absence of procedure for cumulating interest once the decision makers have identified them and finally, what is best for a nation is never self-evident.

The above short comings against the concept notwithstanding, it is still apparent that at least for now, there is no better analytical tool for evaluating the success or failure of any nation's foreign policy than national interest. Even those who been able to bring out something better that will be able to adequately address the issue of the success or failure of the foreign policy pursuits of nation states.

From the definitions of national interest, irrespective of the difference, there are basic point that can be deduced from the review of the definitions. First, every state has a set of objectives or goal in its foreign policy which it must aspire to promote vis-à-vis those of other members of the international political system. Second' that foreign policy of any state must be seen to reflect such identifiable goals. Third, the national interest must ideally be directed towards the achievement of goals that would benefit the entire nation.



Lecture Three: Components of Foreign Policy

Topic Outline

1. Foreign policy objectives
2. Principles governing the selection of aims and goals of Foreign Policy
3. Elements/ factors influencing Foreign Policy

Expected outcome

At the end of the topic, students should be able to;

1. Outline foreign policy objectives
2. Explain principles governing the selection of aims and goals of foreign policy
3. Discuss factors influencing foreign policy

Readings/Reference

Adesola, F. (2004) *International Relations: An Introductory text*. Ibadan: College Press and Publisher Ltd.

Akinboye, O. S. & Ottoh, O. F. (2005). *A Systematic Approach to International Relations*. Lagos: Concept Publications.

Dauda Saleh (2002) *Foreign Policy: Formulation and Analysis*. Nigeria: Caltop Publications Limited.

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Foreign Policy Objectives

Foreign policy objectives may be specific in relations to a particular problem and it could be general. Foreign policy objectives of a country is a reflection of its national interest. National

interest here refers to some set of purposes which a nations seek to realise in its conduct of foreign policy or relations. National interest could be normative or descriptive. Normative implies a civic concept of national interest while descriptive explains national interest as those purpose which the nation through its leadership appears to pursue persistently through time. The descriptive also tried to more out of the metaphysical into the realm of facts. Hence objectives is essentially an image of future state of affairs and future set of conditions that government through individual policy makers aspire to bring about by wielding influence abroad and by changing and sustaining the behavior of other states.

Government usually purse incompatible objectives simultaneously and since they might not have the means or power or resources to pursue them logically and simultaneously. It is the task of policy makers to rank and choose among conflicting objectives. There is need not to only rank them but also to categorize them into what Holsti referred to as core interest, middle range interest and long range interest.

Principles governing the selection of aims and goals of foreign policy.

The main objectives of a nation's foreign policy are diverse. While some of these objectives or goals are central to the survival of the nation, others are not so central to it even the survival of the nation, others are not so central to it even though they are integrated within the larger interest of the international community (Akinboye 2007: 117). The successful execution and survival of foreign policy depend on some certain principles underlying the selection of policy goals. Among the more important of these are the principles of;

1. Maintaining the integrity of the state the concept of internal national unity as opposed to national security embraces the administration, control and governance of the territory of a state including taking care of its citizen both at home and abroad.
2. Promoting economic interest: another principles underlying the selection of the goals of foreign policy is the obligation of government to promote the welfare of the state. The world today has become a global village. Even the greatest and most powerful nations on earth cannot enjoy economic prosperity and high standard of living while remaining isolated from the channels of world commerce.
3. Providing for national security: national security constitute a principle underlying the determination of policy objectives. The assumption that a nation's foreign policy must be devised to protect it from attack implies the possibility of danger. Thus the framers of policy must provide a defense against any contingency that may likely arise.
4. Protecting national prestige: the fourth important principle guiding the formulation of foreign policy goals and objectives is the maintance of national prestige. In the same way as individuals are concerned with their personal reputation and prestige in the community in which they live, so a state is concerned about its influence in relations to other states in international affairs.
5. Developing power: another important principle that constitute a guiding principle in the formulation of policy goals is the acquisition of power. Power is leverage. It is the ability to initiate and control events and to obtain result. Politics is defined in terms of struggle for power because in any given society, one group is in possession of government and another seek its control. In this sense power is probably the most universal of all the principles that condition foreign policy goals (Dauda 2002: 4-8).

