THEORETICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF FOREIGN POLICY IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS—AN ANALYSIS

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Received: 09.11.2019 Revised: 05.12.2019 Accepted: 04.01.2020

Abstract:
Foreign policy of a country is formulated to safeguard and promote its national interests in the conduct of relations with other countries, bilaterally and multilaterally. It is a direct reflection of a country’s traditional values and overall national policies, her aspirations and self-perception. Thus, Foreign Policies are the strategies, methods, guidelines, agreements that usually national governments use to perform their actions in the international arena. In contemporary times, every state establishes diplomatic, economic, trade, educational, cultural and political relations with other nations and that compels to maintain its relation with each other as well as with international organizations and non-governmental actors in the international relations. Thus, International Relations attempts to explain the behaviours that occur across the boundaries of states and institutions such as private, state, governmental, non-governmental and inter-governmental oversee those interactions. However, this paper try to articulate the theoretical importance of foreign policy in international relations and how it helps in maintaining relations among the countries at the international level.

Key Words: Foreign Policy, International Relations, State, Bilateral, Multilateral

INTRODUCTION:
In international arena, every nation has always been interdependent. Even after attaining highest level of development every nation has to make some dependency on other nations to fulfill their own interests. No nation can remain isolated. Thus, the framing of foreign policy is a necessary activity of the modern state. It arises from the circumstances, as Lenin made remarked that a state is not an isolated island but a member of a society of states, participation in which is inescapable. Thus, in contemporary times, every state establishes diplomatic, economic, trade, educational, cultural and political relations with other nations and that compels to maintain its relation with each other as well as with international organizations and non-governmental actors in the international relations. Thus, International Relations attempts to explain the behaviours that occur across the boundaries of states and institutions such as private, state, governmental, non-governmental and inter-governmental oversee those interactions. Hoffmann defined that “The discipline of International Relations is concerned with the factors and activities which affect the external policies and the power of the basic units into which the world is divided.”

The sovereign states conduct their foreign relations and interact with each other through their foreign policies and thus, foreign policies in international politics are like a charter containing national interests showing the areas of agreement and disagreement. It explains the ideas with which the state would exert its influence in a very effective way. Foreign policy of a country is formulated to safeguard and promote its national interests in the conduct of relations with other countries, bilaterally and multilaterally. It is a direct reflection of a country’s traditional values and overall national policies, her aspirations and self-perception.

Moreover, Foreign policy involves both decisions and actions i.e., policies. This decisions and actions comprise to some considerable level relations between one state and others. Foreign policy is basically a matter of saying what a state is going to do. Through it, every state decides what course it will pursue in world affairs within the limits of its strength and the realities of the external environment. Foreign policy, therefore, confers a sense of direction to a state. It provides adequate instruments for the convenient journey towards this direction. It creates a sense of purpose as well as a confidence to achieve that purpose. In that context, it acts as an indispensable equipment of every state in world affairs.

For giving meaning and direction in the international arena each nation formulates a foreign policy. Thus, Normal Hill viewed that “Foreign Policy is the substance of nation’s efforts to promote its interest’s vis-à-vis other nations”. The main objective of foreign policy is achieving own interest and upholding national ideology. All nations are influenced (either favorable or adverse effect) by the activities of other nations and try to make some adjustment to fulfill one’s own interest. It has to take into account not only its own objectives, aspirations and problems but also those of other states.C.C Rodee;“Foreign Policy involves the formulation and implementation of a group of principles which shape the behaviour pattern of a state while negotiating with (contacting) other states to protect or further its vital interest.”

Moreover, national interests are the objectives of sovereign states which they pursue with the help of power and through the instrument of foreign policy. In this sense, Hartmann viewed that “International Relations as a field of study is focused upon the processes by which states adjust their national interests to those of other states.” Thus, it is the adjustment of actions of states in favour of one’s own state which George Modelski called “the purpose of foreign policy”. In this sense, George Modelski defines Foreign Policy as “the system of activities evolved by
THEORETICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF FOREIGN POLICY IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: AN ANALYSIS

Foreign policy of a nation changes according to the needs of time. Thus, continuity in foreign policy is not a matter of choice but a necessity. Morgenthalau viewed that all foreign policies tend to confirm to and reflect the patterns of activity: maintain the balance of power, imperialism and politics of prestige.

