Foreign Policy Analysis

Conceptual Frameworks

By

Professor Devere Pentony

Spring 2001

Chapter One: Introduction To I.R. 550: Foreign Policy Analysis

I. IR 550: Roles and Responsibilities
   A. The Role of the Student
   B. The Professor: Role and Responsibility
      1. Role
      2. Responsibilities
      3. Availability of the Professor
   C. The Advocate: Role and Responsibilities
      1. Role
      2. Responsibilities
      a. Organizational
      1) Scheduling

viii
Chapter Two: Foreign Policy Analysis: Parts One and Two ............................................. 15

I. Prelude To A Foreign Policy Orientation ................................................................. 15

II. The Argument and Interpretation ............................................................................ 15

A. Foreign Policy Orientation (FPO): My Argument .................................................. 16

B. Foreign Policies Stemming from FPO: The Contention ......................................... 16

C. Structural Impact of the International Political Economic System on Foreign pages ................................................................. 16

III. The Evidentiary Narrative and Documentation ...................................................... 16

A. The Research Experience: Discovering, Organizing, and Recording Information .... 12

1. The Importance of the Model ............................................................................... 12

2. The FPO Outline as Guide to Note-taking ............................................................ 12

B. A Matter of Style ..................................................................................................... 12

1. Narrative Description in Each Category ............................................................... 12

2. Explanation ......................................................................................................... 13

C. Assessment .......................................................................................................... 13

D. Submission of Papers ......................................................................................... 14

E. Format and Other Requirements: A Checklist .................................................... 14
A. Structural Impact of the International System and..........................................................17
B. Objective Conditions.............................................................................................................20
  1. Impact of Geographic/Locational Characteristics ..........................................................20
  2. Impact of Natural Resources ..........................................................................................22
  3. Impact of Demographic Characteristics ........................................................................23
  4. The Impact of the Nation’s Environment on the Foreign Policy Orientation of a
     Country .................................................................................................................................24
     The Domestic Situation .......................................................................................................24
C. Ideational Culture Constructs .................................................................................................25
  1. Informational Factors .........................................................................................................25
     a. Impact of Key International Historical Events on Foreign Policy Orientation.........26
     b. Impact of Current Situation/Events: The Media .........................................................28
  2. Impact of Ideology .............................................................................................................29
  3. Paramount Goals as Aims or Guiding Principles: National Goals ..................................31
  4. Operating Codes of Conduct or Belief Systems: The Causal Factors .............................33
     a. Values and Norms .........................................................................................................34
     b. Attitudes .......................................................................................................................35
     c. Images .........................................................................................................................36
     d. Emotions ......................................................................................................................38
  5. Status Situation and Policies Stemming There From ........................................................38
D. Systemic Culture Constructs ................................................................................................40
  1. The Political/Security System and Policies .....................................................................40
     a. Basic Characteristics of the Political System .................................................................41
        1) Type and Structure .....................................................................................................41
           a) Locus of Authority .................................................................................................41
           b) Security Traditions ...............................................................................................42
        2) Degree of National Independence ............................................................................42
     b. The Current Political Conditions ................................................................................43
        1) Governmental Indicators ........................................................................................44
           a) Unity and stability .................................................................................................44
           b) Citizen Participation ..............................................................................................44
        2) Societal Indicators ....................................................................................................45
     c. The Security System ....................................................................................................46
        1) Domestic ..................................................................................................................46
        2) Foreign .....................................................................................................................47
           a) The Key Players ....................................................................................................47
           b) The Foreign Ministry ............................................................................................48
           c) The Nature of the Military Apparatus, Its Forces, and Its Orientation ..................49
           d) Intelligence Apparatus ........................................................................................40
           e) Covert Capabilities .............................................................................................51
  2. National Prosperity System and Policies ..........................................................................52
     a. Basic Characteristics of the National Prosperity System ..............................................53
     b. The Overall Condition of the National Economy ........................................................54
        b) Economic Capabilities ............................................................................................58
Chapter Three: Decision-making Analysis .................................................................81

I. Abstract ..................................................................................................................82

II. The Narrative Describing the Action ...................................................................82

A. Identification of the Problem .................................................................................83

B. Background to the Problem ..................................................................................84

C. Precipitating Event(s) or Stimulus (li) .................................................................84

D. The Action Decision ..............................................................................................84

E. The Process of Implementation .............................................................................84

F. Policy Outcome .......................................................................................................85

III. The Explanation of the Decision ..........................................................................85

A. Policy Purposes of the Decision-makers: Instrumental and Ultimate .................85

B. Foreign Security Policies: An Outcome of Foreign Policy Orientation ...............61


2. National Security Patterns .....................................................................................63

3. National Security: Threat Assessment of the Current Situation .......................64

C. Status Policies Toward the International System ................................................73

D. Policies Toward the Global Environmental Situation .........................................73

V. Part Two: Cases in the Past; Problems for the Present ........................................74

A. Past Cases .............................................................................................................74

B. Problems for the Present ......................................................................................75

VI. Conclusion ...........................................................................................................76

The Briefing Assignment (Notes Not Permitted) .......................................................76

◊ Pre-Presentation Procedures ..................................................................................76

1. The Key (or Cue) Word Outline ...........................................................................77

2. Script or No Script ................................................................................................77

3. The AVs ................................................................................................................77

4. The Rehearsals .....................................................................................................77

B. The Briefing Presentations ...................................................................................77

1. Checklist of Requirements ....................................................................................77

2. Length of Briefs ....................................................................................................78

Post-Briefing Process ...............................................................................................78

The Question and Answer Period ...........................................................................78

The Debriefing ..........................................................................................................78
B. The Belief System/Causal Factors Influencing the Decision................................. 85
C. Other Influences on the Choice .............................................................................. 86
   1. Domestic Influences ......................................................................................... 87
      a. Partisan Politics ......................................................................................... 87
      b. Bureaucratic Politics .................................................................................. 87
      c. Societal/Objective Conditions Influences ................................................... 89
   2. ......................................................................................................................... 90
      a. Psycho-historical Influences .................................................................... 90
      b. The Influence of the Media ...................................................................... 91
   3. International Influences .................................................................................. 91
IV. Assessment ........................................................................................................... 92
   A. Instrumental: Stated Objective Accomplished? ............................................ 92
   B. The Interpretational: Patterns of Action ......................................................... 92
   C. The Judgmental: Subjective Assessment ......................................................... 93
V. Synopsis of the Assignment ..................................................................................... 93
   A. The Research .................................................................................................. 93
   B. The Paper ...................................................................................................... 93
      1. Paper Format: Checklist ............................................................................ 94
      2. Annotated Bibliography: Must Contain At Least: ....................................... 94
      3. Paper Length ............................................................................................... 94
   C. The Briefing .................................................................................................... 94

Chapter Four: A Strategic Planning Framework ....................................................... 96
I. ELEMENTS OF THE PLAN ............................................................................... 97
   A. The Identification of the Problem .................................................................. 98
   A. The Urgency of the Problem ........................................................................ 98
   B. Goals and Objectives .................................................................................... 100
   C. The Background: Conditions, Events, and/or Actions Leading to the Problem .... 101
   D. Lessons from Past Analogous Cases ............................................................. 102
   E. Projection of Current Trends Without Resolution .......................................... 103
   F. Threat Assessment ........................................................................................ 104
   G. Opportunity Assessment ............................................................................. 105
   H. Positions and Interests of Contending Parties .............................................. 106
II. CONSTRUCTION OF SCENARIOS ............................................................... 108
   A. Guiding Principles ....................................................................................... 108
   B. Proposed Strategy and Tactics for Solving the Problem ................................ 109
   C. Culture Constructs: The Leaders in Context ................................................. 110
   D. Strength and Weakness of Involved Parties ................................................ 111
   E. Obstacle Anticipation: Domestic and Foreign ............................................. 112
III. The Estimation of the Costs and Benefits of the Scenarios ................................. 113

The 550 Book:
Foreign Policy Analysis

xii
Contents
(Chapter One Title Page)
Chapter One: Introduction To I.R. 550: Foreign Policy Analysis

This book provides students with a systematic way to understand the foreign policy of a nation-state. It offers three separate, but linked, frameworks for organizing research, analysis, and writing. The book also contains instruction on the techniques of library research and the oral and written presentation of the results of the research. The assignments are divided into three separate chapters. A chapter on Foreign Policy Orientation/Policies, a chapter on Decision-making Analysis, and a chapter on Foreign Policy Planning. Each includes a framework for understanding, research, and presentation. There is some repetition of central ideas and some suggestions for review of completed work. (Prof. Pentony’s class will not use the decision-making model in chapter three.)

While the tasks set before the student are entirely doable, they are demanding and they require an unusual amount of thinking, researching, and writing. Although the book stems out of long experience in teaching International Relations 550, Foreign Policy Analysis, at San Francisco State and uses some of the basic ideas in past books, it is essentially a new approach based on an explicit theoretical perspective that will be described in detail in the next chapter.

At this point, the author only wishes to observe that the analysis of foreign policy is a controversial and complex undertaking. There are many points of view and methodological positions that divide the scholarly community interested in explaining foreign policy actions. The position of the author of this book will be readily demonstrated below. Here, perhaps, it is sufficient to indicate that the author’s position rests on the belief that human behavior, particularly in foreign policy actions, is purposive. Policy-makers have goals they seek to fulfill. Moreover, foreign policy actions are the result of a foreign policy orientation, internalized into the individual’s psyche as a meaning system and by the historical structure of the international (interstate) system. This position points out that this structure is politically anarchic in the sense that there is no universally recognized governmental authority above the nation state. However, there are international regimes such as international law, the IMF, WHO, and host of other NGOs that serve to restrain and limit the actions of policy-makers and promote some order in an otherwise somewhat chaotic world. In addition, the structure is economically capitalistic in the sense of the profit motive and the market as determinants of international economic behavior.

This position does not reject the observation that politics is, for the most part, a group process, but it warns of the danger of personification and reification. We should not presume that states or nations act or perform as people, or that they are concrete, material things, rather than the abstractions that they truly are. Only people act, albeit mostly from an organizational framework! A basic danger of personification and reification is to limit thinking about the possibilities and/or prospect of changing the way the world works.

This position does not prevent the analyst from recognizing that there are unintended consequences of purposive acts, both for the nation and for the international system itself. Our world came about by purposive actions and by directed chance (as pointed out by Teilhard de Chardin).

The author also suggests that the focus of explaining foreign policy actions and patterns must be on those who make policy in the name of the state. Nonetheless, there must be recognition of the importance of groups and individuals who are not officially responsible for foreign policy actions. Indeed, if we are to understand the nature of the international system (which is a necessity in foreign
policy analysis), we must take into account the actions of multinational, transnational, and international organizations.

It is now time to be more explicit about the three frameworks (mentioned in the first paragraph). They are: the general Foreign Policy Orientation/Policy (FPO/P) Framework, the Decision-Making (DM) Framework, and the Foreign Policy Planning (FPP) Framework. It is the author’s contention that dividing the process of foreign policy analysis into these three, interconnected frameworks will enhance the student’s ability to gain an understanding of the foreign policy behavior of a country in the international system, to understand how policy is made, and to explain why certain actions were taken in the past and others are likely to be taken in the future.

**Foreign Policy Orientation/Policy Model.** It is the author’s hope that the student’s analysis of the foreign policy orientation and resulting policies of a country (the FPO/P model) will set the stage for greater understanding of its foreign policies.

**Decision-Making Model.** This model requires an in-depth study of a past policy, featuring an effort to explain why a certain action was taken. The author hopes that this will promote greater understanding of how a country’s foreign policy orientation caused the action that came to pass. We ask students to choose one of the theories of international relations to help explain whatever patterns they find. Pursued on a more sophisticated level, this approach, in other times and places, may aid our understanding of the workings of the international system. (Professor Pentony’s class will not use this model in its entirety.)

**Foreign Policy Planning Model.** The final focus is on the oft-neglected topic of policy planning, where students and others can take their hand (vicariously to be sure), at grappling with the complex and often confusing world of foreign policy-making. This should improve problem-solving skills and give greater appreciation of the difficulties in making policy.

This book is one of the three textbooks for International Relations 550: Foreign Policy Analysis. It contains the sections immediately below that speak to the roles and responsibilities of the students, the instructors, the advocates (see below for definition), and the teaching assistants. It then goes on to delineate the nature of the three major assignments in the course: The Foreign Policy Orientation/Policy Assignment; The Decision-Making Analysis Assignment; and The Foreign Policy Planning Assignment. Under each of these main assignments, we include a theoretical model and instructions about matters of research, writing, and briefing.

