

Marta Domochko

Ivan Franko National University of Lviv, Ukraine

FORMATION OF SYSTEM OF FOREIGN POLICY PRIORITIES OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH SUDAN

The purpose of the article is a comprehensive study of the foreign policy priorities of South Sudan on current stage. Comparative and descriptive methods were employed; systematic approach was applied for writing the article.

This article provides description of the concept of the foreign policy priorities and their main features, correlation of this concept with such categories of theory of international relations as "national interest", "foreign policy target" and "priority-target", factors, that influence the formation of the foreign policy priority, the official reasoning of the foreign policy priorities of South Sudan, the concept of the foreign policy priorities of the state, formed by scientists of analytical institutions.

Key words: The foreign policy priorities, the national interest, the foreign policy of South Sudan.

In a line with political conditions of the formation of South Sudan as an independent state and the current tendencies of transformation of international relations and the peculiarities of international relations in Africa, identification, formation and implementation of the foreign policy priorities of South Sudan are issues of high priority for the science and practice of international political, legal and economic relations. Since the implementation of coherent foreign policy will promote South Sudan to come over the current domestic and international problems, economic modernization of the state, to maintain international and regional peace and security, to ensure respect for human rights and to create an image of South Sudan as a credible participant of international relations.

At the present stage, the evolution of the foreign policy activity on the African continent is pivotal for Ukraine, due to the potential intensification of relations in the energy, educational and other spheres with African states at the bilateral level and in frameworks of international organizations.

The objectives of this article involve:

1. Identification of term "foreign policy priorities" and defining their essential features;
2. Determination of the official interpretations of the foreign policy priorities of the Republic of South Sudan;
3. To characterize the concepts of the foreign policy priorities of South Sudan, formed by analytical institutions.

The article draws its data from such primary sources as statements of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of South Sudan and the official documents of this state. The researches of such scholars as Brown C., Kirsten A., Navari C., Sullivan M., Malskyy M.Z., Matsiakh M.M., Mogilev V., Lomahin N., Khrustalev M., Tsygankov P. were also consulted. The analysis of Ukrainian doctrine of international relations permits to draw conclusions about the lack of research in the field of the foreign policy priorities of South Sudan.

Providing functioning of a state as a complex political and social mechanism is a critical aim of policy, which could be implemented through executing pivotal issues, set by state authorities, and realization of national interests and state's priorities. Political priorities (lat. prior – First, Senior) – are the most significant ideas and plans, which are used by a government as a pillar for decision making¹. The foreign policy priorities are a kind of political priorities and are correlated directly with the cooperation with other states in international relations.

In the theory of international relations the concept of the foreign policy priorities is partly referred to the concept of the national interests, therefore, the appropriate consideration of both concepts and defining their mutual influence are expedient for better understanding of the concept of the foreign policy priorities. The term "national interest" is always considered in the context of the relationship and interdependence of

¹Policy priority. *Collins English Dictionary*. <<http://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/policy-priority?showCookiePolicy=true>> (2014, may, 28).

states and can be identified as the desired conditions of international relations. On the whole, the national interest is a desirable situation, while the foreign policy target is a desirable option. Thus, the interest and the goal are a kind of a cause, basis for political decisions and are situated in the analytical field of international relations (in a line with C. Wright's concept)¹.

Since, the national interest is a subjective idea, which is interpreted differently by distinctive political groups; there are several approaches:

1. The first system is based on the division of national interests into psychological (national interests are the phenomena, correlated with human consciousness, and express merely the understanding of the needs, not the real situation) and objective (interest derived from the real needs and has an objective character)²;

2. The second system involves the interpretation of national interests by representatives of political realism (national interests serve as an objective, a rational pillar for policy and are based on geographical, economic factors of state's existence and human nature) and representatives of liberalism (keynote of foreign policy is national identity, since national interests do not take into account more subtle factors, that determine foreign policy)³.

In a line with such tendencies of modern international relations as globalization and integration, some scientists conceive, that such process as «dilution» of national interest occurs, in the light of emergence of new non-state actors of international relations and the provision of particular importance to the interests of the global community, while their opponents still adhere to views on the enormous importance of national interest for the efficient implementation of foreign policy⁴.

National interests are the basis of the old politics, inherent in the Cold War and the arms race, while entrepreneurial idealism, reform and reconstruction are the foundation of modern democracy. In fact, the state interest is replaced by a broader view of human rights, the principles of international law, security and prosperity⁵.