Thus, Foreign Policies are the strategies, methods, guidelines, agreements that usually national governments use to perform their actions in the international arena. In this regard, Padelford and Lincoln viewed that “Foreign Policy is the key element in the process by which a state translates its broadly conceived goals and interest into concrete course of action to attain these objectives and preserve interests”.

In this sense, Foreign Policy defines the goals of national interest and seeks to achieve these through the exercise of national power. It is through the foreign policy that a nation tries to fulfill its national goals in the international arena. Dr. Mohinder Kumar described Foreign Policy is a thought out course of action for achieving objectives in foreign relations as directed by the ideology of national interest.

Moreover, a state while implementing its foreign policy cannot ignore the rules of International Law as well as canons of International Morality. Prof. FS Northedge, “Foreign Policy is the use of political influence in order to induce other states to exercise their law making power in a manner desired by the states concerned: it is an interaction between forces originating outside the country’s borders and those working within them.”

Foreign Policy making produces an attitude which is not merely suitable for a particular situation rather is to produce an all-purpose attitude that serve for different situations over a long period of time. According to Roger Fisher, “The conduct of foreign affairs is seen less as the exercise of a governmental skill and more as the articulation of a purpose answer.”

Objectives of Foreign Policy: Through foreign policy a state seeks to achieve a variety of objectives. However, the objectives sought to be attained by a state are of various categories, yet there are certain objectives which are uniformly pursued by all states i.e., Political Independence and territorial integrity, economic wellbeing and prestige of a nation. Foreign policies are generally formulated to protect a country’s core values and interest, national security, ideological goals, as well as economic prosperity. It is defined as a synthesis of ends and means. The end is the national interest of a state and the means are the power and capabilities of nation state. The objectives of foreign policy generally classified into three such as short range objectives, middle range objectives (trade, foreign aid etc); and long range objectives (plans, visions concerning ultimate political or ideological organization of the international system).

Short range objectives are also called the core objectives, i.e., core values and interest, territorial integrity as well as political independence. A country has to deal with all the sources that pose threat to the geographical integrity of it. However, political independence means the state is able to play its prestigious role in the international field at its own will. These are the matters related to the basic existence of a nation and every state seeks to safeguard it without any compromise.

However, middle range objectives are related to trade, foreign aid as well as economic progress of people along with raising their life standards. Foreign Policy aims at achieving economic prosperity so as to play more assertive role in international politics. Status and prestige of a state can be secured only if the state is economically stable. Moreover, territorial and ideological expansion through the propagation of ideas, ideologies, systems, cultures and values are also fall under middle range objectives.

Long range objectives are plans, visions concerning ultimate political or ideological organization of the international system. These objectives are indefinite and vague as there is no prediction about the outcome of the pursuit.

However, Foreign Policy objectives can be classified into various pairs of different objectives. Arnold Wolfers has differentiated between Possession goals and Milieu goals. Possession goals are those goals that a foreign policy seeks to achieve in order to preserve its possessions such as an extension of territory or a membership of some world organization; and Milieu goals focuses on those goals which a nation pursue in order to shape favourable conditions beyond their national boundaries. Peace is an example of such goals. However, Milieu goals may only be the means for the pursuit of possession goals.

Apart from these, there are Direct National Goals (includes preservation of national independence and national security) and Indirect National Goals (goals related to the primary benefit to citizens or groups of citizens)

Principles of Foreign Policy:
Every nation has some objectives of its foreign policy and thus adopted certain Principles to realize their respective objectives such as

- Maintenance of territorial integrity with other countries and maintenance of its political independence;
- Acceleration of social and economic development and strengthening its place in the world.
- A nation state must increase its individual strength so that it can secure its foreign policy ends.
- States foreign policy goals must comprise those conditions of International arena so that disruptive effects of power exerted by other states cannot harm the state.

As for example, Principles of India’s Foreign Policy includes promotion of international peace and security, non-alignment, Panchsheel, disarmament, opposes colonialism and imperialism, opposition to racialism in all forms, support to the UNO etc. In respect to these principles, India’s foreign policy tries to achieve its respective objectives in world affairs.