Two additional texts, *Success in International Relations*, which contains ten lessons on how best to accomplish the tasks herein assigned and *Atlantis*, a text written by the author to demonstrate what a good paper looks like in the FPO and DM assignments, round out the text requirements for this six-unit course.
I. IR 550: Roles and Responsibilities

A. The Role of the Student

The syllabus distributed in class points out that the role of the student in the I.R. 550: Foreign Policy Analysis is substantially different from the regular lecture-discussion class. Briefly stated, the student is expected to learn how to do first-rate library and Internet research, to write interesting, grammatical, and analytically sound papers, to present a professional briefing, and to participate actively in each briefing session. In addition, the student is required to have all assignments in on time, to give courtesy, attention, and respect to colleagues when they are “on stage,” to give constructive feedback to other students on their briefs, to ask thoughtful questions during the question and answer period, and to assist other class members to perform to the best of their ability. Finally, the student is expected to strive for excellence in all assignments.

B. The Professor: Role and Responsibility

1. Role

In some respects, the role of the professor in International Relations 550 is different from the normal “lecturer and leader of discussion” role. While the professor(s) may give an occasional lecture, the central job is to design the course and to evaluate the written and oral performances of the class members.

2. Responsibilities

The professor attempts to fulfill this responsibility by:

- Providing a syllabus and other teaching materials that delineate the course requirements.
- Commenting on written work, visual aids, and oral briefs.
- Supervising the advocates and teaching assistants.

3. Availability of the Professor

Although there are these differences in role, the professor is nonetheless available for personal consultation with any student who feels the need. Students should be aware that the advocates and teaching assistants are there as helpers, not evaluators. They are people who know the ropes, but they are subject to the direction of the professor. Therefore, students should not blame the advocates or TAs for the demanding assignments and stringent requirements.

Students who have disagreements with an advocate or teaching assistant should bring the matter promptly to the attention of the professor, so that unresolved issues, personality conflicts, or other problems do not fester or otherwise spoil the critical relationship between students and the advocates and TAs.
C. The Advocate: Role and Responsibilities

1. Role

The basic role of the advocate is to assist all members of her/his area group to perform up to their highest potential in all written and oral assignments. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, an advocate is “one who pleads, intercedes, supports, or speaks for, or on behalf of, another; a pleader, intercessor, defender.” That is a rather apt description of the basic role of the advocate in IR 550. In a less formal sense, the advocate is a trainer. Advocates are asked to transfer their expertise to the members of the group; they are people who know the ropes, have taken the class and received an “A.”

It is important for students to recognize that the advocates are not there to do the work for them, but to assist them in all ways reasonably possible. While advocates receive credit, they are not paid and have other classes and responsibilities so students must respect their schedules.

Perhaps most importantly, the advocate is to act as a binding force within each group. Experience shows that those groups who work together, help each other, and otherwise lend their moral support are the ones who do the best in the course. The advocate has a critical and difficult role in bringing this spirit about, but advocates in the past have been inordinately successful in doing so.

2. Responsibilities

   a. Organizational

A basic responsibility of the advocate is to organize the group so that everyone can perform optimally. From the very first day of class, when students are assigned their geographical areas and their countries, the advocate must be off and running in organizing the group. Organizing responsibilities include:

1) Scheduling

   Since the class runs on a very tight schedule, students must be informed from the very outset when their briefing performances are scheduled, when their papers are due, and when their rehearsals must be held. Since each group has different deadlines (except for the due date of the foreign policy orientation paper), this means that the advocate must arrange a definite day-by-day schedule for her/his group. The instructor provides a flow chart blank for the advocates to fill in the critical dates when assignments are due, but this is not enough. An extended schedule must be drawn up which features specific dates for advocates to review bibliographic and note cards, first drafts of papers and, importantly, first sketches for AV’s.

2) Briefing Day

   The advocate must also organize the order in which the members of the group appear on stage to do their briefings. This frequently involves some psychology, since some people prefer to go on last, while others prefer first. Sometimes, advocates have scheduled the person with the strongest voices and the most staying power to go on last. These choices are a matter for group decision, under the leadership of the advocate. N.B. Students scheduled for briefing are forbidden from excusing themselves from class while they finish up their slides or do additional rehearsals.
b. Consultation

Advocates are consultants. They are there to provide consultation on all aspects of the course. While they have no responsibility for assigning grades, they are expected to perform an important pre-evaluative function when asked by members of the group. This consultative function has the following features:

1) Research in the Library and On the Internet

The advocates know the library and the Internet! They know how to make use of them most efficiently. They are familiar with the bibliographic and note card system required by the instructor. While the professor asks them not to look up material for students, they are responsible for guiding them in the right direction and for answering questions when problems arise.

2) Papers

One of the most valuable functions that advocates can perform is to consult with members of their group on writing their papers. This consultation involves giving advice about organizational and compositional problems that students encounter. Importantly, the advocate is expected to examine and critique the next-to-final version of the paper before it goes to the professor for evaluation. They are instructed to be on the lookout for grammatical, spelling, and other compositional errors and to be particularly alert to problems of organization and analysis. Members of the group should not feel offended if the advocate indicates that paper is not ready for submission.

Obviously, to carry out this function appropriately, the students must submit the paper to the advocates in ample time for them to give it a critical review. Advocates must certify that they have read each paper and judged it ready for evaluation.

3) The Preparation of the Briefing

This is one of the most critical aspects of the advocates’ responsibilities. Our experience is that the advocate can often make or break a briefing. The range of responsibilities here is wide. The following procedures are essential.

4) Assistance in the Selection and Preparation of Visual Aids

Since every briefing must include visual aids designed to cue the speaker on what to say and to reinforce the main points of the speaker’s remarks for the audience, this responsibility is particularly important. Each brief must have computer-generated visual aids. Fortunately, the advocates are knowledgeable about how to prepare them and what we expect.

5) Rehearsals

No students may deliver a briefing without at least two rehearsals in front of her/his advocate. Advocates must enforce this rule. The final “dress rehearsal” must include visual aids and the advocate must certify that this, indeed, was the case.
6) **Staging**

Advocates are responsible for arranging the stage so that the briefer can operate in the smoothest and most efficient manner possible. Maps, audio-aids, and the road map must be so arranged as to give a pleasing and unobstructed view of the entire briefing.

7) **Introduction**

The advocate should introduce each member of his/her group in a professional manner. The advocate must rehearse this as well.

c. **Debriefing**

The advocate is present at the debriefing; at which time, he or she is responsible for putting forward favorable comments on the brief, provided, of course, there was anything good about it. The advocate may offer rebuttal to the evaluations of the professor if he or she feels that they are not sufficiently on target.

d. **Troubleshooters, not informers!**

This responsibility involves making the professor aware of any difficulties the group as a whole, or members thereof, are experiencing in the course. The instructor wishes to know at an early stage what problems are arising, so that some effort to rectify the problem can be undertaken before too much time has elapsed.

e. **Critique of Briefings**

All advocates must make a formal evaluation of each briefing, except when their group is performing. The instructor uses the assessments made by the advocates as part of the information for final judgment. In the past, advocate evaluations have been exceptionally useful.

f. **Questioner**

The final major responsibility of the advocates is to ask searching (and difficult) questions in the question and answer period at the end of each brief. Students should recognize that the advocates are not “out to get them,” but have been required by the professor to ask thought-provoking questions of each briefer.

g. **Briefer**

The advocates may be asked to present a series of briefings on the “Ten Lessons” in the *Success in International Relations* book. These briefings should illustrate briefing techniques, including visual aids, road maps, outline, etc. They feature not only the material in the book, but also augmentations based upon their own experiences.
D. The Teaching Assistant: Role and Responsibilities

1. Role

The primary task of the Teaching Assistant (TA) is to try to make the class operate smoothly and efficiently. Another way of putting it is to try “to make the professor(s) look as if they know what they are doing.” In a generic sense, the TA is chief troubleshooter, blame-taker, liaison with advocates, students, and the instructor, and party organizer. Under the direct supervision of the professor, the TA may, from time to time, be given evaluation responsibility, primarily in the assessment of visual aids. However, the instructor is always in charge of assigning the eventual grade and of having first hand knowledge of the performance. (See below)

2. Responsibilities

The TA has a number of important day-to-day responsibilities. They include:

a. Scheduling

1) Preparing the Daily Agenda

The TA’s job is to keep the professor informed of the scheduled events of the up-coming class session. This includes the important matter of determining who are and who are not going to be briefing on the scheduled day. Announcements of deadlines, meetings, changes in schedule, and other events shall be brought to the attention of the instructor so that they may be made promptly.

2) Preparation of the Briefing Theatre

The TA is responsible for arranging the briefing theatre for the day’s briefings.

b. Record Keeping

The TA is responsible for maintaining the 550 Record Book. The book includes:

- A list of the members of each briefing group including the advocate, complete with telephone numbers and addresses of each person involved.
- A comprehensive class schedule, complete with flow charts of deadlines for each area group.
- An attendance chart, organized alphabetically with room for keeping a record of classroom performance.
- The grade book.

c. Training

The TA shall assist the advocates in teaching the students how to use the computing, AV, and other pieces of equipment. The TA shall be responsible for organizing training sessions and for
supervising their implementation. The TA shall serve as liaison person with the IR Media Lab and with the BSS Computer Center.

d. Evaluation

The TA shall make a formal evaluation of each brief and shall share that with the professor. In addition, the TA may be assigned the responsibility for specific evaluation of the visual aids used in the brief. This includes recommending appropriate point totals for the brief to the instructor. The instructor shall ultimately be responsible for the assigning of the grade.

e. Troubleshooter

The TA shall be available to any members of the class and to the advocates to try to resolve differences and problems that may arise. Students should feel free to consult with the TA whenever matters are not running smoothly.

II. Foreign Policy Orientation/Policy Framework: The Approach

The Foreign Policy Analysis Framework contends that an understanding of the foreign policy behavior of those who operate the machinery of government and those factors that influence them can best be gained by identifying and analyzing the foreign policy orientation of a particular society, including the resulting foreign policies. We emphasize the study of the official leadership. Foreign policy orientation means: the way in which the people of a country have attempted to adapt to their situation in the international system, i.e. how they orient to the world beyond their borders. The explanation for this rests on three keys to understanding:

(1) Culture Constructs. Every group of people in the world constructs a system of ideas, institutions and prescriptions of accepted behavior that distinguishes their groups from others. In our context, this construction leads to a national identity. These constructs thus include the mind-shaping aspects of information from the past and present, more usually called history and the current situation, codes of proper conduct featuring values, norms, attitudes, images and emotions, and a political system and culture with an interleaving of an economic system and culture. In national societies, we also find the construction or importation of an ideology that attempts to synthesize, explain and rationalize the past present and future of a people. An ideology often provides concepts for a set of national goals articulated in a constitution, written or based on custom and usage. These are human constructs based upon perceptions of the true, the good, and the desirable. They result in a worldview toward others beyond their national boundaries. We call this worldview a foreign policy orientation.

(2) Objective Conditions. The second key to understanding foreign policy behavior of a given state is to recognize, articulate and assess the objective conditions or setting which enables or constrains action in the international arena. We isolate the geographic, demographic, environmental, and natural resource situations as the critical variables in this category. In the concept introduced by Harold and Margaret Sprout (possibilism), they do not determine, but make possible actions in the world system Although changes occur through time on the relevance and significance of these factors, they usually exhibit a stability in the short term. Thus they are open to assessment and projection of their impact on the foreign policy orientation of a people, especially their leaders.
(3) **The International System.** The third key to understanding is to recognize the policy shaping aspects of the international political, economic, and environmental system. In most respects the world system is fundamentally anarchic despite the growth of regimes in law, trade, international finance, weapons control, and monetary stabilization. In the past, this has made the assessment of power distribution in its military and economic aspect a fundamental concern of foreign policy makers and analysts.

We emphasize that the cultural constructs lie at the causal heart of this manner of explaining foreign policy behavior mentioned above. They are, simply put, what people believe about their country and its necessity to adapt to the international arena. These constructs include (1) information-based lessons from the past and current scene; (2) operational codes of conduct (featuring an interactive set of values, attitudes, images, and emotions); (3) political and economic institutions and culture and; (4) an ideology and set of national goals. These constructs result in a national identity and are, in turn, influenced by those relatively undisputed facts that we call objective conditions featuring demographic, geographic, natural resource, and environmental situations. The culture constructs give focus and direction to the goals or motives of a people and their leaders and the objective conditions place both limitations and opportunities for action in the international arena.

