

Determinants of Foreign Policy: A Global Perspective

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Abstract: *This article intends to explain the need for a country to conduct a foreign policy and some of the prominent definitions of foreign policy that are in discussion for many years. This article will look into some of the common factors that determine the foreign policy of all the countries in modern era. Similarly, there are common factors, both internal and external, of foreign policy in almost every country. Foreign policy making should not only be viewed as operating of internal and external factors but also the emerging developments in the competitive global scenario. Foreign policy has played a vital role in forming public opinion in international politics. Foreign policy conducts different tasks in the study of international politics.*

Keywords: Foreign Policy, Globalization, International Relations, Nation-States, United Nations

Introduction

In the modern times, growth and development of nation-states and increased relations and communications among them has led to the creation and formulation of foreign policy. Emergence of United Nations along with the process of de-colonization that has given the liberty to many countries to exist and function as sovereign states, have further privileged the states with the momentum to foster and maintain relations with other countries. There is harmony, to some extent, among the scholars and eminent personalities of the state on the prerequisite of a foreign policy for every country, since no country would prefer to perform in separation from other countries of the world. A country without foreign policy is viewed as a football team playing the game without any master plan to post the goals, hence all the players of the team are directionless on what role and functions they are supposed to perform on the playground. Therefore, it can be asserted that foreign policy will continue to exist as far as sovereign countries exist and function in the world system. Foreign policy is conducted in an environment of multiple linkages between home and abroad in the forms of NGOs, MNCs, academics, political leaders, interventions of several foreign governments, as well as intense media scrutiny (Chong 2007: 05).

Foreign policy is a method adopted by countries to engage with other countries through discussion and negotiation. It helps countries to engage politically, socially, economically and militarily with each other. When foreign policy is studied, it should analyse the interests of specific nations. Moreover, foreign policy has played a significant role in the process of globalization. It has created a world where there are vital relations between countries. It is not a zero sum game, but has a positive quality. It also has the skills to develop multi-dimensional issues. It is a tool of engagement with neighbours. It connects the powers of the world. It also engages with safety reasons, peace and development of a country. Foreign policy is an important aspect in the affairs of nation-states. It uses diplomacy as a tool to manage a country's affairs. It is a decision-making process. Kenneth Waltz's conception of foreign policy preferences is only marginally

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different. He assumes that some variation may occur, but that change in preferences based on experience and observation (in my terminology, foreign policy learning) will be unidirectional (Goldsmith 2005: 29).

Foreign policy has not been significantly effective. Foreign policy decisions design relations between a country and the international system. The decision-making approach engages with the coalition decision of foreign policy. There lies a lot of difference in the process of a decision taken by an individual and that of a group. Moreover, if there is more than one group involved, then the process would be altogether something else. Foreign policy analysis is the development of conceptualization. Foreign policy decision-making is a mechanical system. It is devoted to establishing legitimacy. The decision-making process has developed the theoretical outlooks in foreign policy.

Definitions of Foreign Policy

Foreign policy has been defined by many scholars in various different ways that underlines their personal perspectives. Though the scholars have differences regarding the definition of foreign policy, they share common views on the fact that foreign policy is majorly concerned with interests and its conduct towards other countries. The role of foreign policy is to attempt to reduce the effects of unfavorable conditions and increase the effects of favourable conditions and actions of other countries. Foreign policy is a complicated and diversified political relation that a country is engaged in for fostering relations with other countries and non-state actors beyond the concerns of its own authority. Its objective is to promote and protect the interests of other countries as well. Foreign policy, by definition, operates in spaces constructed by states (Chong 2007: 38).

A doctrine of foreign policy can be clear and understandable or it may be ambiguous and complicated. It should be understood clearly that foreign policy is not merely associated with meetings among the diplomats, political and formal statement from prominent personalities of the state, and public statements of state leaders. On contradictory to this, foreign policy is focused on the contemporary nature of the goals and objectives of the country and interests and values that are perceived for adequate behaviour in negotiating with other countries. Foreign policy is designed on the basis of number of factors and aspects that define and frame its agenda. It cannot survive and exist in isolation. Foreign policy of any country originates from events of the past that are responsible for enhancing and promoting unity and sovereignty of the country, basic values and foundations based on ideology for growth and development of the country and goals and objectives of the country. It can be understood in the wider spectrum in the formation of the government, economic growth and stability, political scenario, geographical conditions and prevailing environment in the country.