Foreign Policy is the product of an interaction between the decision makers of that state and the environment in which they are placed. There is a close relation between domestic policies and foreign policy of a nation as foreign policy is the reflection of domestic policy of that region. So, Prussian statesman Price Otto
Von Bismark said, “The extension of domestic policy is foreign policy”. However, the relation between the domestic policy and foreign policy helps to establish the importance of sovereign state within the International System. As such, a change in the foreign policy causes a change in the domestic policies of a nation. Holstein mentioned that “A student of foreign policy analyses the actions of a state towards external environment (i.e.,other states) and the conditions, usually domestic, under which those actions are formulated abroad. However, the basic domestic implications for governments in framing foreign policy derive from two sources such as divergent interests within the community, and divergent attitudes amongst officials and ministers. The roots of foreign policy are that animates the external behaviour of a state to be found both abroad as well as domestically”.

Stages of Foreign Policy Decision Making: However, there are various stages in foreign policy decision making such as

- In order to determine the best policy options, every state needs to understand the international and domestic political environment within which foreign policy is made and implemented.
- Another stage in the making of foreign policy involves goal setting. As a state has variety of goals it must be determined which goal is affected by the international and domestic political environment.
- Determination of policy options is another stage of foreign policy decision making. A state must determine what policy options are available to meet the goal or goals in the political environment.
- Another stage is formal decision making option. Foreign policy decisions are usually made by the executive branch of government such as head of the state, head of the government, cabinet or minister.
- After determination of best policy option a formal decision has been made and then the policy must be implemented. Generally, foreign policy is implemented by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or State department, departments of trade, defense and aid.

Determinant of Foreign Policy Decision Making:
Foreign policy of every state is influenced by mainly two determinants; one is international or external determinates and another is domestic or internal determinates. These are generally reflected as factors which provide assistance in shaping and moulding foreign policy. However, the link between international and domestic determinants has always been a widely debated topic since long in the field of international relations, specially in Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA). While some debated that domestic politics and foreign policy are two ‘independent’ concern, others are of the view that foreign policy and domestic politics are ‘interdependent’ and could tumble into each other. But there are some grounds of commonalities between them as the range of impact of both determinates of foreign policies are differed from state to state based on the political environment in which these states located. Sometimes external determinates play more influential role and sometimes domestic factors impacted more.

External Determinates of Foreign Policy:
The main external factors that determines the Foreign Policy of a state are -the international system or power structure, international law, international organizations, alliances, and military strength or arm race.

The International System or Power Structure:
Since the enforcement of treaty of Westphalia in 1648 the modern state system has come into existence. It holds vast, medium and small powers. As the collaboration between these countries takes place at the global level, it provide huge impact upon the framing of foreign policies of those interacting states. The creation of friendly and cooperative relations between states is the chief goal of a sound foreign policy. The world is ever-changing, new happenings and events form new foreign policy problems for all concerned. For example, the effect of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, the growth of Communist Power in China in 1949, the emergence of Hitler in Germany, and the emergence of new states in Asia and Africa are some significant events brought about ample changes in the power structure of the nations and that has influenced the foreign policy of many nations. Likewise, the bi-polar system during the 1980s and after globalisation the whole structure has changed and accordingly foreign policies are formulated.

International Law:
The international law denotes a set of rules that control the relations between states. Cali defined it as “a system of rules created deliberately and explicitly by states. Where states have expressly willed to be bound by the rules”. It is constituted by interstate agreements and treaties. It limits a state in one way or another. In this way, international law regulates the foreign policy of states, and has provided a binding purpose in foreign policy as it offers a legal framework through which states can interact.

However, there has always been argument among International Relations theorists about the consequences of international law. According to the supporters of Realism debated that international law has little or no independent effect on foreign policy. Henkin in this regard argued that “one of the chief aim of foreign policy is to maintain international order so that states can pursue national interests.” Thus realist view asserted that states have the tendency to give priority to their national interests and then sometimes violate legal norms when fundamental interests are at risk.

In contrast, liberal institutionalist viewed that international law can be intensely important. They emphasise that when states sign a treaty or agreements, it supposedly becomes costlier to take actions that the law prohibits and less costly to pursue policies the law condones. The Positivist view believe that, international law is a bind of rules that regulates and constraints state behaviour. Moreover, the Constructivist approach of international law in foreign policy demonstrates the fact that it regulates and provides a path to state’s behaviour, enable them to enter in relationship with each other and thereby limiting their actions; because they are legally bind by customary law and they decide to have legally binding obligations through treaties.