These culture constructs result in shaping how people give meaning to the events, conditions, and situations, they encounter in life. They are sometimes summarized as the culture of a people. Even though most cultures have a range of behavior that differs from the cultural norm, there is little doubt a national and/or cultural identity exists in a country or region. Culture constructs are not objective in the basic sense of that word. They are perceptions of what is real, true, proper, desirable, and valid. These culture constructs, mediated by objective conditions, thus lead to a propensity to behave in a certain manner in foreign policy.

Yet that propensity to behave encounters an international political, economic, and environmental system that also limits, guides, or otherwise shapes behavior. In combination, the propensity to behave in certain rather clearly defined ways and the impact of the international system determine a foreign policy orientation. Not to be neglected is the necessity to identify the sources of stimuli that bring the foreign policy process into action and to recognize the feedback consequences of actions taken.

Thus, the task of explaining foreign policy actions in the past and of predicting them in the future rests on the necessity of developing a grasp of the foreign policy orientation of the people of a nation, particularly their leaders, and the patterns of foreign policy actions (policies) deriving therefrom.
III. Foreign Policy Orientation/Policy Assignment: The Write-up of Research: The Paper

In the Foreign Policy Orientation model, instructions will be given on the various sub tasks you were expected to perform. We first turn to a very brief discussion of the tactics for putting together your paper and your brief.

A. The Research Experience: Discovering, Organizing, and Recording Information

Instructions about the “nuts and bolts” of your research effort are contained in the companion texts, *Success in International Relations and Atlantis*. Here we wish to express two major instructions:

1. **The Importance of the Model**

   The FPO/P model is the guide to your research effort. We expect you to gather information about each of the categories and make your own analysis according to the instructions in the model.

2. **The FPO Outline as Guide to Note-taking**

   In your research, you are required to use the FPO/P outline as the guide to note taking. The discussion of note-cards in the companion text instructs you on how to do this.

B. The FPO Outline as Guide to Organization

   The FPO/P outline is also the guide to the organization of your paper. You must, however, particularize it so that it fits your country.

C. A Matter of Style

   Those who wish to receive high grades must pay attention to writing style. The instructor insists upon a forceful, well-organized, interesting, and clear style of composition. We recommend that you consult a style manual, such as Strunk and White’s *Elements of Style*, available in the library and the bookstore.

1. **Narrative Description in Each Category**

   Once your research has been completed, the time for write-up is at hand. Your goal is to write a well-organized narrative that puts together your observations and the discovery of the facts, data, and other necessary information in a clear and interesting fashion. A key to writing a coherent paper is the inner outline that helps you structure each of the given sections. In addition, it is especially important to write clear sentences organized into proper paragraphs. **Paragraphs contain one central topic or idea**, usually signaled by a topic sentence at the beginning of the paragraph. **All other topics in the paragraph must relate closely to this topic sentence.**

   Thus, this exercise is much more than filling in the answers to the questions posed in the FPO model below. It should be your effort to put the subject matter together in such a way that it is interesting (not dull and boring), informative, well organized, and analytical. A mere listing of data is not only banal, but it is also lacking in interpretation. This is true of charts and graphs as well. They
rarely speak for themselves. Interpretation, in this context, is explanation. We now turn to this critical aspect of your analysis.

2. Explanation

General interpretations: In asking you to make a “general interpretation” of the data and information you have compiled, we are expecting you to give it some interpretative meaning. Explanation is, in a sense, an effort to answer the questions: “why something happens” or “why something appears to be true.” It is a linking between cause and effect. To be reasonably sound, explanations need to be related to a conceptual framework or theory, which is what the Foreign Policy Orientation model offers.

Thus, the narrative observations in each category must be linked back to the theory that purports to explain the foreign policy orientation of a country. It requires the analyst to put forward generalizations about a particular phenomenon, or set of phenomena, in a systematic and logical fashion and to relate them to the theory.

Thus, for example, if the foreign policy analyst finds a relationship between the information from the past and foreign policy goals as shown by past foreign policy actions, then there is a presumption that this is a valid part of the explanation. These generalizations are to be based on observations or investigations done by the person making the inquiry and they must be supported by evidence. At the end of the Foreign Policy Orientation sub-section of the model, each student will indicate how or if the various factors shape a foreign policy orientation.

Supporting Evidence: Although the nature and discovery of evidence is a complex matter involved with many debates about the nature of social science inquiry, for our purposes, we must be content with the simple idea that one must submit evidence, sometimes called data or information, to support a general statement.

For example, the theory of foreign policy orientation argues that the physical setting of a country may influence the foreign policy orientation of its people and its leaders. The analyst must comb the record of past foreign policy actions to find instances or examples when the physical setting played a role in shaping the foreign policy orientation and consequent foreign policies of a people or of a particular regime. A quotation from a source is not necessarily evidence. If you are quoting a scholar, for instance, you need to provide the evidence or argument upon which her/his analysis was based. Merely writing that this appears to be true is not acceptable. Evidence must be offered to convince others that the analysis is valid and in tune with the canons of common logic. Often these connections or relationships are difficult to observe directly; they must be inferred or otherwise argued. It is the failure to provide evidence that results in the lowering of grades.

D. Assessment

Your syllabus contains the specific information on the grading system, number of points available for the paper, and other requirements and regulations. Here, we need only mention that an excellent paper must not only be well written, persuasively analyzed, and thorough, but also it must be presentable, i.e. neat, free of sloppiness, and attractive to the reader. Papers must be spell-checked and grammar checked as well.
E. Submission of Papers.

We require students to submit the final draft of their papers along with the diskette containing the final draft. Upon receipt of the paper and the diskette, the instructor will do a computer spot-check to determine if the spell-check and grammar-check have been completed. Without completion of both, the paper will be considered incomplete. **Please note that students may not recover the points deducted for spelling and grammar errors!!**

F. Format and Other Requirements: A Checklist

The checklist below is merely a reinforcing reminder of the proper format for your papers. Papers that do not follow this format precisely will be returned ungraded. Note particularly that you must consult the number and kinds of sources listed below.

Title Page.
Table of Contents
Citation Format: Turabian System of Footnoting
Annotated Bibliography: Required Source Checklist
   5 Scholarly Books*
   10 Scholarly Articles*
   5 Sources from the World Wide Web
   5 Periodicals
   2 Statistical Abstracts
   2 Atlases
   2 Government Documents
   2 International Documents
   2 Foreign Broadcast Information Service
Spiral Bound
Typewriter/Computer Written, Double-spaced
Length: 60 pages minimum

* Please note that **scholarly articles and books** must be written by recognized scholars in the field and these articles must appear in the scholarly journals or from university or similarly oriented publishing houses. **Importantly, periodicals** such as newspapers, newsmagazines (e.g. the New York Times, Newsweek and Economist) are not scholarly journals even though the information in them may be valuable and quotable. Similarly the information gathered from the Internet should not be substituted nor used in place of scholarly sources unless they can be clearly identified as coming from scholarly publications and scholars.
Chapter Two: Foreign Policy Analysis: Parts One and Two

The central focus of this chapter is to guide you in your effort to describe and analyze the foreign policy orientation and the main foreign policies and practices of your country. The chapter is divided into two parts: Part One focuses on Foreign Policy Orientation; and the Foreign Policies stemming from the foreign policy orientation. Part Two focuses on past foreign policy decisions and current foreign policy problems. The format for both parts of this chapter includes: (1) a narrative discussion of each heading and sub-heading, (2) an explanation of the material in the section, (3) an indication of some of the sources available to accomplish the assignment, (4) some hints to accomplish the assignment efficiently, and (5) advice concerning the length of each section.

I. Prelude To A Foreign Policy Orientation

Introducing a country to an audience or to a reader requires that some of the flavor of the country be put forward. The reader and the listener want to know more about the country, how it looks, who its people are, and the essences of the country. Dry statistics, insightful analyses, and proper judgments do not, in themselves, provide the flavor of the country.

Assignment

Your job is to briefly introduce the flavor and feel of the people and their environment. Try to capture the essence, the spirit, the nature, and the character of your country. What are the people like? How would you recognize them in a setting of other foreigners? What is it that shapes their national identity? What sights and sounds make it a special place? Are there any monuments, buildings, unusual facets, or memorable events that give the audience a sense of the place and the people? In your paper find ways to incorporate some of these features; in your brief use the kinds of lively aids listed below.

Sources. Histories, atlases, movies, video, slides, interviews, excerpts from a movie, a poem, a novel, a song or a painting or just a vivid description of what distinguishes it from other places and people are the kinds of information you should seek. Anything that helps portray your country to the reader or the audience is usually appropriate (within the canons of good taste).

Hints to Accomplish the Assignment Successfully: Search out an “audience” grabber.” In your paper, it may be a quote from a leader, a poem, or even a diplomat. Most of all get your creative sense going. Do not write this until you have finished everything else and do not be content with a quick reading of a poem or short video. Fill the audience’s need for sights, sounds, and people.

Length of Section: 1 page

II. The Argument and Interpretation

All social science analysis can be put forward as an argument or reasons why the reader (and later the listener) should believe what you have contended in your explanation of the role of objective conditions, culture constructs, the impact of the international system in establishing a foreign policy orientation for the country and mainly their leaders. We also ask you briefly to identify the major foreign policy frameworks and behavior toward security, prosperity, status, and the global environment that stem out of the foreign policy orientation you have argued.
Assignment: Once you have completed all of your research and analysis in sections III, IV, and V, you need to present your hypotheses/argument (sometimes referred to as conclusions) concerning the foreign policy orientation of your country and the foreign policies that derive from the foreign policy orientation of its leaders. In as sense, this is like an abstract except that here you alert the reader to your analytic arguments in greater detail. In Sections III IV and V you will provide the evidentiary narrative and documentation upon which your argument is based. (You need to examine your Atlantis text to see how this is done). Save this section until you have finished Sections III, IV, and V entirely. The purpose is to give the reader a preview of what your analytic effort has found. ¹

No. of Pages: 1 or 2.

A. Foreign Policy Orientation (FPO): My Argument

We have provided the outline in this section to assist you in reporting your findings in the section on foreign policy orientation in a systematic way. This means that you may summarize the findings that you have documented in your analysis of the objective conditions, the ideational and systemic culture constructs identified below.

B. Foreign Policies Stemming from FPO: The Contention

Here is the second spot where you reveal your analytic contentions and conclusions about foreign security, prosperity, status and environmental policies of your country.


This is also the place for a summary in which you indicate your argument about the impact of the international political economy on the foreign policy orientation and foreign policies of your country.

III. The Evidentiary Narrative and Documentation

Reminder of the Theory. Remember that the term foreign policy orientation is an approach to understanding the worldview of a country as it pertains to its foreign policies. It stems from interplay of culture constructs, objective conditions and the impact of the international political and economic system. While fundamentally anarchic in the sense that there is no agreed upon sovereign authority over the nation state, the theory does recognize that there are regimes such as international law, the international monetary fund, the world trade organization etc. that help to place international relationships in a more regular and lawful process.

Thus, the foreign policy orientation of a country is a summation of how a people, particularly their policy-makers, perceive the world beyond their own national boundaries. It encompasses the likely causes for action and the influences on action from the domestic system and the structure of the international system. The foreign policy orientation of a country demonstrates the possibilities and

¹ An abstract is “a brief statement of the essential thoughts” or findings.
limitations for action in the global arena. Before we turn to the influential, motivational, and causal factors, we move to a discussion of the need for an abstract and prelude to introduce the country to the audience.

A. Structural Impact of the International System and
   .  In the discussion of factors that are influential in shaping a foreign policy orientation, you need to understand that “structure is the configuration of power (both military and economic) possessed by all states taken together in the international system” (Professor Andrew Hanami). In the statement of our theory of foreign policy orientation, we have already alluded to the impact of the structure of the international system on the foreign policy orientation of a people and their leaders. We have suggested that the historical structure of the international system leads to the desire for security and prosperity as ultimate goals in foreign policy matters.

   In the discussion of the importance of international history below we point out that the organizing (perhaps one should say “disorganizing”) principle of this European-dominated international system was the idea of nation-state sovereignty. This meant that all independent states in the system were judges of their own acts. That is, the rulers of these nations recognized no other legal authority beyond the head of state, the sovereign, at least in secular matters.

   With the extension of political authority to the people in the democratic revolutions of the 18th and 19th centuries, the idea of popular sovereignty took hold. Now the people were sovereign, at least in some places. Their developing sense of nationalism was the recipe for international anarchy. This recipe put the people of the nation-states on notice that they must depend largely on their own might and skill if they desired to maintain a secure independence. This “skill” included combining with other states in alliances or understandings in order to balance the power of threatening states, as well as arming themselves to deter potential aggressors. An important point to remember is that this international system is a self-help system par excellence, with the definite implication that might made right!