Therefore, national interest is a widely encompassing, long-term concept, that largely determines the logic implementation of foreign policy, while foreign policy priority is a more precise, explicit and specific concept, the implementation of which can serve as a tool of embodiment of national interest. Thus, the foreign policy priorities can acquire as priority goals – the purpose for realization of which the entity may abandon any other purpose of this level. Priority goals are either declared or frequently masked by the political elite. Foreign policy priority goals belong to ideal goals (goal-ideal is the top of a hierarchical system of goals, which must be formed in any politically developed socio-political organization in a mature society) that are correlated with certain stage of realization of the significant political goal of the state, under specific situational conditions of international environment⁶.

The foreign policy priorities of the state are dictated by the necessity of the promotion of announced intrastate goals (e.g. democracy, market economy) and periodic declaration of confirmed course of reform⁷. In addition, the identification of the foreign policy priorities largely determines the course of foreign policy, because priorities have a considerable influence on the process of making and implementation of foreign policy decisions.

The foreign policy priorities can look like as a pyramid, where well-formed, widely encompassing foreign policy priority is on the top, and concrete steps towards its realization are situated below and, at the same time, their embodiment approximates the implementation of the first. Thus, the implementation of foreign policy priority appears as a series of foreign policy actions, which can be identified as purposeful actions of one state towards another subject of international relations, the aim of which is the alteration of

1 Мацях, М.М., Мальський, М.З. Теорія міжнародних відносин. *Студентська бібліотека "Читалка"*. <http://chitalka.net.ua/textbooks/1/p_2346.html> (2014, June, 15).

2 Мацях, М.М., Мальський, М.З. Теорія міжнародних відносин. *Студентська бібліотека "Читалка"*. <http://chitalka.net.ua/textbooks/1/p_2346.html> (2014, June, 15).

3 Цыганков, П.А. (2003). *Теория международных отношений*: учебное пособие. Москва: Гардарики, 249.

4 Цыганков, П.А. (2003). *Теория международных отношений*: учебное пособие. Москва: Гардарики, 249.

5 Navari, C. (2000). *Internationalism and the state in the twentieth century*. London; New York: Routledge, 253.

6 Могилевська, В.П. (2009). *Міжнародні відносини*: навчальний посібник для дистанційного навчання. Київ: Університет «Україна», 175.

7 Цыганков, П.А. (2003). *Теория международных отношений*: учебное пособие. Москва: Гардарики, 34.

the modern conditions of relations¹.

The following characteristics of the foreign policy priorities can be underlined:

1. Hierarchy of priorities, which is determined by the principle of the deficit: the less benefit (which can be obtained as a result of the implementation of priority) are available – the more valuable it is. For example, if the economic development of a state is on the high level, then the post materialistic values of a society will transform foreign policy as follows: environmental protection and soft security will be the spheres of high priority in the field of security cooperation with other actors of international relations²;

2. Partial dynamism and flexibility of priorities, which, in turn, would ensure a stable foreign policy course, however, with considering global trends and changes in international relations;

3. Realistic, which is expressed in the possibility of their implementation and an adequate foreign policy course.

In a line with the above-mentioned aspects, the foreign policy priorities can be defined as principles, the main foreign policy objectives, defined by the competent public authorities and relevant officials of high ranks, and on the implementation of which foreign policy should be directed.

The foreign policy priorities cannot be considered as individual concept as two sets of factors have a considerable influence on them: external and internal determinants. The first group of factors includes:

1. Affiliation of a state to a particular region of the world;

2. Modern trends of international relations;

3. Hierarchy of contemporary international relations and the existing of the main centers of power.

Internal political determinants can be elucidated as follows:

1. Internal development of a country, as foreign policy is based on the potential of the state, which, in turn, allows to set priorities in the formulation and implementation of its foreign policy goals³;

2. Specific political events, that have occurred during the formation and development of a state, and determine the level of cooperation or confrontation between states at the present moment;

3. Ruling political power of a state, because adjustment of the foreign policy priorities is possible with its alteration.

For the newly formed states, one of which is South Sudan, the definition of the foreign policy priorities has enormous importance, as the foreign policy priorities are the basis for the progressive development of foreign policy, realization of national interests and intensification of cooperation with other actors of international relations. Considering the formation of the foreign policy priorities of South Sudan, it should be elucidated how external and internal determinants are arranged in this case. The first group of factors affects the formation of priorities as follows:

1. Affording particular political importance to cooperation with African countries and integration processes in Africa in the sphere of foreign policy of South Sudan steams from South Sudan's affiliation to the African region.