International organisations
International Organisations such as UN, IMF, World Bank have provided a very influential role as a determinates of foreign policy. Proponents of International Relations heavily disagree about the role these organisations play in the framing of foreign policy of states. The realist approach in the international politics has usually had less assurance in the effectiveness of international organizations. Mearsheimer for example, argued that international institutions “are basically a reflection of the distribution of power in the world. They are based on the self-interested calculations of the great powers, and they have no independent effect on state behavior.” They only provide a minimum effect on the foreign policy. This is called ‘bottom-up’ perspective that stress on how the foreign policies of states impact international organizations. However, the Constructivist and liberal institutionalist followed ‘top-down’ perspective and emphasised on how international organizations impact the foreign policies of states. The international organizations helps in modifiers of state.
Alliances:
Alliance formulation is considered to be one of the important aspects of international relations. It is regarded as the basis of security policy. Alliance formation is considered as a plan that states use in the formulation and implementation of their foreign policies. Alliances may constrain the state in some areas while allowing it freedom to act in others. One of the scholars in international relations, Dinesh asserted that, alliances serve as instruments of foreign policies. “The extensive and intensive system of alliances that emerged in the post-1945 period had a big impact on the foreign policies of all the nations. During 1945-90, both the United States and USSR used alliances as the way for consolidating their respective positions.” However, during the height of the Cold War, neither the members of the ‘Warsaw Pact’ nor those of ‘North Atlantic Treaty Organization’ (NATO) could pursue any independent foreign policy.

Military Strategy/Arm Race:
In the accomplishment of foreign policy objectives, states adopt various strategies, and military strategy is one of them. When negotiations not work, conflict is inevitable; in this situation the use of military power is measured as the ultimate tool of international relations. Generally, a state possessing sufficient military strength has greater initiative and bargaining power in the international arena.

Domestic Determinates of Foreign Policy:
Internal environment of a state also influence the nature and course of its foreign policy. Though states varied in terms of socio-economic background, military, economic capabilities, each of their differences directly impact both foreign policy making process and foreign policy decisions.

Culture and History:
Culture provides people with ways of thinking, seeing and interpreting the things around them. It shapes our ideas and serves an instrument for us in analyzing everything happening around us. The approach of a nation to the external affairs is considered by its traditional values and beliefs that have appeared over the years. Historical experiences, like culture and traditions of a state provide ample influence on its foreign policy. Usually, states with integrated culture and common history find it more convenient to formulate effective foreign policy.

Geography, Size, Population:
Geography is a stable, tangible, permanent and natural element. Napoleon Bonaparte rightly remarked that, “Any countries foreign policy is determined by its geography”. Some of the geographical factors are maps, size, climate, topology, Geographic location of the country. In this way, geographical location of a country also determines climate and influences the economic system. Moreover, it has a direct impact on war strategy and also can make a state a land power. Land-locked countries like Nepal, Bhutan, Afghanistan, and Bolivia cannot become economically and politically very powerful nations. So, the nature and role of geography as an element of natural power has a great influence on International Relations.

Economic development and natural resources:
The level of economic development of a country also influences the foreign policy of that country. Many advance industrialist countries play dominant role in world politics, and formulate their foreign policies to maintain such superiority in the system. Such countries like United States, Russia, Germany and France have large resources at their disposal to build military capabilities on one hand, and disperse monetary benefits on other states in the form of aids and loan, with the base aim of ‘seeking allies’ with these states. On the other hand, small states like The Gambia pursue a limited and calculated foreign policy due to their insufficient economic power. Therefore, it can be seen that developing and undeveloped countries remain dependent on these advance industrialist countries to a larger extent to get development loans, import of technologies, provision of health care, access to higher education, and even foodgrains to meet their needs. Thus, accordingly it has to adjust its foreign policy in these economic terms.

Military capabilities
The military strength of a country, also determines the foreign policy strategy of states. The capability of a state to defend its borders against armed aggression plays a profound role in both internal and external policies that states make. Militarily capable states exercise greater independence from external forces in the formulation of their foreign policy.