   The growth of strong feelings of nationalism, as rulers sought to promote the loyalty of their “subjects” and eventually of the citizenry, provided the normative and attitudinal base for this essentially anarchic system. These attitudes set powerful limits on efforts to extend the jurisdiction and power of international law and to establish a system of justice in the world. For those guiding the ships of state, it meant that a primary focus of their activities would be to protect the security and enhance the prosperity of the country in the international system. On occasion, of course, a powerful nation or combination of nations was so powerful as to diminish the anarchy by managing much of the international system. A distinguished group of scholars has argued that the world has often had a hegemonic power that worked effectively to bring some order out of anarchic chaos, particularly in the international economic realm. Some of them have argued that this is perhaps the only way to promote peace in the system. Others argue that a form of world government is necessary.

   The international system that emerged from the efforts of the European powers to spread their power and influence to all sectors of the globe resulted in a worldwide capitalist political economy. These Europeans, eventually joined by the Americans, the Japanese, and now the emerging countries of the former Communist bloc, bound the world together with cords of commerce and investment so strongly that, for better or for worse, we now have truly a one world in the sense of interdependent economic relationships. Interdependence has not signaled relationships of equality.
There is no question that the way the international political economy is organized has a definite impact on the foreign policy orientation of a country. It is clear that the international economic system (the international political economy) is based on capitalist operating principles. In very significant ways, the structure, that is the rules of the game of the international political economy, influences what nations can do as they operate in the system. This capitalist structure shapes the role a nation can play in participating in international trade and investment and in designing internal policies to influence the direction, extent, and nature of trading in commodities and making investments. The rules and practices of this system also determine the roles nations may play in the international economic organizations, such as the World Bank, the International Trade Organization, the IMF and various regional counterparts.

Like the power relationships in the world security arena, the world economic arena has been a world of the haves and the have-nots, the developed and the underdeveloped, and the exploited and the exploiters from the outset. Situated roughly on a North-South axis, the rich countries of Europe, North America and Japan (some would include the former Soviet Union and parts of Eastern Europe) came to dominate most of the countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America, and many in the Middle East.

How did it get to be that way? The flowering of the capitalist system with its emphasis on industrial production and its consequent ever-increasing demand for raw materials (primary products) sent the capitalists on journeys of exploration and conquest to countries beyond their borders. They wanted these primary products to supply the machines of their ever-increasing industrial capacity. This tended to place the primary producing countries of the South, in a disadvantageous position in their trading relationships. Their focus on exporting agricultural goods or extractive products from fields, mines, and water meant that they had to pay proportionately more for the manufactured goods they bought than they received for the primary products they sold. While the story is complex, the outlines are clear. The areas of the South emerged dependent on trade and investment from the advanced capitalist countries of the North. In ways reminiscent of the inequalities between urban and rural areas within capitalist countries, the terms of trade ran frequently against the poorer countries on the periphery of the world’s economy.

In one of history’s many ironies, the entrepreneurs who traveled the roadways and waterways of the world in search of products and profits brought the areas of North and South, East and West into ever-closer relationships with each other. However, they also opened the way for the flow of ideas subversive to the Western domination of this political-economic system.

The impact of the world’s political and economic system on foreign policies of a country is strong. Perhaps the most striking development in the middle of the 20th century was the challenge to the traditional view of the inevitability of poverty for the masses. When the peoples of the South became aware that increasing numbers of people in the North lived comparatively prosperous lives, where basic necessities were augmented by luxuries, the stage was set for the era of rising expectations. The consequent rise of national liberation movements in the countries that had been politically and economically imperialized forms a large part of the story of our era. While the era of rising expectations had begun, the era of domination by the countries at the core of the world’s political economy was not over.

The political and economic structure of this division of the world into the rich and the poor is as dramatic as it is clear. It sets the stage for the world’s policy dialogue. No less clear is the impact that this division has on a nation’s foreign policy orientation. In a world of great gaps in wealth and material satisfaction, most leaders, whether from North or South, must now put the prosperity of their
people (or parts thereof) at the forefront of their foreign policy considerations. Indeed there is an entire body of thought, originating in Latin America, which argues that the way the world is organized places those nations at the center of the world’s economy in a commanding position over those at the periphery. These unfortunates seem destined to be in a dependent, disadvantageous position as long as the world marches to the drums of the international capitalist class. This is often called dependency theory. We will elaborate on it in the discussion below.

Realizing that there may be system-induced reinforcements of inequality, some nations are continuously seeking to protect their favored position, while others are more intent on improving their international situation. Both types of nations try to maneuver the international structure in the interest of their country, although not necessarily to the detriment of others.

Indeed, there is another body of thought that argues that the appropriate international economic goal of the future is to expand the “economic pie” so that all peoples may have their share of prosperity and that the system can be structured to promote that possibility. Growth and development are their watchwords. Those scholars who suggest that there are limits to growth modify such optimistic contentions and contend that the world’s resources are indeed finite. These are the ones who sing the praise of “sustainable development.” There are other commentators who argue that only a revolution by the world’s oppressed classes will result in a more equitable distribution of the world’s production.

To the citizenry and their leaders, maintaining their independence in the system became a very important matter. They were forced to pay close attention to the distribution of power, both military and economic. Scholars point out that the distribution of power among the nation-states has created different types of international systems, sometimes labeled unipolar, bipolar, multipolar, and other variations on the polar theme. We believe it is useful to try to determine the “polarity” of the system. Now that the essentially bipolar world of the cold war era has rather suddenly disappeared, how do we classify the system? Do we expect a hegemonic power to rise? If so in what form? These system questions need consideration as we search for the foreign policy orientation of a country.

Assignment

Your job is first to determine the nature of the current international system: Is the current international system a bipolar, a multipolar or unipolar system? Having determined that, you then need to describe your nation’s power position in that system. Is your nation in a relatively independent situation? Or is it a client state or other such condition of dependency that makes it difficult for it to act freely in the international system? In assessing the military aspect of the power position of your country, it is necessary for you to put forward a ranking of the country in terms of its military strength and capability. In assessing the economic aspect of its power position, you must gather comparative data on the ranking of the country, particularly where it ranks in gross national product, per capita national income, share of world trade, and share of world investment (as investor and recipient or perhaps both). You should also ask where the combination of military and economic power places your country in the system.

It is obvious that there are various sub-systems of the international system. We often refer to them as regional systems. After briefly describing the nature of the regional system in which your country finds itself, we want you to locate its power position here as well. Explain why you have made this assessment. Finally, and most importantly, you must provide a clear interpretation of the impact of these systems on the foreign policy orientation of your country in the summatory section.
The write-up linking these factors and the foreign policy orientation of your country should be here and, perhaps, in the summatory section at the end of Part One

The Sources. The sources useful for this part of the assignment can be found in histories of your country, particularly its diplomatic history and in the various up-to-date textbooks on World Politics or International Relations. There you may find descriptions of the nature of the International system today and even the place your country has in it. You should also search for publications that have rankings of countries of the world in various dimensions.

Hints to Accomplish Assignment Successfully. Seek out your IR 104 textbook (if you have one) and read the section on the international system, its historical origins, and the form it takes now. You may wish to leave writing this section until the last, so that it will square with what you have written above. Do not neglect books of rankings. Talk with your other instructors about their perception of the shape of the current international system and your country in it. Because there are limitations on the number of pages for this section, turn to graphs and charts to assist you in staying within the limits.

Length of this Section: 1 to 2

B. Objective Conditions

In the jargon of social science inquiry, the objective conditions are the intervening variables that stand between the culture constructs (the independent variables) and the outcome of actions (the dependent variables). In simplest terms, this merely means that certain factors may impinge upon or otherwise shape the basic reasons why an action is taken or a phenomenon occurs. For the purpose of constructing a foreign policy orientation, it is important to determine the impact of these objective conditions on the foreign policy orientation of a country. These are the influences we must try to identify and analyze.

Every nation has a set of factors that influence how its people perceive the problems and prospects in the international system. Objective Conditions include its geographic characteristics, its demographic characteristics, its environmental characteristics, and its natural resource characteristics. These factors are often important in shaping perceptions of what is possible and desirable in carrying out of foreign policy actions. These factors, some of which change significantly through time, constitute the influences within which policy makers must contend. As you shall discover, they set the limits or offer opportunities for policy-making. As such, they become an important influence on a foreign policy orientation.

1. Impact of Geographic/Locational Characteristics

There can be little doubt that a people’s geographic or physical setting often has important impact on the needs they feel, the threats they perceive, the prospects they have, and the relations they seek. Some international relations commentators have argued that the physical setting even determines foreign policy behavior. Thus, Russian policy makers, discerning no significant geographical barriers between Russia and the dominant powers of Western Europe, were said to focus on a policy of shielding their country from the European world (the Muscovite tradition), while the lack of warm water ports was said to explain Russian expansionist drives to the south and west. Some scholars have suggested that one reason that the United States was isolationist, at times, was that two oceans shielded it.
More careful thinking has modified these contentions by pointing out that the physical setting may provide constraints and/or opportunities for foreign policy-makers, but rarely does it determine a foreign policy orientation. Geography simply makes things possible or impossible. There is no categorical imperative about a nation’s geographic characteristics. The cases cited above offer evidence to support this contention. Since World War II both the former Soviet Union and the United States have used their respective geographical situations to extend their power by land and sea. Clearly, in these instances geographic location of the country were perceived as avenues toward greater involvement in shaping the world, not as reasons to seek isolation. Perhaps, the most important point here is to discover how the geographic setting is perceived. Does it make certain action abroad seem possible or does it provide perceptual barriers to certain other actions? Are mountain barriers, as in Switzerland, important factors in shaping a country’s foreign policy orientation? Does control of water, such as Turkey’s control over the Tigris-Euphrates system, influence the Turks’ orientation toward the Middle East? Do some countries have control of vital waterways that other nations depend upon? These questions suggest a careful look at the role of geography in determining the foreign policy orientation of a country.

Foreign policy analysts also need to be aware of the possible impact of the perception of the vulnerability and/or the potentials of the physical setting on a people’s foreign policy orientation. Thus, it becomes necessary for the student to become familiar with the physical features, with particular reference to location. Attention must also be directed to other critical geographic features such as climate and rainfall, and what that may imply for the way that the people of the nation perceive the world.

Assignment

Your job in this category is also twofold: first, we ask you to describe the main geographic characteristics of your country. This should include information on its location, its climate, its soils, its vegetation, its fauna and flora, its deserts (if any), and its topography i.e. its rivers, lakes, mountains, shorelines, and estuaries. This should be brief.

Second, you need to ask in what ways, if any, have these physical features influenced the foreign policy orientation of the people. Your notes should include your assessment of the role, if any, that geographic characteristics may have had on how the people, particularly the policymakers today view the world. Your interpretations about the role of geographic characteristics will come both here and in Section II where you make the reader aware of your analytic conclusions.

The Sources. Geographic texts on your country, particularly ones that speak to the political geographic factors of the country are a primary source. In many cases geographers have written about the impact of geography on strategic and economic situations of a country. These views may be found in textbooks and in scholarly articles in the various professional journals. Also be certain to examine maps that place your country in spatial context with the world surrounding. Atlases often provide valuable insights here.

Hints to Accomplish Assignment Successfully. Start out with a good atlas that includes or features your country. Ask yourself questions about the impact of this location or other geographic factors may have had on its foreign policy orientation. Keep in mind your section on the impact of international history as you examine it. Then search for articles on the political geography of your country. Use Lexis/Nexis. Geographic journals are likely to be the main source of information and analysis. Always remember to provide evidence (examples) to support your generalizations or conclusions.
2. Impact of Natural Resources

Aristotle contended that humans were political beings; Marx argued that humans were creatures of their economic needs. In international relations both were right in the sense that much of foreign policy action is concerned with the matter of who gets what, when, where, and how--matters of politics and economics. A country's resource situation has obvious impact on how the people of a nation, particularly their foreign policy makers, view themselves, their goals, and the world beyond their borders.

Natural resources, the presence of valuable elements from the land, from the sea, and even from underground, constitute some of the basic elements of wealth or potential wealth of a country. A sophisticated analyst must assess the nature of the soils, the forests, the fisheries, and the minerals found in the country. Whether natural resources are scarce or plentiful, easily accessible or remotely located, they constitute important information for analyzing how a people perceive their goals, problems, and prospects in the world beyond their boundaries. They also are important measures of relative power to influence other nations to do what the policymakers of your nation want them to do.

Foreign policy analysts must understand how the natural resource situation influences a people’s worldview. Once again, your goal is not simply to describe the resource situation, but to interpret what impact the situation has on a nation’s foreign policy orientation.

