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**Appraisal of the Foreign Service Policy of the Federal Democratic Republic of
Ethiopia in line with International Relation Theories**

A thesis submitted for the partial fulfillment of the requirements of Masters of Laws (LLM) in Public International law at School of Law, College of Law and Governance Studies Addis Ababa University.

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DECLARATION

I, Weldemariam T. Tilahun, hereby declare that this research work entitled “Appraisal of the foreign affairs policy of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia in line with the theories of international relation theories” is my own original work. I have carried out it independently with the guidance and suggestions of the research advisor.

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Abstract

Under the globalization dominion, there is a need to craft a foreign affair policy that enables to safeguard national interest and security of the state, and hence instead of limiting under the state's boundary there is a significance for attaining a policy that give direction to firmly catch-up the apparent interdependent system of the world.

Accordingly, the thesis try to find-out and assess the modality of the policy document in a such a what extent the nation's people along with the governmental machineries try to safeguard national interest; what type of approach adhered while entertaining the policy direction mentioned in the document; in relation to its compatibility to what extent the clearly defined and unanimously approach consider when one overview in pursuant to the recognized theories of international relation taken in to consideration.

And therefore, while looking through the forth coming the domain of the paper, it would be significant enough to discerns the paradigm of each individuals' behavioral approach that he has in one side the its personal integral extent with the incumbent government on other side so that as a last outcome of the reading anyone can hold its assumption from the conducted research work.

“history has made us friends, geography has made us neighbors, and those on which man put together, no one can let us asunder.”¹

J.F. Kennedy-Former President of US

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

As the prose speech mentioned above, the world we live has a manifestation of versatile interactions which pave the way to interrelationship among various actors of the international system dominion. For answering core foundation questions about international relations, scholars turn to many other disciplines, including history, philosophy, behavioral psychology, and critical studies.² The International System as a system is an assemblage of units, objects, or parts united by some form of regular interaction. Systems are essential to physical and biological science: they are composed of interacting unit, whether at the micro (cell, plant, animal) or the macro (natural ecosystem or global climate) level. Because these units interact, a change in one unit causes changes in all others.³

International relations is the study of the interactions among the various actors that participate in international politics, including States, international organizations, nongovernmental organizations, sub-national entities like bureaucracies and local governments, and individuals.⁴ Relations among states remain pivotal to world politics, but transnational and supranational actors also have a significant impact on the global

¹ As to me the prose speech reflects in the true sense the essence of international law on the contemporary morality on war experience is nothing; rather if democracy and development basis of the policy, and hence the overall harmonizing power of the world system is being as the carrot which is by far apparently nexus all the phenomenon with theories of international relation.

²Mingst. Karen. A, Essentials of International Relations, (2nd ed. Nov. 2003), P. 15.

³Waltz. N. Kenneth, Theory of International Politics, (1979), P. 85.

⁴ Supra note 1, P. 4.

system.⁵ As Basu mentioned (Basu, 2012), the study of international politics has become truly global in nature and scope as the world stands politically organized in nearly 200 nation states at the beginning of the second decade of the 21st century. Consequently, when it is being perceived as one distinctive conduct of the world's phenomenon, international relation refers to the sum total of relations (cooperative and conflictual) among states based on the principles of foreign policies of nations. On the other hand, as an academic discipline, it refers to the study of the overwhelming interaction of states under the umbrella of the international system.

When retraced the historical development of concepts of international relation, it had been emerged and progressively developed along with the onset of statehood of the ancient Greeks. During the dates when the Greeks reached at the height of their power climax in 400 B.C, they organized in independent city-states, were at and engaged in classic power politics.⁶ Later when the Roman Empire disintegrated in the fifth century A.D., power and authority became decentralized in Europe, consequently other forms of interactions perforated like travel, commerce, and communication, not just among the elites but also among merchant groups and ordinary citizens.⁷ In Europe international relation emerged step by step, element by element during the early period of nineteenth century. In the context of the expansion of Europe and the capitalist world economy, Christianity was divided; rationalism emerged; and capitalism and sovereign states developed side by side, [consequently] the international institutions and problematic surfaced gradually.⁸ Meanwhile, many international relations theories date the contemporary system from 1648 that ends rule by religious authority in Europe and the emergence of secular authorities.⁹ The thirty years war (1618-1648), and its subsequent treaty of the Westphalia ended the conflict and laid the foundation for the practice of international relations as well as the notion of sovereignty.¹⁰ The idea was to study scientifically, the conditions of peace and war, to overcome the problems of war. As a scientific discipline,

⁵BasuRumki, International Politics, Concepts, Theories, and Issues, (2012), P. 15.

⁶ Supra note 1, P. 18.

⁷ Supra note 1, P.19.

⁸PatomakiHeikki, International Politics, Concepts, Theories, and Issues, (2012), P. 2.

⁹ Id, P. 15.

¹⁰ Supra note 1, P. 26.

it was formally founded (at least in Anglo-American world) during the aftermath of the first world war, in 1918.¹¹ .

After the end of balance of power system, the international relation system WWI period recognized as a system of alliance. States honored their allies, sinking the whole continent in warfare.¹²The main predominant system manifestation of the Second World War was struggle among the European states through nationalism liberation front along with the dissatisfaction outcomes resulted from the WWI.¹³ Latter on the aftermath of the Second World War, along with the political realism escalation in USA, as one subject matter, it became the center of research for international politics.

When we see the definition of foreign policy, it is the official external policy of independent states formulated by parliament with the consent.¹⁴Foreign policy consists of a range of actions taken by varying sections of the government of a state. The actions are taken with reference to other bodies acting on the international stage, of which the most important are other states, but which include also international, supranational, and transnational groups, and occasionally also individuals.¹⁵It is the sum of official external relations conducted by an independent actor (usually a State) in international relations. Precisely, the focal point of an actor's external relations so that the act cannot be consider a category to be associated with a number of fiasco diplomatic 'issues'.

As a slight overview introduction when we assess the foreign relation policy and laws of the country, the current government of the Ethiopia designed a foreign affair and national intelligence policy and strategy and entered in to in force since 2002. When we trace the foreign policy feature of former government regimes of the country did not give due attention for the domestic affairs. Rather, they gave considerations for the external relationships the country.¹⁶On the other hand, when we see the current government

¹¹ Supra note 7, P. 11.

¹² Supra note 1, P. 35

¹³ Supra note 1, P. 37. In accordance to the agreement reached by the Versailles treaty Germany obliged to pay 32-billion-dollar reparation for the damage sustained. Consequently, as discontenting factor, it leads to the emergence of Adolf Hitler.

¹⁴ Supra note 7, P. 94.

¹⁵Supra note 1, P. 55.

¹⁶ The Foreign affair policy and national intelligence strategy document, (2nd ed., 2004), P. V.

strategy it stipulates the need for safeguarding the domestic affairs in order to ensure the national interest.¹⁷ Along with prioritize the domestic issues, it pay the way for the significance to enhance further enrooting the country's citizens freedom as well as expedient economic development and the vitality of equitably distributing the accumulated wealth to the public.¹⁸ Apart from the policy, the government has also promulgated several foreign affair related laws, and ratified several other bilateral and multilateral agreements. Without disregarding previously promulgated versatile foreign affair related laws, the government has enacted Foreign Service Proclamation in 2013.¹⁹ Issues designated as Foreign Service tasks; criteria and procedures for establishing diplomatic relation; elaborations about the role and responsibility of Ministry of Foreign Affair as well as institutional procedures; and clarifications about the entrusted duties and responsibilities of diplomatic personnel are the main matters which the proclamation takes in to attention. Hence, on the upcoming part the research will thoroughly assess their character in light with international relation theories.

Theories are collections or sets of laws pertaining to a particular behavior or phenomenon.²⁰ A theory is a set of propositions and a concept that seeks to explain phenomena by specifying the relationships among the concepts; theory's ultimate purpose is to predict phenomena.²¹ In accordance to the presupposition about the essence of the theory, the research accordingly will assess in abstract the general peculiarities of the four dominant types of international relation theories.

The Realist theory is based on a view of the individual as primarily selfish and power seeking. Individuals are organized in States, each of which acts in a unitary way in pursuit of its own national interest, defined in terms of power.²² According to the realists,

¹⁷ Ibid. P.3.