2. Such trends of modern international relations as increasing attention to the countries, activity of which is connected with the export of natural resources; regionalization of international relations, the increasing role of the security sector of cooperation (the war against terrorism, piracy) influence formation of the foreign policy priorities of South Sudan.

3. Geopolitical struggle between the U.S. and China for the spheres of political and energy influence in the world and a sharp increasing political and economic role of BRICS lead to more intensive attention from South Sudan through donation high importance to relations with these states.

In turn, the internal factors influence the formation of the foreign policy priorities of South Sudan as follows:

1. Potential in the energy sector, which is illustrated by the presence of significant deposits of oil resources, and problematic relations with Sudan, cause to the increasing role of neighboring countries in foreign policy. Their importance is stipulated by searching of the alternative ways of exporting oil and is expressed in the identification cooperation with the countries of the African region as a priority of foreign policy of South Sudan.

2. The U.S. support of South Sudan in its aspiration for independence and the U.S. mediation efforts

1 Хрустальов, М.А. (1984). *Основы внешней политики государства*. Москва: Наука, 60.

2 Ломагин, Н.А. (2001). *Введение в теорию международных отношений и анализ внешней политики*: учебное пособие. Санкт-Петербург: Сентябрь, 144.

3 Ломагин, Н.А. (2001). *Введение в теорию международных отношений и анализ внешней политики*: учебное пособие. Санкт-Петербург: Сентябрь, 103.

during the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement in 2005, has transformed, at present stage, into the donation of high value to cooperation with the U.S. At the same time problematic aspects (energy and security spheres) occur in relation between South Sudan and Sudan due to the controversial seam of historical past regarding the separation of South Sudan from Sudan.

3. Provided arrival of a new political party to power after the elections may probably led to the correction of the foreign policy priorities of South Sudan.

Formation of the foreign policy priorities of South Sudan started immediately after gaining independence on July 9, 2011 with the definition of entry to the United Nations, the African Union and other international organizations as "strategic priority" for South Sudan.

On July 30, 2011 the State Government considered its foreign policy for the first time, and in the light of historical development and national interests outlined the significant priorities of foreign policy as follows:

1. Respect and adherence to the principles of international law and support of good neighborly relations;

2. Joining the UN Charter, the AU and other regional and international agreements and conventions;

3. Restructuring the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and expansion of diplomatic missions of the state;

4. Attracting foreign investments;

5. Assignment of Permanent Representatives to the UN General Assembly and the AU¹.

After appointment Barnaba M. Benjamin on the post of Foreign Minister, in August 2013 it was announced that the inevitable priority for South Sudan is to achieve economic and social development, and foreign policy should reflect this imperative. However, the following priorities as adherence to the principles of international law and good neighborly relations, expansion of cooperation with other states on the basis of mutual benefit, close cooperation with the African Union and other regional organizations have been confirmed again and the three main areas of foreign policy have been identified: the low level of tolerance with neighboring countries, including Sudan; promotion of African unity, solidarity and cooperation; balance in bilateral relations with the U.S. and China².

Article 43 of the Transitional Constitution of South Sudan indicates that Foreign policy of the Republic of South Sudan shall serve the national interest and shall be conducted independently and transparently with the view to achieving the following:

1. Promotion of international cooperation, specially within the United Nations family, African Union and other international and regional organizations, for the purposes of consolidating universal peace and security, respect for international law, treaty obligations and fostering a just world economic order;

2. Achievement of African economic integration, within the ongoing regional plans and fora as well as promoting African unity and cooperation as foreseen in those plans;

3. Enhancement of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms in regional and international fora;

4. Promotion of a dialogue among civilizations and establishment of international order based on justice and common human destiny;

5. Respect for international law and treaty obligations, as well as the seeking of the peaceful settlement of international disputes by negotiation, mediation, conciliation, arbitration and adjudication;

6. Enhancement of economic cooperation among countries of the region;

7. Non-interference in the affairs of other States, promotion of good-neighborliness and mutual cooperation with all neighbor-states and maintaining amicable and balanced relations with other countries;

8. Combating international and trans-national organized crime, piracy and terrorism³.

Besides the official versions of the foreign policy priorities of South Sudan, scientists of leading research centers also impose their concepts to this issue. According to the concept of the foreign policy priorities of South Sudan, developed by scientists of Centre for Strategic Research and Analysis (South Sudan), aspects of particular political importance in the foreign policy of South Sudan should involve:

1. Formation of a positive image of the new nation;

1 South Sudan cabinet endorses first foreign policy after independence. *Sudan Tribune*. <<http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article39688>> (2014, may, 25).