Assignment

Your job is to seek to understand how the natural resource situation of your country influences its foreign policy orientation. You need first to describe the natural resource situation. We want to know which important resources are scarce and abundant. The analyst especially wants to know the situation regarding critical resources, particularly those that can provide a base: (1) for industrialization (e.g., coal, iron, hydroelectric potential, etc.) and (2) for advantageous international trade (e.g., usually products from field, mines and water). You need to present a reasonably detailed summation of the natural resource situation, particularly in comparison with other countries. Do not forget that you are describing the natural resource situation so that later you can determine whether and how this has contributed to the foreign policy orientation of your country. Please note that your assessment of the connection between resources and foreign policy orientation will come at the end of this section and in your analytic statements in Section II.

The Sources. Fortunately, there are abundant sources of information about natural resources of most countries in the world. Again, a geography text on your country is likely to be an important source. In addition, the world of computing, including the Internet, CD-ROM, and Lexis/Nexis are also available to assist you in your search. Publications from the World Bank and various environmental agencies contain information on natural resources, their location, and even their rate of depletion. Also the publications of the United Nations, of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), and of the American government are often useful. Do not neglect economic atlases, statistical abstracts, encyclopedias, and books of facts, and a host of other sources of world economic indicators.

Hints to Accomplish Assignment Successfully. The greatest loss of points in this section, both in written work and in the resultant briefing is the failure to select information that may truly be relevant to foreign policy orientation. This requires you to do some thinking about your country,
particularly about how its resources or lack thereof impact its ability to operate in the international system.

Length of This Section 1 to 2 pages.

3. Impact of Demographic Characteristics

The demographic situation is mainly composed of the statistical information dealing with the distribution, density, and vital statistics of a country’s population. These vital statistics include, but are not limited to, figures on death rates, growth rates, educational levels, infant mortality rates, caloric intake, overall life expectancy, literacy, technological training, health, and social welfare. These facts feed inexorably into how a people perceive of themselves in relationship to people in other nations. The comparative numbers of physicians and hospitals, numbers of scientists and technically trained people, and even evidence on the so-called “brain drain” are relevant data in this section. Foreign policy makers are often called on to design courses of action that speak to improving the demographic situation of their society.

It is also desirable to attempt to determine the morale, the attitudes toward change and development, and other quality-of-life estimations. These may be more difficult to discover. Here the analyst may have to rely on statements from experts on the country and from inferences drawn from the observation of behavior. Remember that we are interested in these demographic factors only as they impinge upon the foreign policy orientation of the country. Remember, too, that not all of the objective conditions do impact the FPO of a country. This includes demographics.

Assignment

Your job, once again is, first, to describe the situation with data you have gathered. Then you must interpret what relationship this flow of demographic data may have to the foreign policy orientation of your country so that you can put forward your argument in Section II. Remember, this job requires a close look at all of the data you have gathered, particularly on the educational levels (literacy and focus of training), the supply of technologically and scientifically trained people, and the availability of health care to ward off or cure the contagious and debilitative diseases. Also relevant may be, the general orientations of the people toward the work ethic, saving, and the acceptance of change, and finally, the general quality of life in terms of morale, hope, and motives to improve. To what extent is the country utilizing all its human resources? What differences, if any, exist among sexes, ethnic, religious or regional groups? Where does it stand in the world Human Development Index (HDI)? These are the types of questions you should be asking.

To clarify the significance of this flow of data, it is important to provide comparisons with other countries, particularly by ranking in the various categories, but also by concrete examples of a country that is well off and ones that are not. (For most countries, the United States is usually one good comparative base, if only for the simple reason that American students are usually more psychologically aware and informed of conditions in the United States. However, the US situation is not enough, you should seek comparisons with countries in your region, both those who are doing better and those who are doing worse. Do not forget to link the material here to the foreign policy orientation of your country, if indeed there is a confirmed link. Your analysis will come here and, perhaps, in interpretation and argument discussion in Section II.)
The Sources. Many publications by international bodies provide at least some of the information and analysis required here. In addition, the scholarly community, both in the United States and elsewhere, now focuses renewed attention on demographic data as it impacts various aspects of the countries of the world. Of course, data from those publications focusing particularly on your country are likely to be the most valuable, but do not forget that to make this data useful it must be placed in a comparative framework.

Hints to Accomplish Assignment Successfully.

The write-up of this data should not be a mere listing of information, but a narrative that captures some of the drama, the life-threatening or life-supporting aspects, and the hope or despair that these statistics portend. The analyst also needs to remember that the purpose of gathering and writing-up of this information is to ascertain the possible influence the demographic situation has on the country’s foreign policy orientation and the foreign policies stemming there from. Many students fail to heed this part of the assignment and thus receive very little credit. Again since space is limited, this is an excellent place to utilize graphs and charts supported by narrative interpretation, of course.

Length of This Section: 1 to 2 pages.

Impact

4. The Impact of the Nation’s Environment on the Foreign Policy Orientation of a Country

Many experts regard the condition of the global environment as the most important question of our time. There is little doubt of the seriousness of the impact of depletion of the ozone layer, the destruction of the tropical rain forest, the desertification of some of the most valued agricultural land, the health destroying pollution of cities gagged by emissions from the internal combustion engine and coal-burning factories, the depletion of irreplaceable natural resources, and homes and a host of other environmental problems. While there has been increasing recognition among national leaders and the peoples themselves of this seriousness, the tragic fact is that the ability to take action is often limited by other priorities such as economic development and even military expenditures. The countries of the developing world are especially touched by this priority dilemma. They argue pointedly that it is the nations of the developed world that have done and continue to do most of the damage to the environment. They contend that it is not fair to expect them to limit their drive for national prosperity if they must do so without massive amounts of help from the more affluent, more technologically capable developed world. Sustainable growth is a desired outcome, but how to arrive at that goal is fraught with contradictions and lack of resources to accomplish the goal, especially when the developed countries themselves have not fully solved their own environmental problems. Thus the lack of will and the ability to take action provide a somber warning to a world endangered.

The Domestic Situation

In order to get a clear sense of the impact of the environmental situation on a country it is necessary to discover the situation itself. Outstanding topics to focus upon include the situation in air quality, water quality, deforestation, desertification, gaseous emissions, waterway pollution, and any other topics especially important to your country. Of course, your country may not have all of these, but you should assess the situation to determine which are the most important. The analyst is
especially interested in the policies, if any, that a country is following to meet environmental problems.

**Assignment**

*Your task here is first to identify the environmental problems of your country and then to determine what actions (policies) if any are being taken to remedy them. You need to make an assessment of the success or failure and the sense of priority toward solving or mitigating the environmental problems. In other words, we are asking you to identify the connection between the environmental situation and the foreign policy orientation of the leaders of your country. The write-up linking these factors and the foreign policy orientation of your country should be here and, perhaps, as part of the argument in Section II.*

**Sources.** Fortunately, the problem of the global environment has resulted in increasing attention over the past several decades. Thus there are many scholarly articles and books aimed at explaining the danger to the world and offering possible solutions. While you may not find many such scholarly works for your country, we have selected countries that we know have some good discussions of the environmental problem. You can also find discussion of their problems in the various international conferences on the environment. Remember, of course, that the foreign policies stemming from these environmental problems will be discussed in Section IV of your assignment.

**Hints to Accomplish this Assignment Successfully.** First, do a careful bibliographic search to discover the environmental problems of your country. The library resources are more than adequate and now the World Wide Web provides an additional source. Be careful of the web, however. Often the discussion is not by recognized experts and sometimes the analysis is faulty. We only want scholarly sources for this (and all of the other) sections.

**C. Ideational Culture Constructs**

In the presentation of the theory of foreign policy orientation and policies stemming therefrom we have indicated that these culture constructs lie at the heart of explaining the foreign policy orientation of a country, that is its governmental leaders. We have divided this discussion into two parts: The Ideational Culture Constructs, that is the abstract ideas that people have in their heads, and the Systemic Culture Constructs, that is the great systems of action we label the Security System and the Prosperity System. We begin with a discussion of the role of information in determining foreign policy orientation both in the past and currently through the media. We then proceed to an examination of national goals, ideology, national mindsets that include values, attitudes, images and emotions. The next to final discussion (and assignment) focuses on political and economic system complete with a discussion of security and prosperity policies both domestic and foreign.

**1. Informational Factors**

Information from the past and present quite obviously shapes the way that people, particularly their leaders, view the world. In a sense, information streaming into the minds of the people of a nation provides the data that leads to their interpretation of the nature of the world around them. We
look first at the impact of key historical events and then at the informational sources that shape perceptions of the present.

a. Impact of Key International Historical Events on Foreign Policy Orientation

The international history of a country is often a powerful influence in forming a foreign policy orientation. We refer to the fact that past experiences in the international system powerfully shape a people’s perception of the present system. In part, this past experience with the world provides the logic for human behavior as people encounter the problems and possibilities of today. There is no doubt that the past has shaped evolving cultural patterns or structures. These patterns are mediated by socialization practices that come into the human psyche through information from the past, i.e. through history, written and oral. People think as they do about other peoples beyond their borders, in part, from their socialization experiences in home, school, and similar institutions and relationships.

Below we describe briefly how the international system developed. Here we suggest how that past has shaped the psyches of the attentive publics concerning the world they live in. First let us remember that: once the present international system emerged from the consolidation of political units in Europe, culminating in the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, the modern era began. Indeed, this system is often termed The Westphalian System. The basic organizing idea of that system is the idea of sovereign equality of states. This meant that citizens and rulers recognized no temporal authority beyond the level of the nation. This became the juridical and practical basis for the system that lasts to this day.

The European’s voyages of “discovery,” their subsequent adventures in colonization, and their willingness to imperialize most of the non-European world unintentionally spread this idea of equality of nations to the entire world. Ironically, this happened at the very time the Europeans were subordinating these “overseas” possessions to their imperialistic system. The forced departure from the imperialized lands at the end of World War II brought this juridical “equality of states” closer to reality.

As the nation-state system solidified, boundaries became sharpened, and national governments became fixtures in the international system. Records of relationships among nations became more important and more systematic. Professional historians, not unknown in earlier times, proliferated as the call to chronicle and interpret events and personalities of the past became louder and potentially more influential.

With the arrival of mass public education and the desire to create citizens out of subjects, the telling of historical tales became more widespread. Rulers realized that a retelling of a nation’s history, complete with the singing of historical praise for the nation’s heroes and heroines, could be very useful tools in generating the unity and loyalty necessary to provide legitimacy to the national government. In those societies without a written tradition, history was not neglected either. Oral history, in the form of sagas and other tales from a people’s past were also part of the socialization process.

Not only was history seen as a nation-building device, but also power elites and governmental bureaucrats could see the advantage of learning from past mistakes and successes in relations with other nations. Thus, they, too, began to reflect on and generalize about those foreign policy strategies that had been successful and those that had failed. Diplomatic historians, memoirs, policy reviews,
and scholarly seminars focused on what could be learned from a recounting of the past. This attention to history is recognition that often a useful way to develop current policy is to evaluate past efforts to solve problems similar to the ones currently faced. Some commentators contend that the leaders of a country need to be well schooled in history, particularly their own country’s international history. They hope that the record of successes and failures of the past will guide decision-makers to make better decisions in the future.

For our purposes, the importance of history in the effort to determine a people’s foreign policy orientation is not primarily to instruct leaders, but to discover what historical experiences, mainly outside the country have shaped a people’s perception of themselves and their outlook toward other peoples. It is out of these shared remembrances of times past that a people’s sense of themselves as a cultural unit arises and they obtain a national identity. More particularly, the nation-shaping events, such as defeats, conquests, invasions, emigrations, immigrations, imperialism, and colonialism, serve to develop certain attitudes about international relations that imprint on the psyches of many citizens and lead them to make judgments about the present. Witness now the role history plays in the debacle underway in the former Yugoslavia. Old wounds, old hostilities, old grievances and old enmities come once again to the forefront and result in such barbaric policies as “ethnic cleansing.” Thus does history play a role in shaping our views of other people.

Assignment

Your job is to identify and describe the outstanding historical events that appear to have had an impact on the foreign policy orientation of your country. In a sense, you are to construct a brief diplomatic history of your country. Remember you will be asked to interpret what impact, if any, historical relationships with other nations played in influencing the foreign policy orientation of your country’s leaders? Thus this may be part of your argument in Section II. Be warned that students frequently confuse this part of the assignment by focusing on the internal history of the country while failing to emphasize its international history. Your bibliography must include at least one diplomatic history of your country.