¹⁸ Ibid, P. 7

¹⁹ The Foreign Service Proclamation, Pro. No. 790/2013, Fed. Neg. Gaz., (19th year, No. 52, 23rd July 2013.)

²⁰ Supra note 2, P.2.

²¹ Supra note 1, P. 60.

²² Supra note 1, P.67.

the most effective technique for managing power is balance of power.²³ On the other hand the liberalism theory holds that human nature is basically good and that people can improve their moral and material condition, which ultimately would lead to progress in society.²⁴ In line to the positive understanding of human nature, the liberals believed if harmony of interests among individuals was possible, there could be harmony of interests among states as well.²⁵ Liberals see a further parallel between individuals and sovereign states. Although the character of states may differ, all states are accorded certain natural rights, such as right to non-intervention in their domestic affairs.²⁶

Later on, especially after the second half of twentieth century along with the emergence of contemporary idealist thinking about moral factors of individuals in the world system, further developments on theoretical assumptions began to evolve in sects under the umbrella of classical theories. Consequently, neoliberalism, and neorealism advocacy rise as brand new thought in the international relation discipline. For classical liberal's cooperation emerges from man's establishing and reforming institutions that permit cooperative interactions and prohibit coercive actions. For neo liberal institutionalists, cooperation emerges due to actors having continuous interaction with each other; it is in the self-interest of each to cooperate. Institutions may be established, affecting the possibilities for cooperation, but they do not guarantee cooperation. Institutionalists emphasize that states cooperate even in anarchic conditions in the international system. Neoliberal institutionalism relies on the concept of interdependence and explores how existing international institutions assist nation states in obtaining collective ends.²⁷ On the same analogy of comparison when we see the neoliberals vis-à-vis realism, the former give precedence to the international system structure over the states emphasized by tradition realists and over explanations that focus on the innate characteristics of human beings.²⁸ Generally, Believing on the primacy of economics for explaining virtually all other phenomenon is one of the clear criteria for differentiates radicalism from either

²³ Supra note 1, P. 68.

²⁴ Supra note 7, P. 153.

²⁵ Supra note 7, P. 154

²⁶ Supra note 7, P. 155

²⁷ Supra note 7, P. 167.

²⁸ Supra note 1, P. 69.

liberalism or realism. Of course, for liberals, economic interdependence is one possible explanation for international cooperation, but only one among many factors.²⁹

Along with the onset of social identities, and the vital influence of individuals lobbying role for lodging pressure on the international system, the assumption of constructivism began to be familiarize on the system of international relation.³⁰The Constructivists tried to give a brand new concept about the nature of the state and the concepts of sovereignty and citizenship.³¹ The major theoretical proposition that all constructivists subscribe to is that state behavior is shaped by elite beliefs, identities, and social norms. [The theory further invoke that], individuals in collectivities forge, shape, and change culture through ideas and practices. State and national interests are the result of the social identities of these actors.³²

Marxism is one of the important theories in international relations today. It offers an alternative understanding of 'International Relations', particularly of the realist theorization of international relations. Marxism falls under the category of positivist theories, which include both Marxist and neo-Marxist theories that engage with international relations and politics.³³And therefore, the research on the next chapters will cover to categorize major observations about the theories as well as the accompanied modes and principles of relationship thereon. Besides, the discipline as a corner stone for states' relationship, I willcarry out extensive analysis on the issue that, alike an interpersonal communication of individual conduct the type of behavioral approach the government adhere, and exercise will be the main theme of the that require rigorous assessment subsequently.

Statement of the Problem

The foreign affairs policy of a state considers as the external manifestation of states' essence and behavior of which it enables them to interact under the dominion of international system. It is too decisive for states of the world the necessity to design and uphold their own roadmap in order to effectively realize their interest of international

²⁹ Supra note 1, P. 73.

³⁰ Supra note 1, P. 73.

³¹ Supra note 1, P. 76.

³² Supra note 1, P. 77.

³³ Supra note 7, P. 73.

relation. Meanwhile as the author briefly pin point, it is the sum of official external relations conducted by an independent actor (usually a state) in international relations. It is, in short, the focal point of an actor's external relations.

The policy seems to advocate the necessity for prioritizing the domestic matters and safeguarding the national interest as a pillar of foreign affair relations of the country.³⁴ On the hand, in line to what the liberalist adhere, the document stipulate an illustration in a manner that "... under the globalization dominion, there is a need to craft a foreign affair policy that enables to safeguard national interest and security of the state; and hence instead of curtailing under the state's boundary, it would be significant enough to attain a policy that give direction to firmly handle the apparent intermingled world system. In furtherance, the policy has to rely on gain – gain basis, give and take principle, and on bargaining and set off approach..."³⁵ As a result of this, one can invoke the question as to the credibility and clarity of the policy and the manner on how the government applies on.

Furthermore, when we see the implementation modality, there indicates decentralized form of foreign relation outlets, alleging that there are several stakeholders like Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Defence on which it abides to enforce the policy directions and strategies solely through institutional cooperation. It stipulates in bold specifying that "... It is so decisive to magnificently setout organizational setup and framework in order all to work in cooperation. Hence, this also be taken as other issue that seeks due attention."³⁶ Meanwhile, Art. 6 (1) of the Foreign Service Proclamation stipulates that without prejudicing the powers vested to other organs of the government, entitled the Ministry of Foreign Affairs the power to lead and coordinate the Foreign Service tasks of the county. In accordance to such stipulation, it permits other governmental institutions to conduct foreign relation with other countries in isolate channels. As a consequence of this, it may pose a threat on the sovereignty and national interest of the country for the reason that both the approached followed by the policy and the law has a deviation from

³⁴ Supra note 16, P. 3. Accordingly, as what realist advocate, it is possibly to come up in to understanding that the policy follows an approach of prioritizing the domestic affair.

³⁵ Supra note 16, P. 19.

³⁶ Supra note 16, P. 56.

the centralized system of foreign relation outlet. Therefore, this would be also raise as another issue which request due attention and assessment.

In nutshell, this research will aspire to assess with comparative legal studies about the extradition legislative features of Ethiopia along with to the extent how it being apparently practiced.

Research Questions

The study tries to focus and find out the following questions and give recommendations after analyzing the legal frame works, institutional and structural arrangements, and evaluating the practical accomplishments:

- To what extent the nation's foreign affair policy and national security strategy safeguard the national interest of the country?
- When one as alien observes the enshrined policy direction, how much the approaches entertained through the policy are tangible enough and clear?
- In relation to compatibility, to what extent the foreign affair laws of the country are coherent with the approach followed by policy?
- As a tool for the government's foreign relation, what type of contribution may it contribute to the international system?
- As to what extent the policy critically addresses the contemporary international relation:

Research Objectives

General Objective:

This term paper will mainly target on elucidating the country's foreign affair policy and laws in a manner how they are effective and imperative enough while visualize through the well-known international relation theory's screen.

Specific Objectives:

Apart from the above mentioned general objective, the research inculcates the following specific objectives:

- Mentioning the basic approach lied on the policy document in line with the cardinal principles of international relation theories;

- Evaluating the trend as to the mechanism on how on perceive the policy in lint to its predictability and reliability as an identical manifestation of the state's conduct;
- Assessing the policy as to how it is effective enough for safeguarding the national interest;
- Looking through the implementation modality, specifically in relation to institutional implementation approach relying on the foreign affair related laws of the country.

Scope of the term paper

The research specifically made emphasis mainly for assessing the basic frame work of the F.D.R.E foreign affair policy on the basis of how it has been formulated as well as making analysis on the strategic direction followed while the country interacts on the apparent international system. Hence, the paper will not take in to attention on evaluating the country's specific foreign affair engagements entered with each and every actors of the international system. For instance, the relation created with each distinctive states of the world shall not fall under the domain of the research. Apart from evaluating the policy, the research will also observe the coherence of the foreign affairs related laws of the country in line with the policy document and their specific compatibility visualize under intra-institutional framework of the concerned government organs.

Research Method and Methodology

The methodology that will be dominantly used in this study is basically contextual rational approach historical institutional method has been implemented.