2 Dhanojak, O. The South Sudan foreign policy. *Sudan Tribune*. <<http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article47712>> (2014, may, 25).

3 Переходная конституция Южного Судана, ст. 43 (2011) (Уряд Південного Судану). *Конституціїи государств (стран) мира*. <<http://worldconstitutions.ru/?p=340&page=2>> (2014, june, 2).

2. Ensuring security and independence;
3. Reliance on international centers of power: the powerful international organizations and key actors of international relations;
4. The use of effective strategies for media, which would help to create the image of Juba as an independent, reliable and prudent player of international relations¹.

Another analytical institute – The Sudanese Society for Political Sciences – has positioned priorities of South Sudan's foreign policy as follows:

1. Relations with the United States are characterized as "political relations of exceptional importance", justifying this by the fact that the United States were at pains for South Sudan to achieve independence and were the author of many peace agreements that led to the signing of the CPA, which results in transformation of South Sudan into a "protégé" of the United States of America;
2. Relations with Uganda are identified as "strategic relationships" because most of the circulation of commodities and human resources come to South Sudan from Uganda. Moreover, cooperation in the security sector is pivotal for both states, as it allows to resist the militias Lord Resistance Army (LRA) and to ensure peace and stability in the border area of Uganda.
3. Kenya is classified as the patron of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, considering its significant role in the negotiation process.
4. Cooperation with the Arab countries (Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Qatar and UAE) may have an impact on the future relationship between Sudan and South Sudan;
5. Perspective cooperation can arise between South Sudan and Israel, especially in the field of water resources².

Despite the recent gaining of independence, South Sudan managed to form its foreign policy priorities in a line with contemporary trends of international relations. Analyzing the foreign policy priorities of African states, it can be summarized that they are multilateral, because South Sudan will focus on cooperation with African countries, with the leading actors of international relations and key international organizations.

Thus, from the above mentioned, the following conclusions may be drawn:

1. The foreign policy priorities can be identified as principles, the main foreign policy objectives, defined by the competent public authorities and relevant officials of high ranks, and on the implementation of which foreign policy should be directed. They are characterized by such following features as hierarchy, rationality and flexibility. In the context of the interrelation of concepts of national interest and the foreign policy priorities, the latter are more accurate and specific concepts, which might serve as a tool for implementing national interest.
2. Formation on the foreign policy priorities is influenced by external determinants (belonging of a state to a certain region of the world, modern trends in international relations, hierarchy of contemporary international relations and the presence of major power centers) and internal determinants (the internal development of a country, the events of historical retrospective of formation and development of a state, the ruling political power of the state, because adjustment of the foreign policy priorities is possible with its alteration). In South Sudan, these factors are as follows: the first group of factors includes South Sudan's affiliation to the African region; increased attention to countries, economy of which depends on export of resources, regionalization of international relations, the increasing role of security sector cooperation (the war against terrorism and piracy); geopolitical struggle of the U.S. and China for the scope of political and economic influence in the world and a sharp increase in political and economic role of BRICS. The second group involves: the potential in the energy sector, a historical retrospective of the struggle of South Sudan to secede from Sudan and gaining the independence; possibility of the arrival of a new political party to power after the elections.
3. Considering the foreign policy priorities of South Sudan, it can be concluded that the key aspects of them are: respect to the principles and norms of international law; South Sudan's participation in pivotal international and regional organizations; attracting foreign investments in order to promote sustained economic development; intensification of cooperation with the countries of the African region. Considering

1 Tesfai, M. Rethinking South Sudan Foreign Policy. *MirayaFM*. <www.mirayafm.net/index.php/special-report/8387-rethinking-south-sudan-foreign-policy> (2014, may, 20).

2 News analysis: South Sudan needs equation on external relations to satisfy all parties. *People's Daily Online*. <<http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/90001/90777/90855/7435222.html>> (2014, june, 30).

the cooperation of individual actors in international relations, priority is given to the United States, Uganda, Kenya, the Arab States and Israel.

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