Determinants/ factors that influence foreign policy

Foreign policy is a product of many factors and forces. Some of these factors are natural, while some are man-made. These factors are mainly the factors conditioning the foreign policy of state. In devising its foreign policy, a nation must consider certain basic facts of its existence with the domestic and external environment.

The domestic environment

The domestic environment influence on foreign policy can be grouped into tangible element such as geography and natural resources as well as intangible elements such as industrial, military, population, the economy, influence of political parties and interest group.

1. **Geographical situation:** the geographical characteristics of size, topography, shape and climate are important factors. A state with a sizeable territory, good climate, natural defense boundaries, arable land for food production and a shape which is compact and easier to defend is seen as possessing the necessary power potentials that enables a state to prosecute an independent foreign policy. Also the geographical location of a country, to a very large extent determines its defense policies. A country like Israel that is surrounded by hostile Arab neighbours would always have a foreign policy that is aimed at containing Arab aggressiveness.
2. **Military power:** the military strength of a nation to a large extent influences its foreign policy. Countries that are militarily strong often adopt aggressive posture on issues they feel strongly about. Power is a means for serving national interest. Nations that are militarily strong, most often believe that in international politics, might is right.
3. **Natural resources:** the natural resources that a state is endowed with can also be a decisive element or capability of its foreign policy (Akinboye 2007:121). However, for the resources to have bearing on policy, the decision makers must not only be aware of their existence, they must also have the human, technological and financial capabilities to exploit them. The Arab nations is endowed with large quantity of oil and employed this as a weapon during the Arab-Israeli war, when they had to place embargo on oil supplies to countries that supported Israel.
4. **Economic endowment factors:** the ability of every state to pursue its foreign policy successfully depends on its economic position. The developed countries because of their developed economics have been able to pursue their foreign policy quite successfully. While the poor ones have not been able to record as much success. For instance, America's interest in the gulf region is not because of its love for the Arabs but simply because of its interest in oil and its desire to protect America's companies operating in the region.
5. **Decision making process:** foreign policy like domestic policies are products of various process. The structure of government also plays a role in shaping a country's foreign policy. The elite which make these policies are human beings who have their individual preferences, world views and emotions. The decisions which they to a large extent is a reflection of their personalities. Also the structure and process of decision making vary from system to system. The constitutional channels through which decision making process flows also affect the nature of those decision.
6. **Population:** the size and socio-economic status of a nation's population constitutes another intangible element of foreign policy. Population is a factor in the strength of nations. A

nation population helps in her military might because a nation with a very small population may not have enough soldiers to turn it into a strong nation. A country like China became a world power because of its population.

7. Public opinion: as a factor in foreign policy making is particularly important in real democratic countries where government cannot easily go against the grain of public opinion. On one major issue, organized pressure groups can galvanize public opinion to favour their own interest and force the government into choosing a policy that they prefer. For example, in Nigeria, the often cited example of how pressure groups can affect foreign policy is the Anglo-Nigeria Defence pact of the first republic, which was completely denounced by Nigerian students. The rejection of this policy by students and the opposition party (Action group) forced the Balewa government to abrogate it.

The external environment

The nature of foreign policy makes the process of its decisions making susceptible to influences external to the state. This is expected. The international system to which foreign policies are directed is composed of foreign independent states, entities over which the initiating state has no authority or jurisdiction. Changes in the international power structure may bring about fundamental changes in the objectives and actions of states. Apart from international power configuration, the structure of international economic relations also affect the options available to states.

1. International law: the existence of international law and international ethical norms acts in greater or lesser degree to limit the freedom to manoeuvre of states in the system. States in their own interest do observe these laws and norms most of the time, despite the absence of an enforcement agency.
2. International organization: a country's foreign policy options is also often affected by its membership of international organization. The existence of many of these institutions which are established for a variety of reasons ranging from cultural to economic and political strategic is a major feature of the post 1945 international system. Member states policies are usually affected by the nature of the particular institution and its policy objectives on the one hand, and the effect of their institutional membership on the policies of other states towards them on the other hand.

In their own classification, Padelford, Lincoln and Olvey (1976) divided the determining factors of foreign policy into two broad categories: subjective and situational factors. While subjective factors covers national interest; the situational factors covers the international environment.

The subjective factors are; internal factors; psychological factors; internal public opinion, policy makers and proposed policy.

The situational factors are: internal situation and external situation.