Ethical Consideration

The research takes in to account ethical issues in more convenient ways; especially the genuine reason that require for making interview shall be inform to the selected participants. I will be very cautious about protecting confidential information received form participants as well as safeguarding the privacy and profession conflict interests of the interviewees.

Limitation of the Paper

Failure to get previously conducted legal research papers in relation to the issue will result in constraints for making review and comparison in order to handle different exposures and perceptions on the country's foreign affair policy. The subject matter as a legal discipline might be susceptible for critiques alleging that it would not be categorized under the dominion of the legal field research schemes in order to undertake effective legal analysis. Limitations on getting the previous government regimes' foreign affair documents at least for sake of retracing developments and to visualize its paradigm as a basis for current diplomatic relation might also take as another limitation for making fruitful contribution on the foreign relation endeavors of the country. Finally, the researcher career engagement on the day to day legal administration affairs of the country might also induce inconvenience for getting sufficient time, and to effectively workout the research.

Chapter Two

Theories of International Relations, their paradigm and fundamentality

Definitions

International relations is the study of the interactions among the various actors that participate in international politics, including States, international organizations, non-governmental organizations, [sub-national entity] like bureaucracies and local governments, and individuals.³⁷ International relations (IR) today refers to both an academic discipline and the field of activity that deals as much with relations between and among States as with transnational global actors, problems and issues. The international system is the sum total of relationships among the world's member states structured according to certain set rules and patterns of interaction.³⁸ The actors in IR are the world's governments. They are decisions and acts of governments in the international arena (e.g. foreign policies) that are included in the study of IR.³⁹

Development

While assessing the developments of International Relation theories, as a general overview scholars tend to observe their developments on the basis of the post-Westphalian State system practices, and the subsequent manifestations revealed during the medieval period of the European Statehood systems, and the progresses observed during and after the breakdown of WWI has also being considered as the third and the contemporary manifestation as an apparent conduct of the world system. As an activity, diplomacy is as old as recorded history, but as an academic field of enquiry, IR's lineage can be traced to 1919 when the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth in England, created its Department of International Politics, followed by the establishment of a Department of International Relations in early 1920 at the London School of Economics.⁴⁰

³⁷Waltz. N. Kenneth, Theory of International Politics, P. 85.

³⁸Mingist. Karen. A, Essentials of International Relations, (2nd ed. Nov.2003), P. 4.

³⁹ Zehfuss. M, Constructivism in international Relations, (2004) P. XXIX.

⁴⁰ International Politics, Concepts, theories and issues ... 14.

Many international relations theories date the contemporary system from 1648 that ends rule by religious authority in Europe and the emergence of secular authorities.⁴¹ The discipline of international relations was born after World War I in a hazardous of aspirations for the future of world government. These were quickly dimmed by world war II.⁴²

As the pre-Westphalia precursor of international relation, the ancient statehood practice of the Greeks could be raised as a basis for practicing the international relation theory portfolio among themselves.⁴³ As the militaries of the great city-states struggled, states carried on economic relations and trade with each other to an unprecedented degree.⁴⁴ Its leaders impose order and unity by force on a large geographic expansion covering of Europe.⁴⁵

When the Roman Empire disintegrated in the fifth century A.D., power and authority become decentralized in Europe. Meanwhile, other forms of interactions like travel.⁴⁶ Secular trends began to undermine both decentralization of feudalism and the universalization of Christianity. Commercializing activities, and also communications and various forms of infrastructure expanded in to larger geographic areas.⁴⁷

The thirty-year war (1618-1648), and its subsequent treaty of the Westphalia ended the conflict and laid the foundation for the practice of international relations as well as the notion of sovereignty. Two revolutions during the nineteenth century: The American Revolution (1776) against the British rule: The French Revolution (1789). They were broke-out as a result of the Enlightenment, and the social contract theories.

The main reason why such relatively in Europe managed and preserved was due to the balance of power. That means the independent European States, each with relatively

⁴¹Mingist. Karen. A, Essentials of International Relations, (2nd ed. Nov.2003), P. 16.

⁴² The Journal 2203817, P. 207.

⁴³ The Greeks organized in independent city-states, were at the height of their power in 400 B.C and engaged in classic power politics, Mingist, P. 18.

⁴⁴Mingist. Karen. A, Essentials of International Relations, (2nd ed. Nov.2003), P. 18. Each states of an independent unit-conducted peaceful relations with each other as they viewed for power- precursor of the modern state system.

⁴⁵Mingist. Karen. A, Essentials of International Relations, (2nd ed. Nov.2003), P. 18.

⁴⁶Mingist. Karen. A, Essentials of International Relations, (2nd ed. Nov.2003), P. 21.

⁴⁷Mingist. Karen. A, Essentials of International Relations, (2nd ed. Nov.2003), P. 23.

equal power, feared the emergence of any predominant state (hegemony) among them.⁴⁸ The Wilson's fourteen points called for open diplomacy: among of which one which advocates about the removal of economic barriers among all the nations consenting to the peace (the utopian liberalism idea) were to be replaced by realism- fundamentally divergent theoretical perspectives.⁴⁹

Another very important development of the second half of the 20th century was the phenomenon of decolonization, which resulted in a large number of former colonies of European powers attaining independence; decolonization was a continuing process in world politics from the 1950's to the 1980's.⁵⁰ As an academic field, IR- an offspring of political science and history was denied the status of an independent discipline till almost the advent of the Second world war.⁵¹ Since post period of the second worldwar, there has been a democratization of the foreign-policy-making processes, with public opinion playing an increasing role in governmental decision-making.⁵² Then comes the second world war between the Allies and Axis powers ..., the end of the war meant a major distribution of power (the victorious United States would now be recognized against the equally victorious Soviet Union) and changed political borders.⁵³

Fundamentality

Today, heads of state and foreign ministers personally establish contact with each other, marginalizing the role of diplomats and ambassadors to a great extent.⁵⁴ Diplomatic negotiations, or even their outcomes, were not treated as Knowledge for the public domain.⁵⁵ Mainstream debates in IRs step from the particular theory/problem-solution set or, in short, a problematic.⁵⁶

⁴⁸Mingist. Karen. A, Essentials of International Relations, (2nd ed. Nov.2003), P. 34.

⁴⁹Mingist. Karen. A, Essentials of International Relations, (2nd ed. Nov.2003), P. 38.

⁵⁰BasuRamki, International Politics, Concepts, Concepts, and issues, (2012), P. 17.

⁵¹ Zehfuss. M, Constructivism in International Relations, (2004), P. XXVI.

⁵² Zehfuss. M, Constructivism in International Relations, (2004), P. XXVI.

⁵³Mingist. Karen. A, Essentials of International Relations, (2nd ed. Nov.2003), P. 40.

⁵⁴BasuRamki, International Politics, Concepts, Theories, and Issues, (2012), P. 15.

⁵⁵BasuRamki, International Politics, Concepts, Theories, and Issues, (2012), P. 15.

⁵⁶BasuRamki, International Politics, Concepts, Theories, and Issues, (2012), P. 15.

Those elucidate knowledge begins with certainties, defines theories as hypotheses that are confirmed and connected. But empirical knowledge is always problematic. Experience often misleads us.⁵⁷ He further elaborates that theories by far better being presumed as a mere collections of laws, they are statements that explain the laws.⁵⁸ It is, in short, the focal point of an actor's external relations. For answering core foundation questions about international relations, scholars turn to many other disciplines, including history, philosophy, behavioral psychology, and critical studies.⁵⁹

The purpose of this historical overview is to trace important trends over time—the emergence of the state and the notion of sovereignty, the development of the international state system, and the changes in distribution of power among key states.⁶⁰ The nature of IR underwent tremendous changes in the post-Second World War period. Traditionally, the universe of IR had been Eurocentric with interstate relations being conducted by diplomats with a great deal of secrecy.⁶¹ Although states must provide the wherewithal to achieve their own ends, they do not always reach their foreign policy goals.⁶² The reason is simple but fundamental to an understanding of international politics: what one state does will inevitably impinge on some other states—on some beneficially, but on others adversely. Like other foreign-policy goals, the security of one state contingent upon the behavior of other states.⁶³

Theories

One of modernity's central puzzles has been whether global politics can be ordered. Theory gives order; it takes specific events and provides generalized explanations.⁶⁴ In pursuant with the enshrined general assumptions about the basic essence of theory, the researcher will pinpoint in brief the basic theories that underpin with State's conduct in order to apprehend effective know how about the rationale that relied on latterly while making

⁵⁷Waltz. N. Kenneth, Theory of International Politics, (1979), P. 5.