Foreign policy analysis focuses on ethnic and interest groups. American politics mostly overlooks foreign policy events. Foreign policy in the United States has been one of the consequences of ethnic lobbying. The ethnic lobbying in foreign policy makes an influential dimension. "The lack of consensus about the

dynamics behind the formation and power of ethnic lobby groups can be seen as rooted in an unclear evidentiary pattern and an understudied set of phenomena” (Haney 2008: 07).

Exposure to events in world politics, whether through news media or observations of political pundits, gives the clear impression that leaders are active players in international relations and the making of foreign policy (Grove 2007: 01). Foreign policy has played a vital role in forming public opinion in international politics. It is concerned by the influenced public opinions in international politics. Creating a foreign policy needs complex decision making, knowledge of crucial factors and high level reasoning which is not found in the masses. Realists influence the public opinions on foreign policy. Neorealists such as Kenneth Waltz distinguish between theories of foreign policy choice and systemic theories of international outcomes but still echo the sentiments of classical realists regarding public opinion and foreign policy (Foyle 1999: 05).

International relations theories have used the modernist theory and theoretical pluralism in international politics. Foreign policy and its strategies are related to the concept of control. It makes the relation between other countries' peace, coalition, diplomatic relations, implementation of nuclear status, political support etc. Diplomacy is the most important part of the implementation of foreign policy. The democracy foreign policy talks about the value of democracy and the non-democratic foreign policy interrelates is the most collective strategy ability is the inexpert democracy foreign policy making. The emphasis on democratization as a tenet of foreign policy had, however, generally been on liberation and not on control (Pierce 2003: 205).

National Interest and Foreign Policy

For consistency and continuity of a foreign policy, in the modern times, it has to gain credibility and authority with citizens of a country. This can be achieved by continuous efforts for pursuing defined national interests with the help of country's foreign policy. National interests are decided in the term of needs, aims or expectations that are communicated to the policymakers through the citizens of a country. National interest can also be defined in the context of protection against aggression, increasing the standards of living or considering right place in international institutions such as United Nations. National Interests are majorly divided in two categories; core interests and secondary interests. Core interests are more important from the point of view of foreign policy of county. Internationally, there appeared to be a clear mandate for greater American involvement in global affairs, the foreign policy establishment wanted to convince political elites and the American public that it was in America's interest to play a greater role in international politics (Arin 2014: 15).

Foreign policy involves designing, management and control. The countries use diplomacy as an instrument of foreign policy. Foreign policy is the strategy applied in international circles. Foreign policy process is a procedure of decision-making. It is influenced by the intimate dynamics of decision-making. The decision-making approach denied that power is necessarily structured in the way that the elitists said it is, and argued

that the only valid evidence about power had to be derived from a study of action in the decision-making arena (Debnam 1984: 01). Therefore, realists emphasize on political control and decision-making.

The impact of foreign policy making is on culture and politics. The world of foreign policy is a complex phenomenon. It involves in dealings with several countries. These international dealings have become a vital component of foreign policy controls. Most accounts of the foreign policy process either directly or implicitly draw on the metaphor of the foreign policy apparatus as a self-contained system that reacts to stimuli in the external environment, consumes resources, and produces actions and decisions as outputs back into an external environment (Gyngell and Wesley 2003: 21). Foreign policy is foreign relations and diplomacy. It has another dimension of public policy which deals with the outer world. It tries to create an international milieu which is conducive to the national interests of the countries. It is relations between a country's diplomacy and its sovereignty.

Objectives of Foreign Policy

The objectives of foreign policy are not limited to make a shift but also to manage the behaviour of other countries by determining the persistence of favourable actions. Foreign policy is directed by the values and ethics of a country. The countries are guided by the goals and objectives of development at global level. The major component in foreign policy is the reaction to the events in international domain. Foreign policy is the most significant aspect in conducting international politics. The purpose of foreign policy is aimed at prevailing and protecting sovereignty of the country. Following are some of the objectives that are vital in the formulation of foreign policy of a country: foreign policy promotes unity and integrity of a country, foreign policy is aimed at fulfilling the interests of its citizens within and beyond the borders, foreign policy also focuses on maintain the dignity and sentiments of the globe, and it tries to foster relations and develop sustainable relations with all other countries to increase economic and technological co-operation among themselves in order to pursue its own interests.