1. Internal factors: the internal factors are problems associated with preservation, security and welfare of the state, the size, geography, population and the economic needs of the state. Since all states have these problems or concerns, but in varying degree, their impact on

their foreign policy vary. However, it is an established fact that these factors are taken into consideration when formulating foreign policy.

2. Psychological factors: this includes elite image, attitude, values, belief, experiences, ideologies and analogies shared collectively by the people of a nation and which invariably affects the foreign policy decision of that nation.
3. Public opinion: the opinion of the generality of the people in a nation affect government policies, foreign policy inclusive.
4. Importance of decision makers: policy choice flow from the composite image of decision making elites within the political system. How the policy makers interpret what the national interest is and their perception of international issues would definitely affect their foreign policy decisions.
5. Proposed policy: when a nation formulates a policy on its external relations, it becomes a proposed policy to other nations and if it is favourably accepted and beneficial to the host nation. However, such policies can change if it comes under heavy criticisms or there are immense pressure on the proposing nation, not to implement it, or continue its implementation. Thus a proposed policy is not a fixed policy but for as long as it remains unchanged it does determine the behavior of a nation.

Situational factors

Situational factors are divided into two categories: internal and external situations.

The internal factors include the capability of a nation and its power position. The external factors are three namely:

1. International organization: organizations such as the United Nations that are concerned with maintaining world peace. Their interest is merely maintaining the status-quo.
2. World public opinion: world public opinion is dynamic. It is constantly changing and nations try through their actions not to go against it.
3. Reaction of friendly states: it is axiomatic to state that every country in the world has friendly countries, whose opinions and views on issues it values. In pursuing a particular policy, the reaction of such countries may deter a nation from continuing with an action because in most cases countries do not want to hurt their allies who may be very useful one way or the other.

In conclusion, all these factors affect or influence a country's foreign policy.



LECTURE FOUR: FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS

Topic Outline

1. Foreign Policy Analysis

2. Levels of Analysis
3. Problems of Foreign Policy Analysis
- 4.

Expected outcome

At the end of the topic, students should be able to;

1. Define foreign policy analysis
2. Explain the various levels of analysis
3. Analyse the problems of foreign policy analysis

Readings/Reference

Adesola, F. (2004) *International Relations: An Introductory text*. Ibadan: College Press and Publisher Ltd.

Akinboye, O. S. & Ottoh, O. F. (2005). *A Systematic Approach to International Relations*. Lagos: Concept Publications.

Dauda Saleh (2002) *Foreign Policy: Formulation and Analysis*. Nigeria: Caltop Publications Limited.

Rourke, J.T (2005) *International Politics on the World Stage*. Tenth Edition. McGraw Hill

Obi E. A. (2006) *Fundamentals of Nigerian Foreign Policy*. Onitsha: Book point LTD.

Foreign policy analysis is an attempt to find rational explanations of why Nations behave as they do. We also analyses policy in order to interpret the actions of government that is, inured to understand why government does certain things. The process of understanding why implies an in-depth understanding of the content processes actors behind a group policy.

Levels of analysis

Levels of analysis are the recognition of the existence of different levels of analyzing foreign policy. In the study we will look at three levels of analysis in foreign policy. Each of these can provide an insight into the foreign policy actions of a given state. The three levels are as follows;

1. Individual level analysis: study of people as individuals
2. State level: analysis which explains how countries make foreign policy
3. System international level analysis explain the nature of the world

Individual level analysis.

We can conduct a study of the foreign policy of a state by examining the role of humans as actors. Individual level analysis can be approached from three different perspectives. One is to examine fundamental human nature. The second is to study how people act in organization. The third is to examine the motivations and actions of specific persons i.e. the idiosyncratic behaviour.

The human nature affects decisions. The human nature approach examines basic human characteristics including the cognitive, psychological, emotional and biological factors that influence decision making. In simple term, we can recognized cognitive factor from the point of view that policy decision are arrived at from the available information to the policy makers.

Human kind has a number of common psychological traits that also help explain why feelings and decisions are usually less than fully rational. Biological perspective can be understood from the point of view of nature versus nurture.

The organizational-behaviour approach studies role (how people act in their professional position). It has to do with how human interact in organization. It explains role behavior and group decision making. The idiosyncratic behavior approach explains the factors that determine the perceptions, decisions and actions of specific leaders. A leader's personality, physical and mental health, ego and ambitions understanding of history, personal experiences, and perceptions are all factors (Rourke 2005:95).