⁵⁸Waltz. N. Kenneth, Theory of International Politics, (1979), P. 5.

⁵⁹Mingst. Karen. A, Essentials of International Relations, (2nd ed. Nov. 2003), P. 38.

⁶⁰BasuRamki, International Politics, Concepts, Theories, and Issues, (2012), P. 18.

⁶¹Zahfuss. M, Constructivism in International Relations, (2004), P. XXXVI.

⁶² Robert Jervis, & Robert J. Art, International Politics, P. 21.

⁶³ Art. R & Jervis R, International politics, (8th ed. 2007), P. 2.

⁶⁴Mingst. A. Mingist, Essentials of International Relations, (2nd ed. Nov. 2003), P. 55.

analysis about the FDRE government foreign affair policy and laws. Basically there are four predominant international relation theories. To mention namely: the realist view, the liberalism approach, the constructivism theory, and the \Marxism trend are the basic ones recognized under the international law discipline.

The Realism and Neo-Realism theory of International Law

We associate Realism with thinkers such as Kautilya, Machiavelli and Hobbes through 20th century scholars such as Hans Morgenthau, and Kenneth Waltz, Realism has been the most dominant school of thought in post second world war international relations and continues to have relevance in contemporary world politics.⁶⁵ Realists insist that we should look at world politics as it really is and not as one imagines or wants it to be. They primarily emphasize on national interest, power politics and the security and centrality of the nation state.⁶⁶ Realism I of the realist school is in terms of power and its exercise by states. In other words, it is chiefly concerned with real politik. Realists maintain that the principal actors in the international arena are states, each acting in its rational self-interest within an environment of international anarchy. In the ongoing struggle for power in world politics, through the pursuit of national interest, policymakers use rational tools, including diplomacy, economic power and ultimately military force to attain the goals of foreign policy.⁶⁷

While acknowledging the influence of plurality of actors, in world politics today and the integrative aspects of globalization, adherents of neo-realism still argue that cooperating with each other, states try to maximize their power and preserve their autonomy. Realism's resilience is based on its central claim that the laws of international relations (IR) remain true across time (history) and space (geography) and, therefore, embody timeless truths about international politics and behavior.⁶⁸

⁶⁵PatomakiHeikki, International Politics, Concepts, Theories, and Issues, (2012), P. 171.

⁶⁶PatomakiHeikki, International Politics, Concepts, Theories, and Issues, (2012), P. 171.

⁶⁷PatomakiHeikki, International Politics, Concepts, Theories, and Issues, (2012), P. 171.

⁶⁸PatomakiHeikki, International Politics, Concepts, Theories, and Issues, (2012), P. 171.

Realists tend to separate the use of political power from the canons of morality, religion or ideology. To them, power is an amoral and secular concept and so is its usage.⁶⁹ The players in an international system are autonomous actors defined as states, commonly seeking to enhance their own security within the limits of scarce resources. Foreign policy is an instrument by which national interests are pursued in international politics. A view of foreign policy as being concerned with national security defense of national interest implies that the interstate system is characterized by competition and conflict.⁷⁰ The international system is characterized by competition and conflict [anarchy].

Liberalism and Neo-Liberalism

Liberalism holds that human nature is basically good and that people can improve their moral material condition, which ultimately would lead to progress in society.⁷¹ The liberals believed if harmony of interests among individuals was possible, there could be harmony of interests among states as well. Accordingly, to liberal thought, individual freedom could best be realized in a democratic state where there are limited governmental restrictions. Emmanuel Kant mentioned that the people of the world have entered into a universal community. As a result, it has developed to a point where a violation of rights in one part of the world is felt everywhere.⁷² Similarly, political freedoms could easily be achieved in capitalist states, where human being could improve their own condition, there by maximizing both individual and collective economic growth.⁷³

Liberals further emphasized that public that public opinion played a positive role in guiding state officials and helped in formulating good public policy, including foreign policy.⁷⁴ At the domestic level, liberalism introduces caution into the affairs of states, since the consent of that same citizenry which will bear the costs of war is required

⁶⁹PatomakiHeikki, *International Politics, Concepts, Theories, and Issues*, (2012), P. 174.

⁷⁰PatomakiHeikki, *International Politics, Concepts, Theories, and Issues*, (2012), P. 174.

⁷¹PatomakiHeikki, *International Politics, Concepts, Theories, and Issues*, (2012), P. 153.

⁷²PatomakiHeikki, *International Politics, Concepts, Theories, and Issues*, (2012), P. 157.

⁷³PatomakiHeikki, *International Politics, Concepts, Theories, and Issues*, (2012), P. 157.

⁷⁴BeateJahn, ed., *Classical Theory in International Relations*, (2006), P. 54.

before military action can be undertaken.⁷⁵ At the international level, a consensus among liberals upon the rights of states leads to their mutual relations being marked by respect, especially for the principle of non-intervention.⁷⁶ At the transaction level, relations are marked by the 'spirit of commerce', which leads states to have a mutual interest in the welfare of other states as trading partners.⁷⁷

[On the other hand], the core assumptions of neoliberal institutionalists include that states are key actors in international relations, but not the only significant ones.⁷⁸ According to the neoliberals, anarchy does not mean cooperation is impossible.⁷⁹ They are rational actors who seek to maximize their interests in all issue areas. For neoliberals, the principles of free trade continue to have contemporary relevance.⁸⁰ An open global market, where goods and services can pass freely across national boundaries should be the aim of nation states as only that will maximize economic growth.⁸¹

The Maximum –Radical Theory

Marxism, as it is well known, is based on the philosophical, economic and political work of Karl Marx. Man has been successful in overcoming nature to a considerable extent and also to produce material goods to the level of avoiding scarcity of food, clothing and shelter. Man-kind is capable of providing conditions to individuals to develop their creative powers or capacities which are not found in other species.⁸² The realist raises critics alleging that it failed to anticipate the nature of European Proletariat which sided with their own national bourgeoisie rather than building solidarity with the proletariat of other nationalities.⁸³

Marxism, as it is well known, is based on the philosophical, economic and political work of Karl Marx. Dependency theory is based on the Marxist analysis of inequalities which

⁷⁵BeateJahn, ed., Classical Theory in International Relations, (2006), P. 54

⁷⁶BeateJahn, ed., Classical Theory in International Relations, (2006), P. 54

⁷⁷BeateJahn, ed., Classical Theory in International Relations, (2006), P. 54

⁷⁸PatomakiHeikki, International politics, concepts, theories, and issues, (2012), P. 54.

⁷⁹BeateJahn, ed., Classical Theory in International Relations, (2006), P.163.

⁸⁰BeateJahn, ed., Classical Theory in International Relations, (2006), P. 164.

⁸¹PatomakiHeikki, International politics, concepts, Theories, and issues, (2012), P. 164.

⁸²PatomakiHeikki, International politics, concepts, Theories, and issues, (2012), P. 164.

⁸³PatomakiHeikki, International politics, concepts, Theories, and issues, (2012), P. 193.

the world system. It argues that underdevelopment of the Global south is a direct result of the development in the Global North.

A central concept, is that the poverty of the countries in the periphery is the result of the manner of their integration with the 'world system', a view to be contrasted with that of free market economists, who argue that such states are progressing on a path to full integration.

Man has been successful in overcoming nature to a considerable extent and also to produce material goods to the level of avoiding scarcity of food, clothing and shelter. Mankind is capable of providing conditions to individuals to develop their creative powers or capacities, which are not found in other species.⁸⁴

Constructivism Theory of International Relation

The significance of constructivism which IR is underlined by the claim made repeatedly that the 'debate', between the nationalists and constructivists, either currently is, or about to become, the most significant one in the discipline.⁸⁵ With the World of our Making, Onuf presented the first constructivism 'is the view that the manner in which the material world shapes is shaped by human action and interaction depends on dynamic normative and epistemic interpretations of the material world.'⁸⁶ They believe that social phenomena may be explained in the same way as the natural world and the facts and values may be clearly separated. Constructivism obscures the politics already involved in representing reality.⁸⁷ Taking reality in to account is one of the supposed virtues of constructivism. Both material and social worlds are construed to have a facticity which constructivism. Analysis of international relation must, and do, taking in to account.⁸⁸ Their goals is to uncover regularities. Scientific enquiry, in their view, must rely on empirical validation or falsification.⁸⁹ Thus, constructivism is clearly significant to IR (theory) and its future

⁸⁴ Patomaki Heikki, International politics, concepts, Theories, and issues, (2012), P. 189.