The Sources. The sources for this section are found mainly in general histories and special diplomatic histories of your country. From time to time, experts on the foreign policy of your country will write an article or even a book that focuses on foreign policy in historical perspective. Should you find this kind of source, you will be fortunate, but you will not be home free. You must still make connection from this past to the present foreign policy orientation.

Hints to Accomplish Assignment Successfully

To accomplish this task search for scholarly works, books and articles, particularly the diplomatic history of your country. Keep lookout for those historical events that may be cited later as influential on the policymakers in your country’s foreign policy orientation. Be certain to note evidence to support your interpretation in the last part of the foreign policy orientation section. Do not try to be comprehensive. Make choices about the most important historical international events and experiences likely to have had an influence on foreign policy orientation.

Length of This Section: 5 to 6 pages.
b. Impact of Current Situation/Events: The Media

Not only the information gained from a nation’s history, but also the information flooding in from situations and events on the current scene shape the worldview of a people and their leaders. Most frequently, information comes to the attentive public through the media. Leaders, of course often have information gathering official sources, both open and covert, which shape their perceptions of the current international scene. Foreign policy analysts often neglect the impact of the media on foreign policy. Yet, few would deny its importance in supplying the people of the country with the current information on which many of their perceptions and attitudes rest. Since the role of the media, i.e. the press, the journals of opinion, radio, and television, has now become a matter of more widespread inquiry in the scholarly community; the foreign policy analyst needs to tap these studies. This will help in the effort to see how media may shape what the people of a country think about the world around them. It is now trite, but nonetheless true, to comment that the images from the media, particularly television and radio, bombard the psyches of the attentive publics throughout the world and influence how they perceive the other nations in the system.

We live in an era of "instant TV replay" and the transistor radio where images of an uprising in Azerbaijan, a demonstration in Northern Ireland, a rolling of tanks into Tiananmen Square, an intifada in the territories occupied by Israel, or a summit visit in Washington become almost immediately available to millions of people all over the world. In short, wherever a foreign policy crisis pops up, the world's media are likely to be there, reporting their versions of the events. In these days, the viewers, listeners, and readers around the world are quickly brought into the eye of the storm and often given play-by-play accounts and interpretations of the action. The impact of the media on worldviews, and the consequent foreign policy actions influenced by them, is often direct and identifiable.

Such was the case for American foreign policy makers in the Vietnam War, where the evening news brought the sights and sounds of war to the dinner table and the viewing couch. There is little doubt that the eventual unpopularity of that war was, in part, media-induced and helped to force the American policy makers to withdraw. Another example of media impact is the recent turn toward democracy in Eastern Europe that clearly gained momentum from the spread of information through the media.

Examples of impact from books, articles, and films designed to put forward a particular point of view about an event or situation also abound. Surely the French departure from Algeria was hastened by the explosive book, *Lieutenant in Algeria*, detailing the brutalities of the French forces in their efforts to put down the rebellion. The series of articles, books, and American films portraying the futility, savagery, and senselessness of the Vietnam War seems to have contributed to an anti-military action attitude by the majority of the American public, unless their interests are vitally involved, as was the apparent case in the crisis in the Middle East (August 1990).

The effort to maintain tight control over the presence of the media in the Grenada and the Panama invasions, and, most recently, in the Gulf War testifies to the recognition by American foreign policy makers of the possible restraining impact of the media on their activities.

The influence of the media is often so pervasive that little attention is given to the fact that the media often distorts, intentionally or otherwise, what happens. The reporters of the world do not simply report what has happened, but what they think has happened. The events are filtered through their own perceptions, attitudes, worldviews, and predilections. Try as some might to get at the truth of the matter, the truth is often elusive, not immediately knowable, and, at times, shielded from the
inquiring eyes of the media. The fact that this is so carries a particular warning for the foreign policy analyst to be cautious in relying on media accounts. You need to be tenacious in seeking to gain balanced information about the confusing world of international relations. It is no simple task.

Obviously the media are not the only sources of information available to foreign policymakers. Foreign service representatives, spy networks, business people, scholars, students, and travelers provide information on occasion that helps shape a foreign policy orientation. When coupled with plentiful sources in libraries, now augmented by the World Wide Web and these governmental information gatherers, the flow of information is becoming enormous. The job of sifting through is similarly huge. While you will receive instruction on how best to access current and past information from these sources, the task challenges you to engage your very best research efforts.

In a fast moving world, there is a need to know what current international situations or events have an impact on the foreign policy orientation of a country’s people, especially their leaders. We ask you to be aware of which of these situations and events have an important impact on the foreign policy orientation of your country.

**Assignment.**

You need to describe briefly what current situations and events in the international system are important considerations for your country. Your first attempt is to determine to what extent the government and/or special interests control the media in your country. How widespread is the coverage of the different media? (In certain countries language differences as well as literacy and income levels affect coverage.) What is the impact of foreign media on the policymakers and people of the country? After briefly providing statistics to answer these questions, you should select a recent international event or set of events that have proven important to the people and/or the regime in your country. Then, try to discern what influence the media (print or electronic) may have had on their worldview and/or on specific foreign policy actions. Quotations from the media and analytic interpretations of these quotes will likely gain major credit in this section. Finally, you need to keep in mind what impact the media has on the foreign policy orientation of your country. Such information and analysis may have important bearing on your assessment later of what has contributed to the foreign policy orientation of your country.

**Sources:** Try to obtain newspaper stories, journal articles, and reports of television or radio programs from your country to determine their influence on viewpoints on a foreign policy issue. If you do not read the language of the country, then turn to some of the more or less reliable newspapers and periodicals in English, both in the United States and abroad. The Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS) is a good source for translation of broadcasts from your country. Consult public opinion journals where you may find a scholar has studied just what you are seeking.

**Length of Assignment.** 3 to 4 pages.

2. Impact of Ideology

“An ideology is an organization of beliefs and attitudes—religious, political or philosophical, that is more or less institutionalized or shared with others, derived from some external authority” (Rokeach 123-124). An ideology provides the rationale for organizing society under certain principles and for certain purposes. More usefully in foreign policy analysis, an ideology is a political/economic set of beliefs that intends to motivate people to do or not to do something for
the sake of the collective interest (Carlsnaes 150). An ideology is a more or less systematic statement of proper political and economic behavior and desired outcomes. An ideology contains prescriptions for action to obtain the desired ends and it often reflects value judgments about the true, the good, and the beautiful. It is important to realize that an ideology, as defined here, is not a cause of foreign policy action, but sets goals for political-economic action, and if accepted by significant numbers of people, has an impact on their belief systems. In foreign policy analysis, we seek to determine if a society, and particularly its leaders, shares an ideology that motivates them to action in the world arena. We want to know how firmly these ideas are entrenched in the minds and hearts of the people in a society. We seek evidence from their foreign policies to demonstrate this adherence to their stated ideology or their deviation from it.

For example, the prevailing political-economic system in the United States is democratic capitalism. That is the prevailing American ideology. Among other things, it has served to motivate American policy makers to “make the world safe for democracy,” to oppose the National Socialist (Nazi) ideology of Hitlerian Germany, to promote a system of private enterprise in the world, and to oppose Marxist-Leninist regimes in most areas of the world.

Similarly, Marxism-Leninism as an ideology tended to motivate the decision-makers of the former Soviet Union to give aid to national revolutionary parties in various parts of the world. In doing so the Soviets hoped that other countries would accept this ideology as their own system of goal setting. The doctrine of radical Islam, now operating with renewed vigor under the aegis of the Khomeini revolution, has provided the rationale and goals for Iranian foreign policy and proposes a proper way of organizing the political system, both nationally and internationally. It even offers the way to relate to the world beyond the reach of that ideology. A moment’s reflection makes clear how ideology serves to identify friend and foe, believer and infidel, proselytizer and potential convert in the foreign policy orientation of peoples round the globe.

Assignment

Your job is first to discover the prevailing ideology in your country. This is a fairly straightforward process, particularly because we are interested mainly in political/economic ideologies, although a comprehensive religious ideology such as Islam may be quite relevant as well. You then must describe essential features of the prevailing ideology and to describe any important competing ideologies that exist within the country or are being put forward strongly by factions outside the country. Ideologies are generally well articulated and open so that a reading of the political and economic history and other studies of your country should reveal the ideologies by which they live. However, you need to remember that there may be widely differing ideologies supported by opposing groups in a society and thus major political tensions may exist and should be reflected in your analysis. Nonetheless, you must choose which is the prevailing ideology and how it relates to the foreign policy orientation of your country. We reiterate: It is important to understand that we are referring to ideologies in the context of foreign policy analysis and that the discussion of the ideology of your country must relate directly to the role it plays in shaping the foreign policy orientation of your country. You must discuss the connections between ideology and foreign policy orientation at the end of this section and then make your choice of its importance in the argument put forward in Section II.

The Sources. Sources usually abound on this subject. General historical descriptions of your country, scholarly writings on its political economy, the US Country Study of your country, the area scholarly journals, and even journals and other publications of opinion are all excellent
places to look. You can access them through the normal library search procedures, and, of course, through Lexis-Nexis and the Internet.

Hints to Accomplish Assignment Successfully. By far the most points are lost in this section by failure to relate the ideology (ies) to its impact on the foreign policy orientation of the country. You need to provide specific examples (evidence) of how the ideology shapes foreign policy orientation. The failure to do so may stem from a frustration that no direct statement about this impact can be found in your research. We understand that. We want each student to think through the possible connections to foreign policy orientation. Does, for example, the prevailing ideology in your country help it decide who are their preferred friends in the world arena and who their enemies are? Ask your advocate to review your paper with that defining question in mind. Without answering it, your grade in this section will be a D or worse.

Length of This Section: 1 to 2 pages.

3. Paramount Goals as Aims or Guiding Principles: National Goals

In addition to the objective conditions, the third aspect of a country’s foreign policy orientation is its motivational factors, which we label national goals, as articulated mainly by its policy-makers. National goals are the motivating factors that influence what foreign policy strategies will be selected. It is obvious that human behavior is not usually random. People have purposes when they do what they do. They have goals that motivate them to take certain actions. No less is true of the leaders of nations. Yet, the discussion of the goals and means for accomplishing them (policies) is often confounding, because one goal may be a means for accomplishing another goal, e.g., a desired goal of your college career is graduation; yet graduation may be conceived of as a means to get a better job. For purposes of foreign policy analysis, we make the distinction between goals of a nation (its people and its leaders) and policies as means to accomplish goals. The contention is that policies are the outcome of a nation’s foreign policy orientation; they are the policy instruments or means by which foreign policy decision-makers attempt to achieve these end goals. We will examine current policies in Part Two: Foreign Policies: The Outcome of Foreign Policy Orientation.

We turn first to a brief discussion of the two main goals of statesmen and women in the international system and then to ideology and paramount goals that influence the foreign policy orientation of a nation. It is the argument of this book that the ultimate goal of most statesmen and women and the people whom they represent is to promote the security, prosperity, and increasingly, the environment of the nation (or classes therein). In our time, this ultimate goal may even result in the diminution of the importance of the nation. For example, if the European Community idea truly takes hold in the minds and hearts of the people of Europe, then the welfare, environmental health and security of the European Community will be their reference point. There are, of course, some peoples who have not secured nation-state yet; so they have an immediate goal of gaining an independent state in the international system. The Palestinians, the Kurds and perhaps the Quebcois come to mind. However, this does not contradict the main point that most peoples wish to have a secure and prosperous, usually independent, nation-state to which they can give allegiance. We need not concern ourselves greatly with this fact. We can treat it as a given and then move on to a search for other important goals. We have labeled these “other” goals paramount goals. These paramount goals can be found in ideologies. Ideologies are systematic political/economic doctrines that intend to motivate people to take action for the good of the society (or of the world). We label other paramount goals as guiding principles, which the people of a nation regard as “truths” or basic agreements about
political, economic and even religious life. Today, these guiding principles are usually found in the constitution of the nation or other basic documents. Let us turn first to a brief discussion of ideology.

Paramount goals are statements of intentions or aims that provide the ideas and guiding principles of political and economic life. It is often true that a nation’s paramount goals can be found in its detailed ideology, but there are other sources as well. They are often found in the constitutions and other basic documents of your country, that stand as goals for desired political and economic behavior. Note for example, the Preamble to the Constitution of the United States of America:

We, the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common Defense, promote the general Welfare and secure the Blessings of Liberty…

These ringing phrases put forward a set of basic goals that the founding fathers hoped the government would promote and protect. Together with the Bill of Rights and other amendments, they provide paramount goal preferences and guiding principles which American policy makers, both in domestic and foreign policy, must consider, even, if at times they ignore them. While these goals may not be a well-articulated ideology in the philosophic sense of speaking to the roots of human nature and an integrated interpretation of the purposes and end states of existence, they often put forward some purposes for action, in both domestic and foreign policy.