The study of foreign policy helps to solve the issue of the nation-states regarding the process of planning and executing their activities in international affairs. The foreign policy of a country seeks to make understand the nature and scope of the existing structure of power in the politics of international affairs. It basically attempts to achieve the goal and objective of receiving honour for the country and getting edge over other states at the international platform. It is designed, formulated and implemented to attempt to resolve the issues and problems which are different in nature for every country in the world. The approaches to foreign policy that are theoretical propose that countries across the globe are competing with other for successful and productive decision-making and implementation. Foreign policy is one of the dynamic concepts in the study of international politics, which aims to focus and explain various aspects that are necessary to fulfill the interests of the country. The goal of the foreign policy is to ascertain the interests of the nation-state and their attainment in effective manner.

Determinants of Foreign Policy

Foreign policy attitudes have not been measured or conceptualized in a secure way. Foreign policy is the most important factor of political development. Foreign policy evaluations depend upon the caliber of both think again results and equally the general policy-oriented phenomenon. The impact of foreign policy on political evaluations is its tendency to focus on dramatic events such as wars and crises. There are theoretical grounds to expect the same attribution process to mediate the relationship between foreign policy views and political evaluation in foreign than in domestic or economic policy. At the analytical level the field of foreign policy attitudes can be made by proposing and demonstrating the usefulness of a fundamentally different approach. From American politics, two strands of democratic theory suggest alternative views of the manner in which elected officials respond to public opinion (Foyle 1999: 02).

Kaarbo and other scholars view that “The lack of an overarching government in the international system is one of the most important external conditions that affects foreign policy. Realist theory proposes that anarchy is the characteristic of the international environment that makes international politics so dramatically different from domestic politics” (Kaarbo et al. 2012: 07).

Long-standing concerns in both the US government and foreign relations point out to the normative pressures of the neighboring role of public opinion in influencing foreign policy. As Bernard Cohen (1973) demonstrated in a critical survey of the literature, “the constraining role of public opinion was often asserted but rarely demonstrated—or even put to a systematic test” (Cohen 1973). Although not usually concerned with public opinion and foreign policy, moralist views on this case are alike to the thinking of classical realists. Kenneth Waltz and other Neo-realists decide among theoretical formulations and frameworks of foreign policy and theoretical aspects of global effects, all the same, still bound the minds of classical realists about public opinion and foreign policy. For example, John Mearsheimer observes, “Public opinion on national security issues is notoriously fickle and responsive to elite manipulation and world events” (Mearsheimer 1990).

In contrast, foreign policy analysis does not assume interests; rather, it seeks to empirically determine how decision makers actually define their state’s interests (Breuning 2007: 167). Foreign policy makers advance from the concern of individual interests to the interests of the groups. The domestic and international affairs, their arrangements and their related social details stand as the platform on which the formulation of foreign policy takes place. Foreign policy consideration is one of the most significant ways of approaching and studying world politics. So far, this same focal point has been very much far away from some of the model mechanisms in the study of world politics, which specified the structure and layer of analysis towards better achievements.

Human rights have a topographic point in foreign policy. Baehr and Monique define that human rights are internationally agreed values, standards or rules regulating the conduct of states towards their own citizens and noncitizens. Human rights are, in the words of the Preamble of the Universal Declaration of Human

Rights (UDHR): ‘a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations’ (Baehr and Monique 2004: 03). But human rights change from these ideas of foreign policy in that they do not refer to such practical interests. As Banerjee puts it, Assertive human rights diplomacy, similarly, can range from being what it claims to be to being imperialism or aggression in disguise. One must independently judge the truth of the claims of the instances of human rights diplomacy (Banerjee 2000: 181). Governments that want to defend human rights abroad do not arrange for themselves an easy responsibility. The opportunity gives the force to sustain international support from maintenance and advancement of human rights, and to address the essential problems of law and government. Like most governments, the corporate world also became more capable in the nomenclature of human rights and democracy.

The international human rights values that have been basically developed in the last decades help as a policy for governments in protecting the rights of people of their own countries. Human rights have similarly become part of the foreign policy of many nations. After its independence India became one of the pioneers in championing the cause of human rights. India’s human rights diplomacy existed on the set up of an ethical agreement on activating power within the governing body depending upon the part of the leaders. In the present era of globalization, the ability of natural procedures that give way above national borders has critically achieved better goals. Human rights concerns by policy makers in foreign policy can affect other governments to improve the respect for human rights. Foreign policy concerning human rights must be partly a policy for improving this machinery (Luard 1981: 22).