Political system
The political organization and institutions in a country, also greatly influences the foreign policy of that country. Generally, under authoritarian or totalitarian forms of government, easier and faster foreign decisions are possible because the decision-making power rests with an individual or group of individuals. They are the sole decision makers and as their decisions are made without any constraints or consultations, their foreign policy decisions can be conflictual. It is also lead to a country’s isolation in international politics as happened with the regimes in North Korea and Myanmar. On the other hand, in a state with democratic system, foreign policy implementation tends to be difficult and slow as compared to that of an authoritarian structure. Citizens in this system can freely express and voice their opinion on the domestic as well as foreign policies of their country, making an impact on the policies their government.

Foreign Policy Analysis:
The academic discipline studying International Relation is generally subdivided into two fields - “Systematic” international relations which focus on every aspect of international system as a whole as well as “Sub Systemic” foreign policy analysis (FPA) which give emphasis on actions of state as considered states to be the most prime aspect of the discipline.

Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA) is the study of management of external relations of a nation. It (FPA) involves scrutinizing the external policies of a state which came to be academically established after World War II. It concerned with the study of two major implications. One is how the governmental institution responsible for the formulation and implementation of foreign policy and another is a more ideological one for the democratization of foreign policy i.e., why and how public values and interest should be introduced to every stage in the formulation and execution of such policy. Moreover, Foreign Policy give emphasis on actions of state as considered states to be the most prime aspect of the discipline. Conceptions of foreign policy extend from an external actions of state governments to practices of boundary existing between political communities. However, human rights and foreign policy and the just war explore valuable connections between foreign policy analysis and other aspects of International Relations. In the writings of Walzer and Hoffman there can be seen a good bridge between Foreign policy and International political theory. Psychology also connects the positivist and normative strands in foreign policy analysis. Apart from it, Psychological Approach provides reasonable explanations of actual cases.

Foreign Policy Analysis involves the study of how a state makes foreign policy as well as the study of the process, effects, causes or outputs of foreign policy decision making in either a comparative or a case-specific manner. It also focuses upon the study of diplomacy, war, intergovernmental organization, Foreign policy must be capable of responding with the changing situations. It has been an important part of building nations capabilities through economic development, strengthening social
culture and protecting India’s sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The central area of Foreign Policy Analysis is the study of decision making. Any process of decision making can be examined from the interactions between states or between decision makers involved in it to see the misperceptions of the actors in practice. Moreover, there are two separate camp within the field of foreign policy analysis. One is analytical which is often case oriented with links to history, political theory and the study of institutions. Another is formal, macro that reflected the nature of the political society lying behind any foreign policy system.

Foreign Policy Analysis has some major approaches. These approaches are used to the management of external relations of a state in international relations.

- Traditional Approach
- Analytical Approach
- Ideological Approach
- The Comparative Approach to Foreign Policy
- Bureaucratic Structures and Process Approach
- The Cognitive processes and psychology Approach
- Social Constructivist Approach

Traditional Approaches to Foreign Policy: involves external policies of a state and also focused at what circumstances they are formulated as well as the concerns that drive the policies. It was managed by the high officials of the government. It was virtually distinct from the domestic policies of state and activities of sovereign state. This approach focused on the activity of foreign policy maker on the basis of their experience as well as careful scrutiny of past and present foreign policy. Traditional Foreign Policy was a body of wisdom and insights which could be gained by lengthy study and reflection. The prominent writers on the subject were historians, jurists and philosophers named Machiavelli, Grotius, George Kennan and Henry Kissinger. This approach gets into the detailed substance of foreign policy.

Analytical Approach to Foreign Policy: It focuses upon the study of the elements and objectives of foreign policy. This approach viewed that the means and methods the policy makers adopt in the formulation of foreign policy may change according to the situation but its respective objectives are remaining same. Analytical approach is a complex social process in which policy makers’ principles of foreign policy/policy aims, interests and objectives, power inputs and outputs play an interacting roles.

Ideological Approach to Foreign Policy: This approach holds that foreign policy of a nation is the product of the beliefs and ideological commitment of the leaders and policy makers. It is with the help of ideological principles that policy makers give shape and meaning to national interest and the foreign policy thus formulated to secure national interest. This approach concerned with the democratization of foreign policy with the possibilities for introducing a substantial measure of public values into every stage in the formulation of foreign policy.