Not to be forgotten, in this era of nation-states, is the idea of patriotism that governments seek to develop in the citizenry. Nationalism is the manifestation of that idea. It is surprisingly potent in the world today. Some national identity slogans such as “the revolution” for the Mexicans, and “liberation” for the Chinese also hark to purposes that glorify the national experience and frequently shape thinking.

On a somewhat different level, Abraham Maslow, the psychologist, has enunciated a set of basic human needs. They include: the physiological requirements for survival and safety, the need for status, the need for belonging to a group, the need for self-actualization, and the need for transcendental behavior as basic human motives. These needs are translated into motivating goals that shape social, political and economic action as well. You may find expression of at least some of these human needs in the statements of your country’s leaders or in statements by experts on your country (both domestic and foreign experts).

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights features a synthesizing of ideas for political, civil, economic, and social rights, underscored by a concern for the dignity of the individual. Those nations that have ratified the Declaration have, by doing so, made them a part of their goals at home and abroad. While policy makers often only give lip service to these idealized goals, from time to time they become powerful guides to action.

Assignment

Your job is to discover the paramount goals of your country relevant to foreign policy. You must be specific i.e. provide evidence to show how or which paramount goals shape a country’s foreign policy orientation. You need not emphasize the idea that almost all national peoples have security, prosperity and national independence as their goals. In addition, try to find specific goals such as those illustrated above in the excerpt from the preamble of the American Constitution. You must discuss the connections between this topic and foreign policy orientation at the end of this section and then make your assessment of its importance in Section II.
The Sources. In our era of constitutions, one can often find these ideas embedded therein. It is also very useful to pay attention to political rhetoric in a society, especially the speeches and writing of leaders and other elites. You may not find sources that speak directly to the connection between paramount goals and foreign policy orientation. As usual, this means that you must think for yourself. In a sense, that is the business of scholarship. You must discuss the connections between this topic and foreign policy orientation at the end of this section and then make your choice of its importance in the summatory section at the end of Part I.

Hints to Accomplish Assignment Successfully. The most important advice is to follow the assignment directions carefully. Students frequently fail to show that they have even read the assignment, let alone carefully. Remember that you do not have very much space to discuss this topic, so you must make each word count. Do not waffle, get off the track, nor lose the main focus. Remember you are seeking to discover and present the main ideas that have relevance to foreign policy orientation. You must provide specific foreign policy evidence that the goals you have selected actually operate as motivators. Your conclusions should be found in Section II.

Length of This Section: 1 to 2 pages.

4. Operating Codes of Conduct or Belief Systems: The Causal Factors

The fourth major category shaping the foreign policy orientation of a people and their leaders is the Belief System. A central feature of an individual or a group’s foreign policy orientation is a belief system. “A belief system represents beliefs about the physical world, the social world and the self” 23 Values, attitudes, norms, emotions, and images are important elements of an individual’s and a culture’s belief system, and they create dispositions to behave in a certain manner. In other words, they lie at the root of why we do what we do. They cause action.4

Can we use knowledge of a belief system to predict behavior? The answer is a qualified “yes.” The personality of the individual and the culture of the society are not identical. No individual is an automaton and individuals do learn from past mistakes, at least on occasion. However, each society offers rewards to those of its members who act according to its accepted pattern of behavior and punishes those who do not (Hsu 85).

Our argument is that the belief system is the causal factor in the foreign policy orientation. If one wishes to explain why an action was taken one must seek the answer in the belief system and perceptions of the policy-makers. Although every individual is a unique person, personality and images are largely determined by the culture in which a person is raised. The individual personality develops from an assimilation of the ways of thinking and acting that are common to the group. This process is called enculturation, the adoption of prevailing cultural patterns in a society. The result is a belief system.

2 Rokeach, 123

4 Ibid. 124
Because culture is a set of shared beliefs, ideals, values, attitudes, and perceptions, it is also the common denominator that makes the actions of individuals reasonably intelligible to the group; it forms the logic for behavior. Because they share a common culture, people can predict each other’s actions in a given circumstance and act accordingly (Haviland 8). Because this is so, it is possible to identify the root causes for behavior in carrying out foreign policy actions and to develop valid explanations of why certain policy paths were chosen. One should be aware, however, that some thinkers, most notably Professor Samuel Huntington of Harvard, have raised the possibility that the emphasis on multiculturalism in many societies may break the spell of national identity domestically and lead to a clash of civilizations internationally. Thus may “multi-cultures” lead to conflict and war.

To be more precise about the conceptual aspects of the belief system, we turn first to a closer look at the nature of values, and then to attitudes, images and emotions. Their collective part in the forming of a foreign policy orientation should then become more apparent.

a. Values and Norms

Values are a “type of belief about how one should or should not behave, or about some end state of existence worth or not worth attaining” (Rokeach 124). They are operating standards of conduct, such as valuing truth, beauty, honor, one’s nation, and one’s ethnicity. Some people value justice, democratic governance, power, command, wealth, superiority toward others, etc. Each person has many values that cause her or him to act in certain ways. Values are internalized beliefs about end states of existence, such as freedom, equality, happiness, and material well-being. We are interested here only in those that connect to the foreign policies of countries.

In the analysis of foreign policy behavior, it is imperative to determine the major values of a society, in general, and of the decision-makers, in particular. Only then can we gain explanatory insight into why particular actions were taken; why certain policies were proposed; and why a doctrine was developed.

For example, because former President Reagan had the sanctity of private property as one of his core values helps us to explain why he opposed and sought to defeat or change communist regimes in many places of the world. The willingness of Prime Minister Thatcher to intervene militarily in the Falkland/Malvinas islands dispute with the Argentineans clearly was caused by her deeply felt value of the obligation of the British to protect their citizens from attack by others. The value that Charles de Gaulle placed on the glory, grandeur, and independence of France helped him to decide to remove France from NATO. Mao Zedong’s decision to enter the Korean War no doubt reflected his basic anti-imperialist values. Similarly, the willingness of Marshal Tito to challenge the Soviet Union’s effort to dictate policy to Yugoslavia clearly rested on the value he placed on independence for his country over the value he placed on communist solidarity. The value that Gamal Nasser placed on Arab unity helps explain his leadership in forming the ill-fated United Arab Republic with Syria.

One should also realize that individuals and societies have numerous values, not all of which are consistent with one another. Thus, Nixon and Reagan may have valued self-determination for the people of other countries. However when the Chilean people decided that they wanted a Marxist government, President Nixon was willing to use economic and covert sanctions against the legitimate
regime. Similarly, President Reagan was willing to invade Grenada and remove its regime. Thus did self-determination as a value clash with their anti-Communist value positions. Clearly, values may clash and force a prioritization.

**Assignment**

*Your job here is to discover the foreign policy relevant values of a society or culture. In this context, it is important to remember that there are virtually hundreds of values in a society. The determination of the central (or core) values that are relevant to foreign policy of a society is a complex process because human beings do not always articulate their values in clear and unmistakable ways and values are not necessarily consistent. In fact, they often depend on the situation. The ones that the foreign policy analyst must seek out are those that have a connection to the foreign policy orientation of a people and, especially, of their leaders. Be very specific about this connection between values and foreign policy orientation in your write-up.*

*Provide examples from foreign policy actions to document your analysis.* You must discuss the connections between this topic and foreign policy orientation at the end of this section and then make your choice of its importance in Section II.

**Sources.** Although those social scientists most interested in values and culture have been the anthropologists and the sociologists, now more political scientists, psychologists, economists, and international relations scholars have taken an active interest in this field of inquiry. You will be well advised to consult books or articles on specific values and norms written by these social scientists. Books and articles that focus on the political culture of a country are primary sources for discovering operating values in foreign policy analysis. More specifically, speeches of leaders, their biographies and autobiographies, plus interviews in the popular press are often excellent sources of values. Pay particular attention to books and articles that are mainly concerned with the foreign policy of your country.

**Hints to Accomplish this Assignment Successfully.** Students lose the most points on this section by failing to make specific connection to the values they have identified and foreign policy orientation. They also fail to realize how important the discovery of foreign policy relevant values is. A paragraph on general values is usually worthless. Be certain that you understand what a value is. You can usually test this by starting a sentence with “this culture values…” or “he/she (the leader) values…” Remember that values are the determinants of behavior. This section should be one of the most important in the whole paper and the brief that follows it.

**Length of This Section: 2 to 3 pages.**

**b. Attitudes**

An attitude “is a relatively enduring organization of interrelated beliefs that describe, evaluate and advocate action with respect to an object or situation. Each of these beliefs…when suitably activated, results in some preferential response toward the attitude object or situation” (Rokeach 132). In a sense, an attitude is a sort of **summary of one’s beliefs about other people or situations.** It is a mindset that tends to obviate the need to explore the range of meaning of a particular act or situation. Attitudes may be derived from experience, from one’s socialization into a culture, and from learning processes in schools, churches, and other institutions and groupings. They may be deeply prejudicial.
Assignment

Your job is to search for attitudes toward other countries or policy actions. For example, the generally favorable American attitude toward the United Kingdom led President Roosevelt to launch his lend-lease program before American entry into World War II. The traditional Chinese attitude of superiority (Sino-Centrism) over the peoples on China’s borders led the Chinese emperors to carry out the famed policy of demanding tribute from those who were “inferior.” The dramatically changing attitudes of American and Russian leaders toward one another have led to major policy changes, particularly regarding the arms race and the possibility of extensive cooperation on economic and cultural fronts.

For the purposes of this assignment, information on foreign policy-relevant attitudes should be reasonably current. It may, however, be useful to trace attitudes and attitude change into the fairly remote past to determine whether there have been certain attitudes toward foreign countries that have influenced behavior for long periods of time. You must discuss the connections between this topic and foreign policy orientation at the end of this section and then make your choice of its importance in the summatory section at the end of Part I

Sources. We know that the world of diplomacy often places some premium on deception that may hinder the effort to get at attitudes of policy makers. Nonetheless, most experts believe that the public statements of leaders, both at home and abroad, give reasonably accurate indications of the attitudes held toward other countries and regimes. Again, books and articles on the foreign policy of your country are likely to be the best sources, but interviews and articles from the newspapers and magazines may also be useful.

Hints to Accomplish Assignment Successfully: Be certain you understand what an attitude is. More points are lost from the failure to understand the definition of attitude. The second most important hint (one you have heard over and over) is to make specific connection between the attitudes you identify as important and the foreign policy orientation of the country in the summatory section. Provide examples (evidence) from past foreign policy actions to support your interpretation. Remember it is the attitudes that your country’s people, especially their leaders, have toward peoples beyond their borders.

Length of this Section: 1 to 2 pages.

c. Images

Images “are organized representations of an object or a situation in an actor’s cognitive system. This system of images serves as a mental and emotional filter that mediates and orders incoming messages and determines the actor’s perception, both of events and alternatives open to him” (Jonsson in Carlsnaes 169-170). Obviously related to attitudes, images feature evaluative judgments and are often strongly held even in the face of evidence to the contrary.

In foreign policy analysis, the identification of the images in the heads of the people, and of decision-makers, most particularly, can help the analyst to understand why certain policy alternatives were undertaken and others rejected. Why some facts were filtered out of a decision-maker’s perceptions must be a major concern of those who wish to understand foreign policy behavior. Like values, images serve to cause behavior.
For example, the American decision-makers (and the majority of the American attentive public) from the time of Eisenhower to the time of Reagan regarded the Soviet Union as the enemy. This image of the Soviet Union as an expansionist power bent upon leading the world into a communist future provoked such descriptions as: “the evil empire” and “the Soviet menace.” Not surprisingly, such an image made it almost impossible for many Americans to believe that the Soviets had a similar image of the American purposes.

David Halberstam’s book on American involvement in Vietnam, The Best and the Brightest, is one of many that points to the fact that American policy makers were led severely astray by holding an image in their heads of a bipolar world in deadly conflict. The Soviet Union and China stood at one pole and the United States at the other pole. It is clear now (and it was clear to many critics then) that this was a faulty image of reality. This was particularly true because it failed to take account of the fact that the North Vietnamese, led by Ho Chi Minh, regarded their movement as a war of national liberation from the imperialist West, and those who were allied with them. Far from being a subordinate cog in the communist revolutionary machine, driven by Moscow or Beijing, these Vietnamese communists were nationalists first. They had no desire to become subordinate to any other nation, whether communist-led or not, as subsequent events were to show!