During the period of 1990s, human rights continued to be a root of doubt in the study of international relations. International agencies responsible for checking the execution of international human rights agreements keep on underfunded, weak and unable to discharge effectively a primary function for which they were made, namely the resolution of conflict. Western policies were changeable, making many governmental and Non-Governmental Organizations to ask, whether human rights were being changed to the improvement of a specific administrative as well as financial agenda or towards better objectives. Several aspects of Western policies raised questions of their good faith, and created dilemmas for NGOs. Although other considerations were paramount, for example, human rights and humanitarian grounds were invoked to justify the Gulf War in 1991 (Picken 2004: 97). The concern about associating the function of force with human rights, various governments and NGOs called for international ways to address military involvements.

Human rights have become the theme of protest and ways of pressure, and the mutual and all-party governmental concerns are located in such a manner that it has become almost difficult to take no notice of the view of human rights in international politics. Human rights are disturbed all over the globe. However, human rights have become more and more a matter of the government and the relationship between human rights and foreign policy. In addition, national variables that might be of influence about the status of human rights in foreign policy will be consistent. The relationship between human rights and international politics has given new scopes towards various aspects of the concept of human rights.

Human rights are close to sound administration and the accountability of the exercise of power for the collective benefit. All societies need attentive citizens and independent organizations to ensure that governments are kept nice and fair, that states are abided by their international agreements and adopt their responsibilities and obligations towards their own citizens with regard to human rights. Western societies to guarantee respect for human rights worldwide could best express their oneness with people in a different place to challenge the differences that describe western domestic and foreign policies in the present era. Crucially, the shape of that integration is finally determined by what the leaders themselves bring to the mix in terms of pre-existing thinking frameworks, specific approaches to the problem of political activities, and model personality characters. Therefore, each leader will follow the principles of identity, ethics, and power in a unique manner, and will process these inputs in individual ways to produce a worldview. This worldview is then the footing for the foreign policy that leaders make.

The involvement towards actions in the world and government provide for clearer impression that leaders are dynamic participants in the international relations and in the foreign policy formulations. Leadership in foreign policy is a condition of sound management. Leadership in foreign policy is an activity of presiding over people to collaborate in the accomplishment of common goals. The accomplishment of an agreement depends upon the caliber of the leadership in foreign policy. Leadership in foreign policy is a propelling power, which directs people towards better goals.

Neoclassical realism is a wider theory of foreign policy. It says that the scope and the goals of foreign policy are based on a wider theory. The dimensions of neoclassical realism has little control and influence over the study of international affairs. Neoclassical realism says that the scope and goal of a nation state's foreign policy are decided by the nation-state's relative factual power towards its gutting of foreign policy. Neoclassical realism builds upon the simple relation between the land and society found in the classical realism without giving up the central understanding of the neo-realism about the controls of the study of international affairs.

Classical realism focuses on the nation states to come together in the achievement of common goals about concerned national power in the field of international politics and the problems that leaders have come across in the loading of foreign policy. There is the shock of moral philosophy on foreign policy issues such as military involvement, diplomacy, legal philosophy etc.

One of the significant issues in foreign policy is the ethical concerns. Since the formation of human civilization, there has remained difficulty towards ethical concerns and influence of foreign policy to better achievements. Moreover, no foreign policy has been totally devoid of ethical concerns. As Christopher Hill points out, even Adolf Hitler's Thousand Year Reich was, in its own grotesque way, 'an ethic pursued through foreign policy' (MacDonald and Patman 2007: 16). But on the ethical issues of foreign policy Brown has a different, altogether opposite view from that of Christopher. As Brown observes, From the cosmopolitan point of view, all foreign policy is, by definition, immoral and unethical, simply because it is

the policy of the state, an entity that is by its very nature immoral and unethical, even if it accurately represents the values and interests of its citizens. From a cosmopolitan perspective only a world government (or perhaps a world revolution) could provide the basis for an ethical politics (Brown 2004: 27).

In the early segment of twenty-first century, the most important ethical challenges were faced by foreign policy. The importance of moral philosophy in foreign policy still carries importance in the twenty-first century as it was of importance in the earlier period. The ethical foreign policy requires the presence of the people and groups with critical reflections towards the regime about its practice. Foreign policy in its ethical use needs that individuals and groups are set to hold serious return towards government actions. The clear expression of an ethical foreign policy has provided the groundwork for others towards making a link between policy and implementation. The government can shut down a business in a matter of hours; it takes much longer for disgruntled customers to have such a drastic effect (Thomas et al. 2004: 58). Ethical foreign policy, practically reflected, has much empirical importance of the challenges that states face at the moment, and it offers normative reasons of the ethical help to those pragmatic developments.