The Comparative approach to foreign policy: This approach was influenced by behaviorists. Its main focus is to build systematic theories and the process involved in foreign policy making. This can be achieved by collecting large amount of data, describing the content of different countries foreign policies. It was theoretically informed by James Roeseau “pre-theory of foreign policy”. He identified five sources of foreign policy decisions- idiosyncratic, role, governmental, societal, and systematic variables. However, pre-theory could not be emerged as clear explanations of foreign policy.

The Cognitive Processes and Psychology approach: This approach focuses on the psychological aspect of decision making as well as individual decision maker. Robert Jervis (1968, 1976), Margaret Herman’s (1984) work are the prominent example of this approach. Margaret studied personality characteristic of 54 heads of government and their experience in foreign affairs and their views on world should be focused on to understand their foreign policy behavior.

The Multilevel and Multidimensional approach: This approach was developed over several decades. Like International Relation, there is no specific theory of Foreign policy. However, particular aspects of foreign policy making study can be possible by using different theory of International Relations such as Thomas Schelling’s strategic realism that is belonged to game theory give emphasis on the foreign policy decision making. Realists approach such as studies of balance of power behavior and of deterrence and security dilemmas are the example of that.

Moreover, liberals study on the role of international institutions, complex interdependence, process of integration and paths of democratization. It was viewed that these elements provide impact on their distinct ways to foreign policy. Moreover, scholars from International Society give importance on realism, rationalism and revolutionism on the behaviour of people and evaluate how it effects on foreign policy.

Social Constructivist Approach to foreign policy analysis: This approach focuses on role of ideas, identities and scrutinize the discourse of the inter subjective world to the foreign policy analysis. It helps us to better understanding of theoretical processes of foreign policy analysis. They examine the influence of ideas and discourse of policymakers on the processes and outcomes in foreign policy making. One of the prominent example of influence of ideas is “Strategic Culture”. Snyder defined strategic culture as “the sum total of ideas, conditional emotional responses, and patterns of habitual behavior that members of the national strategic community have acquired through instruction or imitation and share each other with regard to (nuclear) strategy. However, every country try to promote a long ranging set of ideas that using military force in conducting foreign affairs are called strategic culture.

Moreover there are rational approach to the study of foreign policy making.

Rational –institutional approach give emphasis that the study of foreign policy making has been focused on institutions as one can give advance thought to emerging problems or solutions. These problems can be solved by the application of rational thought and organization. This approach gives importance on interagency coordination as a technique for rationalizing the processes of foreign policy formulation.

Rational –Individual approach discusses that foreign policy making also focuses on individuals and the ways in which they perceived the internal and external factors that came to bear on their institutional settings. It attempts to understand the factors in human choice and the logic of administrative structure in foreign policy field by examining the processes of individual and group decision making in institutional settings. The behavior of individuals when they occupy policy-making roles is central to the analysis of decision making.

Ideological –institutional approaches focuses on the role of non-governmental or organized interest groups has always been prominent in foreign policy making. It insists that the various general ideologies should be applied to an understanding of the international community. Generally, ideologically oriented
studies of foreign policy making are non-governmental in nature. A sound and stable foreign policy requires a intelligent public opinion.

The behaviour of every nation in international environment is always conditioned by its foreign policy. While formulating its foreign policy the policy makers take into account the internal and external environment, its national values, the foreign policy goals and decisions of other nations and the nature of international power structure.

Conceptions of foreign policy extend from an external actions of state governments to practices of boundary existing between political communities. Whenever a foreign policy decision is framed and enforced, it manifests some social processes such as co-operation, conflict, neutrality or co-existence. Thus foreign policy can be understood in the context of other governmental activities, objectives, ideology, economic situation, political conditions, general culture of a nation as well as geographical situation etc.

CONCLUSION:
Thus, it can be said that foreign policy decision-making involves a series of processes and possesses different actors. It has always played a significant role in the international affairs of a state. Hence, without a properly formulated foreign policy, a state is tend to lose its position and respect in world affairs and will eventually unable to achieve its aims and basic national interest. In this way, foreign policy in general is about the relations of a state with another and this interaction only takes place at the ‘international’ level and it cannot be ignored in analysing the foreign policy of any state.

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