⁸⁵ Zehfuss. M, Constructivism in International Relations, (2004), P. 10.

⁸⁶ Zehfuss. M, Constructivism in International Relations, (2004), P. 6.

⁸⁷ Zehfuss. M, Constructivism in International Relations, (2004), P. 250.

⁸⁸ Zehfuss. M, Constructivism in International Relations, (2004), P. 25.

⁸⁹ Zehfuss. M, Constructivism in International Relations, (2004), P. 2.

development.⁹⁰ Wendt assumes the existence of a reality independent of mind in terms of not only the material but also the social world. As a result, he argues that scientific explanation consisting in the identification of causal mechanisms is applicable to the social sciences.⁹¹ Wendt presents an argument designed to show how self-help and power politics are socially constructed in a condition of anarchy. The claim is based on two principles of constructivism from symbolic interactionism.

⁹⁰ Zehfuss. M, Constructivism in International Relations, (2004), P. 6.

⁹¹ In accordance to Meja, identities provide the basis for interests which are defined in the process that without disregarding the wholeness system with in the unanimous approach and lifestyle, and hence believing the phenomenon with in the industry. Nevertheless, I suppose that as the concerned system of the statehood along with the prime advocates there to has the responsibility to revitalize the bureaucracy so that to ensure the goodness of mankind the assumption forwarded should be reconsider again.

Chapter Three

Appraisal of the Policy in the Essence of Theories of International Relation

Globalization as a basis for policy

Material inequality reduces the number of effective players. But unless one is clearly superior to all others, the Hobbesian logic will reassert itself in relations among the strong.⁹² The efforts in our country to bring about rapid development, democracy and good governance cannot be seen outside the regional and global contexts. Hence the very way in which decision makers conceive of their nation-state's own interests, problems, and solutions must change if cooperation is to be realized.⁹³ In the process of globalization, the world economy has become interconnected and an international division of labor has been introduced. It is impossible to operate outside of this context. The treatment on which liberals began prescribing in the eighteenth century had not changed hence the 'disease' of war could be successfully treated with the twin medicines of democracy and free trade.⁹⁴

Encouraging exports over imports and industrialization over agriculture, protecting domestic production against competition from imports, and intervening in trade to promote employment.⁹⁵ Countries are either producers or aid recipients in the globalizing economy. There are no exceptions and no country is outside of this global economy. Rapid development can be achieved by our country only through strong efforts to graduate from the aid recipient category to the category of producer. To sustain that development, a steady effort to improve one's position in the global division of labor is required. This also applies to the building of a democratic order.

⁹²Folker, Sterling Folker, Theories of International Cooperation and the Primacy of anarchy, (2002), P. 34.

⁹³Folker, Sterling Folker, Theories of International Cooperation and the Primacy of anarchy, (2002), P. 56.

⁹⁴ Burchill Scott, Theories of international Relations, 3rd ed., P. 49.

⁹⁵Mingst. Karen. A, Essentials of International Relations, (2nd ed. Nov. 2003), P. 184.

For markets to function most efficient, economics and politics must be separated as much as possible; that is markets must be free.⁹⁶ We cannot attain development and democracy by closing our doors and taking refuge in our mountains. For them, anarchy is mitigated by regimes and institutional cooperation which brings levels of regularity and predictability to international relations.⁹⁷

It is only when we accept the fact that we have no choice but to enter the global economy, and when we aim to transform ourselves from the state of dependency to that of being a producer, and a better producer in time, we can realize democracy and development. In reality, neo-liberal foreign policies tend not to be as wedded to the ideals of democratic peace, neo-liberal foreign policies tend not to be as wedded to the ideals of democratic peace, free trade, and open borders.⁹⁸ It is through fully exploiting the opportunities globalization provides us, lessening the constraints it creates, and becoming active participants in the process of globalization, that we can promote our interests and security. If assumptions about state motivation are simple, clear, and coherent, and if they apply to all units in the system, the resulting theory will still be very strongly structural.⁹⁹

It is for this reason that the major basis of our foreign and security policy is that of achieving economic development and democracy in the framework of globalization. Therefore, a foreign and security policy that fully exploits the opportunities globalization provides us and that withstands the negative effects of the process, is useful and appropriate. A policy that cannot serve this purpose, however sophisticated, is flawed and therefore detrimental. The national interests of nations keep changing and therefore their foreign policies also undergo changes in order to adjust to the international environment.¹⁰⁰

Neo-realists have two responses to the liberal claim liberal claim that economic interdependency is pacifying international relations (Grieco 1988). First, they argue that

⁹⁶Mingst. Karen. A, Essentials of International Relations, (2nd ed. Nov. 2003), P. 186.

⁹⁷ Burchill Scott, Theories of international Relations, 3rd ed., P. 65.

⁹⁸Folker, Sterling Folker, Theories of International Cooperation and the Primacy of anarchy, (2002), P. 184.

⁹⁹Folker, Sterling Folker, Theories of International Cooperation and the Primacy of anarchy, (2002), P. 47.

¹⁰⁰Ramku, theories, concepts, and issues, theories, THERIES OF INTERNATIONA POLITICS, P. 66.

in any struggle between competing disciplines, the anarchic environment and the insecurity it engenders will always take priority over the quest for economic prosperity.

But globalization has not ended conflicts of interest among countries, and cannot be expected to do so. Neither has globalization brought equality among nations. Globalization may not necessarily result in the death of equality, but to expect it to bring about equality would be wrong. This is because of the nature of the globalization process itself and the prevailing objective reality. Aiming to attain development and democracy exclusively in the context of globalization is not a matter of acknowledging or discounting the fairness of globalization. It is simply the matter of accepting the reality of globalization, with all its limitations, and endeavoring to operate within its framework to safeguard one's interest and security. There is no other way.

For realists, the essence of sovereignty is the state's ability to make authoritative decisions- in the final instance, the decision to make war.¹⁰¹ Globalization has its laws and procedures which may not be fair. Besides international law, there are covenants governing international economic and other forms of relations, and there are institutions that serve them. Nevertheless, the mentioned perceptions about the essence of globalization is seems to discrepant with the factual reality about the pillar role of natural persons; [...So that] what citizens thought (their political beliefs) and what they said (in the realm of public political discourse) did not make them threats subject to violence either at the hands of the state or zealous patriots.¹⁰² Globalization has its laws and procedures which may not be fair.¹⁰³ They are based on give and take and the balancing of interests. Countries with greater capacity and power play a decisive role in the negotiations, and this has meant that the system clearly favors them. Although the weaker

¹⁰¹Folker, Sterling Folker, Theories of International Cooperation and the Primacy of anarchy, (2002), P. 41.

¹⁰² Williams C. Michael, symbolic, power and the politics of international politics. Culture and Security, P16.

¹⁰³ According to Folker's idea it has been assumed that the easiest way to do this would be to assume a single motive. Yet, as the government policy document it fails to further elaborate the essence of its manifestation in accordance to the impact that it poses on the domestic politics and other stakeholders which concerns to with clear and unanimous definition.

states cannot change the nature of these agreements and thereby reap great benefit, they can reduce the negative consequences that the agreements may entail.