What can one say exactly is the democratic role of this realism? An approximation, which is at the core of democratic thought about whole, as persons, is likewise central to an ethical concern with research and growth. Pragmatism works from the theoretical premises that all individuals are capable of intellect and should have opportunities to lead their lives, and this demands that persons should have a say in human action, which concerns them. The idea that consent should guide human relationships is an assumption common to democratic thought. In pragmatism, this basic assumption drives inquiry towards growth (Cochran 2004: 58).

Ethical concerns in foreign policies seem to be a likeness of the dynamism of the modern politics and help the needs of the outsiders. The main point is that an ethical foreign policy calls for the existence of people and groups who will hold up a vital expression of the government. The claim that such a consideration is necessary is dependent on in part on success of the realist argument that the moral discourse of states in theory heads new interests. The marked look of an ethical foreign policy is an innovative development.

A foreign policy that is ethical in practice needs that people and groups should be ready to pack up a critical reflect on government action. In this respect, the explicit articulation of an ethical foreign policy has provided a framework for others to make a comparison between policy and implementation (Fierke 2004: 144). So, it is clear that the set-up of an ethical foreign policy is extremely challenging.

The foreign policy of a country is defined by several factors. Generally, the components of the foreign policy are of two types; internal determinants of foreign policy and external determinants of foreign policy.

Amer Rizwan (2009) claims that there are several internal and external determinants of foreign policy. Internal determinants of foreign policy include territory, geographical factors, culture and history, economic factors, technology, national capability, social structure, public mood, political party system, leadership,

political accountability, bureau of press and bureaucracy. The external determinants of foreign policy include international organizations and institutions, perception of other countries, standing at international level, public opinion at international level and groupings.

Conclusion

The key features in the field of the foreign policy have become a contest between different comparative perspectives. Foreign policy can be seen as guided ultimately by national survival the related objective of exploiting opportunities that enhance state capabilities and a general predisposition against anything but expedient forms of cooperation with other states (Webber and Smith 2002: 21). The foreign policy of a country is determined by, both, the internal and external factors. Foreign policy making is one of the most challenging tasks. Therefore, the leaders of a country are assigned with the responsibility of designing and framing the foreign policy. Foreign policy making has not been considered as only the functioning of internal and external factors but also the developments that evolve in the comparative global scenario.

Thus, foreign policy is combined with country's long term goals and expectations as well as ambitions of its leaders' to play a significant role on world platform that gives ultimate shape to country's foreign policy. Foreign policy of any country is shaped of multiple internal and external factors. The major internal factors that influence the foreign policy are geographical factors, culture and history, economic factors, technology, national capability, leadership, political accountability, bureau of press and bureaucracy. At the same time, external factors such as prevailing structure of international politics and defense strength of other countries shape the aspirations in the making of the foreign policy. These factors combine together from the elements and their equal contribution contributes the country's foreign policy.

Foreign policy is the moral principle of a country. The countries are guided by the objectives of development in international affairs. A key component of foreign policy is the response to the changing international positions. Foreign policy is the most important element in international politics. The objectives of foreign policy are concerned with sovereignty. So, foreign policy of a country is maintenance of sovereignty and liberty. Foreign policy is the normative dimension of international politics. Values and principles are major factors in foreign policy in international politics. Foreign policy is a dynamic and comprehensive design based on knowledge and experience for conducting interactions and relations of government with rest of the world.

A political system which is democratic in nature takes into account a number of factors while formulating a policy. It keeps in mind the basic rights of the people and its responsibility towards them. The significance of foreign policy is realized when secret intelligence and diplomatic operations are conducted. While implementing foreign policy, global stability and democracy have an important role to play. The elements of foreign policy change and they were not the same for the United States during the Cold War and in the 21st century. The United States often devoted significant resources to economic development abroad in the

postwar period and frequently offered economic advice to foreign governments designed in part to improve the economic condition of their people (Johnson 1980: 09).

While devising the foreign policy, the country should not only take care of its national interests but also it should consider the global welfare. In this inter-twined world each country's action affects the other country. So, the foreign policy should be devised in such a way that it promotes the country's betterment as well as the global good. So, an all-inclusive foreign policy can only make the world peaceful, secure and prosper.

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