Therefore, using the individual level pf analysis, we take the individual for example and focus our attention on the activities or statements or writings of the foreign minister of a state, or president. We can, for example, collect all the speeches of a foreign affairs minister while in office and on the basis of this, make some analysis.

State level analysis

State level analysis assumes that since state are the most important international actors. World politics can be best understood by focusing on how states decide foreign policy. Foreign policy is not formulated by a single decision-making process. Instead, the exact nature of that process changes according to a number of variables including the type of political system, the type of situation and the internal factors involved (Rourke, 2005:95). State level analysis can be approached from different

1. Legislative: at this level, we can study the debate and contribution of the legislature as regards foreign policy. For instance, the national house of Assembly have committee on foreign relations the activities of such committee could be thoroughly examined and studied (Akinboye 2007: 119).
2. Bureaucracy: in looking at this level of foreign policy analysis, one is considering the activities of the various branches of bureaucracy vis-à-vis foreign relations. This process of decision making which rests in the hand of the bureaucrats quit often reflects all shades of opinion held by them.
3. Interest groups and political parties: this level includes interest groups and it gives a broader picture of the foreign policy. Articulate groups in the state express their views on what should constitute the foreign policy.

System/ international levels: in the study of foreign policy, the external environment has some bearing in shaping the policy of the state. The system level analysis argues that countries are often compelled to take certain course of action by the realities of the world in which they exist. System factors include its structural characteristics, power relationship, economic pattern and norms behavior. In the structural characteristics there are three main characteristics; the hierarchy of authority, actors, we can identify three actors (1)national actors (2) international actors (3) transnational actors and scope and level of interaction. This deals with areas of frequency and intensity of interaction, economic interdependence and finally power relationship in international system .i.e. the concentration of power, the number of system poles.

In general, there is no hard and fast rule about the types of levels one should adopt. It all depends on what an analyst wishes to study. But for an objective analysis of the foreign policy of a state, it is better to combine all the levels.

Problems of foreign policy analysis

The study of foreign policy analysis contain a number of problems and weakness which seem to have posed some difficulties that have affected its development of theory.

These problem are;

- The level of analysis problem
- Theoretical framework
- Establishing boundaries
- Scope of the subject and
- Source of materials

Level of analysis problem: the subject of foreign policy can be approached from different levels of analysis, with each creating concerns for the analyst. The analysis of foreign policy can be done from the standpoint of the individual, or the state, or the international system. The problem which level of analysis pose is captured by Holsti (1995) when he asked; should we focus upon the actions and attitudes of individual policy maker or we assume that all policy makers act essentially the same way once confronted with similar situations and therefore concentrate instead on the behavior of states. Or should we regard the world as a simple global village composed not of the state, but of individuals organized into different kinds of communities, associations and transnational network.

Theoretical framework: foreign policy analysis has a lot of competing theoretical framework, with each claiming to be superior over others. Though effort has been made to group them into broad categories like idealism, realism classical, traditional and scientific, not only do differences exist among the categorizes but even within them. The problem which this pose for foreign policy analysis is that the framework adopted affects the focus of the study reached. With the different conclusions, it becomes really very difficult to determine which is accurate and which is not. Hence the quarrel among scholars about the appropriate framework (Obi, 2002: 26-27).

Establishing the boundaries: foreign policy covers not just states relations with others but also the domestic environment from which these policy emanates in the first place. This creates a boundary problem in the sense that, there are no clear distinction between what is considered domestic and what is considered international, as the domestic policies or actions of a state could have far reaching implications internationally. For instance the annulment of the June 12 elections in Nigeria because such an international issue that one may wonder whether there is any dividing line between domestic and international issues.

Scope of the subject: analyst are also faced with problem of diversity of terrain to be covered by the subject. This problem arises because of the diverse character of the subject from state to state or from one system to another. For instance, the nature of foreign policy process, is different in democratic state from that in non-democratic states in developed countries from that in developing countries. Beyond this is adequately understood and analyse the foreign policy a country one needs full and detailed account of all the foreign policies of other states within whom that country intends since a countries foreign policy is a reaction to the actions of other states.