As prisoners` dilemma offers a standard formal representation of this the logic offered a favorable manifestation to realize the effects and outcomes of a given phenomenon, it would be appropriate to see its overwhelming feature in accordance to the prisoner`s dilemma apparent rules which is uniquely understandable by far better on the institutional make-up of states act thereon. These laws and the entire international order they sustain, have come into being *a res*, the prisoners dilemma offers a standard formal representation of this logic. Imagine the fourth rule of remain silent while the other confesses as a basis of, ... under the dominion of the rest alternatives: assume finally that their aversion to risk takes a particular form: in [other words] they want to minimize their maximum possible.¹⁰⁴ If assumptions about state motivation are simple, clear, and coherent, and if they apply to all units in the system, the resulting theory will still be very strongly structural.¹⁰⁵ If assumptions about state motivation are simple, clear, and coherent and if they apply to all units to all units in the system, the resulting theory will still be very strongly structural.¹⁰⁶ Throughout the discussion the term liberal cooperation theory will be utilized as a short-hand means of referring to theories which rely on economic interdependence and referring to theories which rely on economic interdependence and referring to theories which rely on economic interdependence and regimes to explain cooperation. Result of negotiations between the countries that established the system as a whole. In passing, we should note that this suggests that (Hobbesian) realism is a theory of great power politics, rather than a general theory of international relations.¹⁰⁷ Countries like Ethiopia with no much weight, need to strive to promote their interests in this framework, although their powers to influence the nature of the system are limited.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁴Folker, Sterling Folker, Theories of International Cooperation and the Primacy of anarchy, (2002), P. 37.

¹⁰⁵Folker, Sterling Folker, Theories of International Cooperation and the Primacy of anarchy, (2002), P. 47.

¹⁰⁶Folker, Sterling Folker, Theories of International Cooperation and the Primacy of anarchy, (2002), P. 47.

¹⁰⁷Folker, Sterling Folker, Theories of International Cooperation and the Primacy of anarchy, (2002), P. 34.

¹⁰⁸Folker, Sterling Folker, Theories of International Cooperation and the Primacy of anarchy, (2002), P. 37.

Traditionally, security studies appears to have had little place for questions of identity or for broader forms of theorizing practice.¹⁰⁹ Through negotiations they must endeavor to manage the effects of globalization and promote their interests, both individually and as a group. Globalization with rules and regulations, however unfair, is still far better than unfettered globalization. With this in mind, countries like ours, need to respect the prevailing agreements so long as they are not revoked. In the theoretical vision that dominated security studies as it developed in the period after the Second World War, and that arguably continues to do so, states are taken as both the primary objects and agents of security.¹¹⁰

When we argue that we should adopt a foreign and security policy which can promote our interests and security in the framework of globalization, we are referring to a policy that can effectively integrate us into the international system. It also means a policy that is based on mutual benefit, give and take, negotiation and mutual respect rather than one that advances unilateral interests. National interest is the basis on which foreign policies are formulated.¹¹¹

On the one hand, the policy should enable us to negotiate as a country and within a group, to modify the rules and the system of globalization so that it takes our interests into account better. Some of the major economic instruments used to further national interests are tariffs.¹¹² Tariffs is a devise for regulating imports and exports.¹¹³ We need to coordinate with others to derive maximum benefits from globalization. While most realists admit that there may be other actors that have gained power relative to the state,

¹⁰⁹ Williams C. Michael, symbolic power and the politics of international politics. Culture and Security, P. 8.

¹¹⁰ Williams C. Michael, symbolic power and the politics of international politics. Culture and Security, P. 8.

¹¹¹Ramku, theories concepts, and issues, THEORIES OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS, P. 58.

¹¹²Folker, Sterling Folker, Theories of International Cooperation and the primacy of anarchy, (200), P. 67.

¹¹³Folker, Sterling Folker, Theories of International Cooperation and the primacy of anarchy, (2002), P. 67.

they contend that state primacy is not in jeopardy.¹¹⁴ States 'unitary actors with a single motive- a wish to survive.¹¹⁵

The national interest of nations keep changing and therefore their foreign policies also undergo changes in order to adjust to the international environment.¹¹⁶ In power terms, a government can be said to be good when it fulfills the following environment.¹¹⁷ Defensive neo-realists suggest that our assumptions of relations with other depending on whether they are friends or enemies.¹¹⁸ Working to have our interests and security protected in the world of globalization does not mean that we work alone. For instance, negotiations to improve conditions demand common action by developing countries. We need to coordinate with others to derive maximum benefits from globalization. We proceed from one and only one premise as we cooperate with others to derive maximum benefits from globalization. While most realists admit that there may be other that have gained power relative to the state, they contend state primacy is not in jeopardy.¹¹⁹ While most realists admit that there may be other that have gained power relative to the state, they contend state primacy is not in jeopardy the protection of our national interest, and security (*exaggeration is added*). Defensive neo-realists suggest that our assumptions of relations with other states depending on whether they are friends or enemies. Defensive neo-realists suggest that of relations with other states depending on whether they are friends or enemies.¹²⁰ According to liberal thinking, the expansion of human freedom is best achieved in democracies and through market capitalism.¹²¹ In a fundamental sense, security policy is a matter of ensuring national survival. As part of

¹¹⁴Folker, Sterling Folker, Theories of International Cooperation and the primacy of anarchy, (200), P. 146.

¹¹⁵Folker, Sterling Folker, Theories of International Cooperation and the primacy of anarchy, (200), P. 41.

¹¹⁶BasuBaki, (2012), theories, concepts, and issues, INTERNATIONAL POLITICS, p. 13.

¹¹⁷Folker, Sterling Folker, Theories of International Cooperation and the primacy of anarchy, (200), P. 13.

¹¹⁸Folker, Sterling Folker, Theories of International Cooperation and the primacy of anarchy, (200), P. 13.

¹²⁰ Burchill Scott, Theories of International Relations, 3rd ed. P. 187.

¹²¹Folker, Sterling Folker, Theories of International Cooperation and the primacy of anarchy, (2002), P. 154.

these transformations, 'domestic' security threats came to be articulated in terms of a threat to the state, threats which were defined in terms of material actions.¹²²

In order to formulate a foreign affairs and security policy that addresses these issues, it is important to identify and examine the sources and basis from which the policy springs. According to liberal thinking, the expansion of human freedom is best achieved in democracies and through market capitalism.¹²³ In a fundamental sense, security is the ensuring of national survival. Other national security issues may be raised only if national existence is ensured. Foreign and security policy must be formulated first and foremost to ensure national security. Issues of prosperity, sustainable peace, and stability and other related concerns then follow. In order to formulate a foreign affairs and security policy that addresses these issues, it is important to identify and examine the sources and basis from which the policy springs. Interdependence and the loss of autonomy it entails may have a 'blanket effect' on the system and interests within it, but if one assumes (as realists do) that security is a nation-state's interest on the system and interests within it, but if one the primary means to obtain that interest), ... the contemporary structural Realists have introduced the concept of capabilities in the place of power. As armed conflict would necessarily predominate in a world of increasingly forced interaction, liberal co-operations theory agrees with realism to a point. When security and economies are in completion, security and its associated behaviors take precedence. The concern with lost autonomy is also derived so some extent from agreement with realism that "the priority of security fosters and thus actually impede progress or even lead to regressive forms of interaction." Many realists thus explicitly present pursuant of the national interest, and realist power politics, as a matter of ethical obligation.¹²⁴

¹²² Williams C. Michael, Symbolic power and the politics of international politics. CULTURE AND SECURITY, (2007), p. 41.

¹²³Folker, Sterling Folker, Theories of International Cooperation and the primacy of anarchy, (2002), P. 154.

¹²⁴ Burchill Scott, Theories of International Relations, (3rd ed.), P. 49.

Development and the building of a democratic system as a basis for policy

The reason why liberal cooperation theory assumes that autonomy is an issue for actors in a condition of interdependence is because the dominant unit of analysis in a condition of interdependence is because the dominant unit of analysis in recent world politics has been the nation-state, and autonomy has been an historical, behavior characteristics of nations-states.¹²⁵ When states fail to comply with rules that encourage co-operation, other states may abandon multilateral activity and act unilaterally.¹²⁶ The existence of national character is a contested phenomenon. For classical Realists, such Morgenthau, the national character cannot fail to influence national power- for, those who act for the nation in peace and war, formulate, execute and support its policies, elect and are elected, mold public opinion, produce and consume- all bear, to a greater or lesser degree, the imprint of those intellectual and moral qualities that make up the national character.¹²⁷

In other words, its foreign policy and goals have to be commensurate with the resources at its disposal so that so that the chances of success of its foreign policy are optimized.¹²⁸ Second, the government has to maintain a balance between its available national resources in the pursuit of its foreign policy.¹²⁹ In the international politics, Liberal like to see all other states as believing in the liberal ideology.¹³⁰ In the past, this has also led to intervention, colonialism and exploitation.¹³¹ in a way that power is the ability to make people do what they would not otherwise have done as mentioned by (2004 Tariku).¹³² Realists and most policy-makers begin with the rational model, in which foreign policy is

¹²⁵Folker, Sterling Folker, Theories of International Cooperation and the primacy of anarchy, (2002), P. 45.

¹²⁶ Burchill Scott, Theories of International Relations, (3rd ed.), p. 49.

¹²⁷BasuBaki, (2012), concepts, theories, and theories, THEORIES OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS, P. 12.

¹²⁸BasuBaki, (2012), concepts, theories, and theories, THEORIES OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS, P. 12.

¹²⁹BasuBaki, (2012), concepts, theories, and theories, THEORIES OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS, P. 13.

¹³⁰BasuBaki, (2012), concepts, theories, and theories, THEORIES OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS, P. 60.

¹³¹BasuBaki, (2012), concepts, theories, and theories, THEORIES OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS, P. 60.

¹³² The author of the F.D.R.E foreign affair policy and national security policy..... being yours, remember all times, **orga.** : to mean him who is incomparable of you all human-beings.

conceived of a actions chosen by the national governmental that maximize its strategic goals and objectives.¹³³ For the Ethiopian people, benefiting from rapid development, means living a life free from poverty, ignorance and backwardness. Interdependence would replace national competition and defuse unilateral act of aggression and reciprocal retaliation.¹³⁴

Whether it is true to believe as liberal institutionalists perception of the international relations being consider as a playing ground for states of the world? The primary interest of the people is to live free from poverty, disease and ignorance. Although the traditional realists recognize different element of power is considered.¹³⁵ Rapid development is not merely important in raising the standard of living of the people, but also a guarantee of national survival. Unless we can bring about rapid development that benefits the people, we will not be able to avoid chaos and disintegration. National interests take precedence over morality and universal ideals and, much to the dismay to traditional realists, recognize as different element of power ... the most obvious element of a state's power.¹³⁶ Therefore, assuring accelerated development and raising the living standard of our people is critical in preventing our country from disaster and dismemberment. This is a fundamental issue on which the interests and the survival of the people of Ethiopia depends.

For neo-realists, power is more than the accumulation of military resources and the ability to use this power to coerce and control other states in the system.¹³⁷ Establishing a democratic order in Ethiopia is the way to respect peoples' and individual rights, affirm good governance, and assure stable working and living conditions. Democracy guarantees that the members of the various nations, nationalities and religions in Ethiopia live in an atmosphere of tolerance. In the absence of a democratic order, national and religious divisions will invariably intensify, the abuse of human rights would result in strife, and poverty would spread further - a recipe for disintegration and destruction.

¹³³Mingst. Karen. A, Essentials of International Relations, (2nd ed. Nov. 2003), P. 119.

¹³⁴Ramku, theories, concepts and issues, theories, THEORIES OF INTERNATIOL POLITICS, P. 12.

¹³⁵Baylis John and Steve Smith, The Globalization of state politics, (2001), P. 185.

¹³⁶Baylis John and Steve Smith, The Globalization of state politics, (2001), P. 185.

¹³⁷Mingst, Karen. A, Essentials of International Relations, (2nd ed. Nov. 2003), p. 185.

Mutual benefits arising out of cooperation are possible because the states are not preoccupied with the relative gains.¹³⁸ The realization of democracy will therefore not only help to attain development and good governance, but ensure national security. Without doubt, democratization is fundamental to safeguard the individual interests of every Ethiopian as well as to ensure the country's continued existence. The continuing power of this way of understanding security is one of the first things that any attempt to put culture and identity at the center of security studies must confront, and much of the field has over the last decade been preoccupied in doing so.¹³⁹

While most realists admit that there may be other actors that have gained over relative to the state, they contend that state primacy is not in jeopardy.¹⁴⁰ Neo-liberals claimed that co-operation does not work when states fail to follow the rules and 'cheat' to secure their national interests.¹⁴¹ Foreign policy as well as national security policy should have the mission of protecting national interest and security. By national interest we can only be referring to the interest of the entire people - no more, no less. Power is a relative concept in the sense that individuals or states exercise power not in a vacuum but in relation to other individuals or states.¹⁴² What is crucial to the interests of the entire people is rapid development that benefits the population. It is in the interest of the people as a whole that democracy and good governance take root. If we are to formulate a foreign policy to protect our national interest, we will have to elaborate a policy that facilitates rapid development and democratization. Our national interest is all about democracy and development. Likewise, our foreign and national security policies need to be essentially based on, and cause the promotion of, development and democracy.

Even under interdependent conditions, society will recognize and grant legitimacy to the state's authority to make decisions on its behalf so long as the state continues to pursue

¹³⁸Ramku, theories concepts and issues, theories, THEORIES OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS, P. 65.

¹³⁹ Williams C. Michael, symbolic power and the politics of international politics, CULTURE AND SECURITY, P. 8.

¹⁴⁰Mingist, Karen. A, Essentials of International Relations, (2nd ed. Nov. 2003) P. 276.

¹⁴¹Baylis John concepts and issues, theories, THEORIES OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS, P. 12.

¹⁴²Ramku, theories concepts and issues, theories, THEORIES OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS, P. 7.

societal interests.¹⁴³ Hobbes and classical realism:..... Leviathan, imagines politics in an early social state of nature on which in the FDRE statehood stratum it is mean as a vitality relying solely on safeguarding the nations and nationalities right as a one the peculiar basis of ensuring democratizations for effectuate the foreign affair policy.¹⁴⁴ ‘Great powers’- states with the capacity to inflict punishing damage, even the threat of death, on any other power in the system- are Hobbesian equals.¹⁴⁵ Relations between fundamentally unequal powers would be governed by another logic of interaction.¹⁴⁶ Obviously, the national security policy must first ensure national existence or survival. Ensuring national security means protecting the population from strife, war and disintegration. If we do not develop and establish a democratic order, there is no doubt that we will not survive as a nation. We must therefore promote democracy and development to ensure our survival. Our security policy cannot have a goal that does not proceed from this premise.

Because it is through rapid development and democratization that the nation can avert strife, it is this same development and democratization agenda that ensures peace. To the degree that development and democracy bring about peace, peace too, is crucial in the attainment and endurance of democracy and development. So when we say that development and democracy are the basis for national security and for peace, we are also affirming in turn, that peace is a prerequisite for economic development and the establishment of democracy.

Interdependence and the loss of autonomy it entails may have a blanket effect on the system and interests within it, but if one assumes (as realists do) that security is a nation-state’s ongoing primary interests, ... then armed conflict would necessarily predominate

¹⁴³Folker, Sterling Folker, Theories of International Cooperation and the primacy of anarchy, (2002), P. 44.

¹⁴⁴Folker, Sterling Folker, Theories of International Cooperation and the primacy of anarchy, (2002), P. 33.

¹⁴⁵Folker, Sterling Folker, Theories of International Cooperation and the primacy of anarchy, (2002), P. 34.

¹⁴⁶Folker, Sterling Folker, Theories of International Cooperation and the primacy of anarchy, (2002), P. 34.

in a world of increasingly forced interaction.¹⁴⁷ Bringing about people-centered rapid development and ensuring democracy and good governance are what our national interest is all about. All other issues are secondary to, and based on, these fundamentals. The goal of our foreign and security policies, formulated to ensure our national interest and well-being, should also serve to promote democracy and development. A foreign and security policy that is worthy of the name is one that is capable of achieving such a goal. However, sophisticated and relevant in other respects, a policy incapable of bringing about development and democracy is of no use. The fundamental goals of foreign and national security policy must be democracy and development.

National pride and prestige as a basis for policy

In power terms, a government can be said to be good when it fulfills the following three conditions: First, the government has to strike a balance between the available national resources and the objectives and methods of its foreign policy.¹⁴⁸ Nevertheless, the sovereign power holding mechanism is pursuing as if the ladder and the climbing person inducing great burden on the shoulder of the patronages while inappropriately snatch the people's sovereignty for governmental power as a mercenary, acting in proxy, here in the F.D.R.E.