Source of material and information: the nature of foreign policy creates a problem of information for the analyst. Foreign policy is a most sensitive aspect of government activity. Foreign policy is one area where secrecy seem to be the norm. What people see are usually the actions of states, but the motivations and real intentions of the actors are usually hidden. The net effect of this has been that, analyst has to rely on mere conjectures a time in trying to figure out why particular states behaved the way they did. Diplomacy through which foreign policy is achieved in itself is seen as either secrecy or deception, so the diplomat himself believes that he is supposed to be either secretive or deceptive in carrying out his functions. this create problem of information and data for the analyst especially in third world countries where democracy is yet to take root and foreign policy is seen as the preserve of the president (Obi, 2002: 26-27).



LECTURE FIVE: APPROACHES TO FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS

Topic Outline

1. Traditional /classical approach

Expected outcome

At the end of the topic, students should be able to;

1. Use the traditional approach to analyse foreign policy actions of any nation.

Readings/Reference

Adesola, F. (2004) *International Relations: An Introductory text*. Ibadan: College Press and Publisher Ltd.

Akinboye, O. S. & Ottoh, O. F. (2005). *A Systematic Approach to International Relations*. Lagos: Concept Publications.

Dauda Saleh (2002) *Foreign Policy: Formulation and Analysis*. Nigeria: Caltop Publications Limited.

Obi E. A. (2006) *Fundamentals of Nigerian Foreign Policy*. Onitsha: Book point LTD.

Approaches to foreign policy analysis

Perspectives on the subject of international relations contains statement about foreign policy. Approaches to the study of foreign policy are diverse and have all included a notion of what the state is and how its foreign policy results. Approaches to the study of foreign policy is therefore intrinsic to approaches to the study international relations. There are two broad approaches to the analysis of foreign policy; the traditional/ classical and the scientific or behavioural approach.

Traditional/classical approach

This approach takes descriptive or historical forms. The approach focuses on the particular unique event and aspects of interstate relations. Those who employ this approach review the actions of states and history and interpret them according to the best of their own judgment. They give an intuitive explanation of what has happened (Adenrian 1985: 3 cited in Dauda 2003: 9). The traditional/classical approach is a combination of historical, philosophical, institutional and legal approach

According to Bull 1966:361 the approach to theorizing that derives from philosophy, history and law is characterized above all by explicit reliance upon the exercise of judgment and by the assumption that if we confine ourselves to strict standards of verification and proof there is very little of significance that can be said about international.

The historical approach: otherwise known as diplomatic history, the approach which was dominant before World War 1, stresses on issues, themes and roles of statesmen, the social conditions of the time or a combination of all factors. The historical approach examines the role of statesmen in their country's making and implementation of foreign polices across time. Akpotor (2005:161).

The philosophical Approach: This approach look it's root from traditional political philosophy where questions of value, judgments ethical consideration or what is good and bad, wrong and right are paramount. President Woodrow Wilson and Jimmy carter of the United States had at their different times echoed that foreign policy should not only centre on what materiel interest America could gain, but more also in promoting democracy and human rights globally. Akpotor (2005:161).

The idealist school of traditionalism emerged before realist counterpart. Its hallmark was the adoption of the legalistic and moralistic approach to the analysis of foreign policy. Its major pre-occupation has been the prevention of the incidence of war, which it regards as an avoidable sim. The idealist school focuses on the use of institutions in the analysis of foreign policy. While the legal approach analysis is based on the question of whether an act is legally right or wrong. The idealist prescribe a world government with adjudicatory and enforcement powers to settle dispute between states.

The large scale destruction brought about because of the first and second world was encouraged the search for a more useful approach to the understanding of foreign policy. The outcome was the development of the realist school. This approach elevated the concept of power which was concept of power which was conceived as the ability of one foreign policy elite to dominate the thoughts and actions of another to central importance the analysis of international relations. Considerations of power polities were presumed to play a major role in the determination of policies of states. The realist school maintains that foreign policies of states reflect their efforts to maximize their benefits within the limit of prudence. States are seen as homogeneous units, which act rationally by thinking and acting is defined as power. Rationality in thus sense is defined in terms of the states pre-occupation with the acquisition, consolidation and d of power the purpose of ensuring its security

and maintaining International order and security. Realist scholars explain his actions of states in terms of concept such as the balance of power, the pursuit of national interest, the quest for world order and the diplomacy of prudence.

Unlike the idealist they believe that the mechanism of power is more useful than the effective enforcement of international law or international organizations for the management of power in the global system.