Some view protecting national pride as a fundamental foreign and security policy objective. They label countries as hostile or friendly depending on how others have edified or wounded our national pride or prestige. Others regard national pride as a result of other endeavors and contend that it is such endeavors and not national pride per se that should be viewed as an objective. A few argue that countries obsessed with national pride are those living in past glories but desperate about the future. These countries are said to have lost hope in the future and could be looking for a pretext to launch aggression. The place that national pride should be given in the Ethiopian context deserves to be properly studied.

We are proud that we are a people that Whereas neo-realists, such as Waltez, argue that states are concerned with 'relative gains'- meaning gains assessed in comparative

¹⁴⁷Ramku, theories concepts and issues, theories, THEORIES OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS, P. 13.

terms (who will gain more), neo-liberalists claim that states are concerned with maximizing their 'absolute gains'- an assessment of their own welfare independent of their rivals, never succumbed to colonialism and the only nation in Africa to have remained independent. Rightly, so we also deservedly take pride in our historical heritage whose creativity has been much appreciated.¹⁴⁹

The move was forming a strong central government. Consequently, they formed, in the context of a Kingdom, a strong central government known as the Meiji Restoration in 1868. They then began traveling to Europe to acquire new knowledge and learn skills to form a prosperous and militarily strong country. They toiled night and day to improve their technical skills and to speed economic development. Single-mindedly they put aside all elements that would deter them from their path. Gritting their teeth, they did all that was needed to build their dream of a rich country with a strong defense.

In less than thirty years Japan caught up with the great nations of the world and embarked on colonial expansion and rivalry. In 1904 Japan militarily defeated Russia, then one of the great powers of Europe. The Japanese then conquered and colonized the island of Taiwan and later on, Korea. Their success gave birth to greater arrogance, and they moved to occupy the whole of China as a first step to control Eastern Asia. Japan also launched a massive attack against the United States. In the end, this arrogance led the Japanese to a devastating defeat and destruction in the Second World War. The country was reduced to ashes, and faced a debilitating economic crisis falling for a time under foreign military rule. The Japanese, who are known for choosing to die rather than face personal and national disgrace, committed suicide in great numbers. However, the nation did not choose samurai style suicide to avert the disgrace that was visited upon the country for the second time. Instead Japan preferred to make the necessary adjustments to overcome the shame of its second humiliation.

Realizing that the only option they had to gain freedom from foreign rule was to obey orders, the Japanese did as tell. Awakened to the fact that the reason for their humiliation was undemocratic government and militarism, they heeded American instructions to do away with both. Once again, they fought hard to deal decisively with the source of their

¹⁴⁹ Burchill Scott, Theories of International Relations, 3rd., P. 65.

humiliation, in the wake of the ending of U.S. military occupation. They drafted a new democratic and anti-militarist constitution, and abided by it. They commenced a new phase of nation rebuilding. In less than twenty years they managed to become the world's second largest economy. Their new system also became free from undemocratic and militaristic tendencies.

The Japanese experience is specific to Japan and may not be repeated elsewhere. However, one can learn from it. It is hard to match the Japanese in their personal and national pride. Surrender was to both soldier and civilian a disgraceful experience, and so suicide was a common preference of the Japanese to captivity. To die in style by the sword (seppuku) was traditionally honorable. But when they were faced with national disgrace they did not choose to commit collective suicide. Rather, they recognized the source of their shame and worked patiently and indefatigably. By doing so, they incurred the respect of the rest of the world. Countries that are at similar levels of development as ours have a lesson to learn, namely that they need to identify the sources of their humiliation and work single-mindedly to eliminate them.

Similarly, a glimpse at a part of the long and convoluted history of Germany would illustrate the issue further. Historical documents show that Napoleon had caused Germany humiliation at a time when it was fragmented into about 300 small states. He invaded the territory, reducing the number of states by defeating the army of Prussia - the state with greatest prominence. The treaty Prussia signed after the defeat is believed by historians to be a study in humiliation.

The Prussian leaders showed the wisdom to avoid further humiliation by Napoleon who had soundly defeated them with the strength of the liberated French peasantry. They identified the source of their humiliation and worked hard to overcome it. The Prussians realized that their main problems were economic and military, and they began to address these priorities.

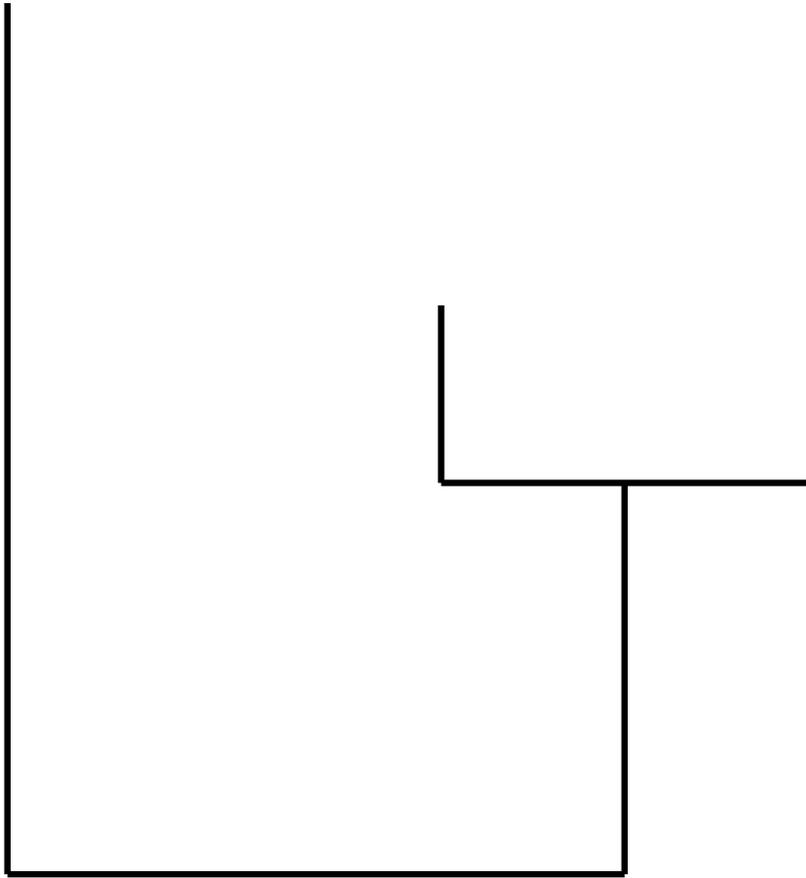
Realizing that the indentured Prussian serfs could not succeed against the liberated French peasantry, Prussia moved to abolish serfdom and universalize primary education, albeit in complex ways. They analyzed and meticulously learned from the war tactics of Napoleon's peasant army. In due course, they managed to mobilize an army unparalleled

in its combat capability. Recognizing that the fragmentation of the single German people had been an obstacle to their economic growth, they first formed an economic union and then developed it into a political merger. They celebrated their success following their victory over France in the French royal city of Versailles in 1871. Their humiliation now gave way to arrogance which then led to another day of yet further humiliation.

The lesson we draw from the Germans is that national humiliation cannot be effaced by posturing and self-destruction, but rather by the identification of the source of the humiliation and by working hard to reverse the situation. The way to overcome national humiliation is to organize the people under one objective and to address the cause of that shame. In the process one cannot allow oneself to be distracted, but rather must keep an unblinking eye on the objective.

Nevertheless, the sovereign power holding mechanism is pursuing as if the ladder and the climbing person inducing great burden on the shoulder of the patronages while inappropriately snatch the people's sovereignty for governmental power as a mercenary, acting in proxy, here in the F.D.R.E government. We need to keep an eye on our objective, shoulder whatever burden and work ceaselessly to get ahead. Through development and democracy, we must eradicate our humiliation. Sovereignty, or the ability to independently achieve goals and policies, begins to erode.¹⁵⁰ If we take national pride as a source of foreign and security policy, we are doing so to utilize it as an instrument of development and democracy and as a guarantor for overcoming national humiliation.

¹⁵⁰Folker, Sterling Folker, *Theories of International Cooperation and the primacy of anarchy*, (2002), P. 44.



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