Yet American policy makers had an image of post-World War II as a bipolar world. This image was so powerful that it led them to ignore the desires of national leaders in other nation-states to maintain their independence. Because they held this image, the Americans believed that they must maintain American credibility to combat the expansion of a communist empire, centered in Moscow and Beijing. The tragedy of Vietnam was the result.

The psychologist, Leon Festinger, has argued that the mind must have cognitive consistency. He points out that should dissonance occur, there is a tendency to screen out the dissonant messages. Sometimes, however, the facts are so strong or the situation so propitious that an image change occurs. Perhaps that is part of what happened after Reagan met Gorbachev for the first time. Clearly, the image of the Soviet Union as an “evil empire” changed significantly as mutual interests intervened and personalities accommodated.

**Assignment**

Your job is to search for images held by the people and their leaders. You should focus on finding examples of ideas expressed in a particularly picturesque (images are pictures in our minds) manner. The Evil Empire, Godless Communism, Satan’s Representative on Earth, The Terrorist PLO, and the Fascists are examples of phrases that conjure up powerful images that can serve to filter and even block out evidence and perceptions that are contrary to the image. Your goal is to weave images you have discovered into your description of the belief system and its connection to foreign policy orientation. You must discuss the connections between this topic and foreign policy orientation at the end of this section and then make your choice of its importance in Section II.

**Sources.** The best sources are the usual scholarly works on your country, particularly those on its foreign policy. Also, interviews and “tell all” works by leaders and their advisors can be important sources of information relevant to foreign policy analysis.

**Hints to Accompish Assignment Successfully.** There is no substitute for providing specific examples to support your contention that the image or images you have chosen are truly relevant to the foreign policy orientation of your country. Test your choices and the supporting evidence on
your advocate and fellow students. It is entirely possible that you will find no foreign policy-relevant images. So do not make some up. You will be marked down if you invent images. You must have examples drawn from statements by leaders or, occasionally from experts on your country.

Length of this Section: 1 page.

d. Emotions

Emotions are an important part of a person’s psychological make-up. The discovery of the role of emotions in seeking to understand a particular foreign policy action is a very revealing part of foreign policy analysis. The emotions of fear, anger, shame, guilt, and pride often come into play in a nation’s foreign policy orientation. For example, during the Cold War Americans feared the expansion of Communism, particularly Communism linked to Soviet Foreign Policy. The Soviets’ ability to develop a full-scale nuclear arsenal further enhanced that fear and led to the pervasive fear characteristic of the cold war period. China provides another example of the role of emotions in foreign policy decision-making. There is little doubt that the period of imperialism and extra-territoriality was a period that damaged Chinese cultural pride and sense of themselves. Indeed, much of Chinese foreign policy since the end of World War II has been an effort to restore this pride. Mao Zedong announced to the rest of the world in a victory speech atop the Gate of Heavenly Peace (Tiananmen) that: “China will never again be an insulted nation.” The emotion in his voice was clear and loud.

Assignment

Your job is to try to identify emotions that seem to characterize the main thrust of your nation’s foreign policy orientation. Try to find specific foreign policy actions to support your choice. You must discuss the connections between this topic and foreign policy orientation at the end of this section and then make your choice of its importance in Section II.

Sources. The same as for the other causal factors.

Hints to Accomplish Assignment Successfully. Once again, remember that you cannot make up emotions. You must have concrete evidence to support the contention that a certain emotion or set of emotions helped to cause foreign policy behavior. If you cannot find evidence (examples) in the speeches or writing of leaders or of scholar’s interpretation of emotions you have identified, then leave this section out. The instructors are generally familiar with the prospects.

Length of this Section: up to 1 page.

5. Status Situation and Policies Stemming There From

In the discussion above on the purposes or motives for action, we mentioned the ideas of Maslow concerning basic needs. Among these needs was the universal need for status. That the international system is based on the legal equality of all nations means that juridically all nations have equal status. Of course we know that equality is not a fact of international life in terms of power and influence and the consequent ability to affect the course of events. Nonetheless, the fact of the existence of the equal status idea as an organizing principle of the international system has major impact on the foreign policy concerns of a country, especially in terms of security, but in prosperity as well. We have
included the status situation and assessment as part of the ideational aspect of a country’s foreign policy orientation. Because status is an abstraction in the eyes of the observers of the country as well in the eye of their leaders, we reserve the discussion of foreign policies concerning status for Section IV.

First, all regimes wish to receive diplomatic recognition of their legitimacy as an agreed-on participant in international affairs. The granting or denying of diplomatic recognition has been a powerful symbol of giving or removing status in the international system. For example, the desire of the Palestine Liberation Organization to be granted status as legitimate spokespersons for the Palestinian people confirmed how up-to-date such system-induced pressures could be. Or again, the removal of diplomatic recognition from the Republic of China (Taiwan) by the United States and many others was a severe blow to the status and interests of the Chinese government on Taiwan. Some, for example, the permanent members of the Security Council of the United Nations, are accorded special status by the charter of the organization. It should not be surprising that there is pressure from a number of large countries to be one of the permanent members of the Council as well. Others, like the United States in the World Bank, have a special status where voting power is weighted according to the level of contribution. While efforts to describe status of a nation by labeling its power position in the international arena i.e. super power, middle-range power, or small power are filled with ambiguous meaning, nonetheless such attributions are continually made and unquestionably have an influence on a nation’s pride and sense of self.

Besides diplomatic recognition, another powerful symbol of status is the ability to belong to international organizations if a regime wishes. To be kept out of the United Nations, the World Bank, the Olympics, and a host of other international organizations constitutes a blow to the sense of pride and status of the leaders and the people of a country. When Mao Zedong, the revolutionary leader of China, exclaimed, “China will never again be an insulted nation,” he spoke to this desire for equal status, emphasized later by strong efforts to belong to the United Nations. Indeed, the observer of international relations frequently comes across calls by some for special status. Sometimes it is the United States demanding a weighted voice in the current effort to solve the depletion of the ozone layer problem, or other times it is the call for special status in the World Trade Organization by developing countries. Another example of a group of nations wishing to gain improved status was the pressure in the United Nations by African states to have an African as the Secretary General. Many Africans rejoiced when one of their own was chosen.

Status can also be gained from the recognition by other nations of a country’s high standard of living, scenic beauty, places of historical importance, the arts (music, architecture, painting, sculpture), sports, and tourist attractions. Impressive building structures like the Great Wall of China, the Eiffel Tower, Big Ben, and the Golden Pagoda in Kyoto also give status to a country. Many in the world want to visit there; many know and admire its culture; and many may even want to emigrate there. The possession of military might, technological prowess, and economic capability also contributes to a country’s international status.

Thus does the organizational structure of the international system have a possible impact on the foreign policies toward status of national leaders. In this section we also ask you to make a rough estimate of a nation’s status situation in the international community is not particularly difficult. Among other things, the analyst can quite easily determine to what extent a nation (its leaders) participates in the various international organizations, particularly in the United Nations and its auxiliary agencies. The role that the representatives of a nation play in these organizations can also be assessed for most of the larger nations. The quality of the participation is not so easy, however. There
the judgment is much more subjective since it is inevitably influenced by political consideration with the propensity to make assessment based on friends and enemies among other things.

Assignment

Your job, first, is to attempt to determine the status situation in your country. Rank your country on a scale of one to ten, with ten being the highest. Give specific reasons why you placed it where you did. Next, determine what, if anything, your country does to confirm its status, to improve its status, or otherwise influence its status position.

The Sources. International organization publications, the World Almanac, the Statesman’s Yearbook, lists of membership in international organizations found in many international sources, the brochures and propaganda publications put out by the Embassy to the US (consulates in SF sometimes have them) and a number of other sources are available. We ask you to use your initiative in finding ways to determine status and status policies.

Hints to Accomplish Assignment Successfully. Do not expect any publication to speak directly to the matter of status. You must learn to infer this from observing what is said, what is published by the government and what other countries say about them. The World Wide Web with its national home pages may be a way to get at some of this. Use your imagination, as my four-year-old grandson tells me!

Length of This Section: 2 to 3 pages.

D. Systemic Culture Constructs

1. The Political/Security System and Policies

To promote the security of a political community is one of the basic responsibilities of government. In an anarchic world, where institutions for peaceful resolution of conflict are rudimentary at best and where nations are often on their own to protect their security and independence, this function almost invariably has importance, both domestically and internationally. The legally sanctioned organization and monopolizing of force and violence are two of the hallmarks of civilization, particularly when these police and military institutions promote respect for law, order, and justice and are subordinate to civil authority. The foreign policy analyst wishes to know how effective a country’s political system is in “promoting domestic peace and tranquility” and in providing “for the common defense.” A country’s role in the international system depends significantly on how well a government performs these functions. Information on its political/security situation tells a lot about a country’s capacity to operate effectively in the world system of nation-states. Not only does the performance of these functions have political/security significance, but it also has significance in terms of performance in the international economic arena. Questions of political stability, political unity, political probity, political participation and overall political conditions of the country must engage the foreign policy expert on a country as he or she attempts to paint a persuasive picture of a nation’s foreign policy orientation.
a. Basic Characteristics of the Political System

The basic characteristics of the major institutions in a country clearly have an impact on how people think about their prospects and problems in the international system. In foreign policy analysis, the most important system is the political system. It universally has responsibility for regulating the economy of the nation and for promoting the internal and external security of the country. We have already examined its function in the economic realm. Now we turn to a political-security focus. To do this we first examine the type and structure of the system, including the locus of authority and security traditions. Then we turn to the level of citizen participation and the degree of national independence.

1) Type and Structure

Type. Political systems can be classified in various familiar ways, such as republics, monarchies, dictatorships, democracies, theocracies, plutocracies, etc. For the purposes of understanding the foreign policy orientation of a country, the foreign policy analyst needs to classify the type of system according to the categories above (or combinations thereof) and to be alert to the possibility that the type of government may influence foreign policy orientations and resultant actions.

The System Structure. The structure of the political-security system with its multi-layered bureaucracies, standard operating procedures, and decision-making traditions obviously influences the foreign policy orientation of a country. Power elites, inside and outside government, role expectations and, sometimes, conflicting motivations influence policy-makers in subtle and complex ways. In a sense, public policy (foreign and domestic) is often a product of the interplay of people in official and unofficial roles, attempting to influence policy choices and to defend their own interests, as well as promote the collective interest.

We contend that this system has a significant impact on the foreign policy orientations and policy predilections of policy-makers. A system constrains action and influences goals and objectives. While foreign policy makers are usually influenced by these bureaucratic structures, the structures are not causal in the sense of explaining why policy-makers make the choices they do. In the language of social science inquiry, they are intervening variables that limit, constrain, or otherwise influence what is done. In short the analyst needs to know how system works because of and often in spite of the structure. It is useful to find out where authority really rests in the system and what are the security traditions that influence the leadership.

a) Locus of Authority

In order to understand the locus of authority and how political-security systems operate, one must look at both the legal and actual structure of authority. In this era of formal constitutions, one might expect that the constitution of the country is the first place to go, but constitutions rarely tell us precisely how the system works. In order to understand the locus of authority and how political-security systems operate, one must look at both the legal and actual structure of authority. In this era of formal constitutions, one might expect that the constitution of the country is the first place to go, but constitutions rarely tell us precisely how the system works. One useful way of focusing this task is to try to classify the country’s foreign policy making system according to the nature and degree of consultation about foreign policy matters. One might expect that democracies would lie at the “required” end of the consultation continuum, while a totalitarian dictatorship would lie at the “little or no consultation required” end. However, the analyst needs to be careful, because roughly the same
types of political systems do vary, as far as the latitude given to, or assumed by, the central leadership in matters of foreign policy making

b) Security Traditions

Countries also have security traditions, both at home and abroad. We have classified those traditions as 1) Charismatic/Revolutionary in which the leadership of a country goes to charismatic individuals who seek to have others in the international system adopt their ways, even if this goal requires sponsoring revolutions abroad; 2) Pragmatic/Status Quo in which the leadership of a country goes to those who are essentially satisfied with the status quo and accept the pragmatic thought that it is not useful to support disturbances in the system; and 3) Interventionist in which the leadership goes to those who are often willing to intervene in the internal affairs of another country when they judge their own country’s interests are involved.

2) Degree of National Independence

The question of the degree of national independence from control beyond the country’s borders is also an important matter in assessing the nature of the political/security system. Nations range significantly in the degree of independence from outside pressures they are able to sustain. Some nations are “client” states, dependent for their very independence on other nations. Other nations are so economically dependent that they rarely risk going against the security wishes of those upon whom they depend. It seems clear that Russia and China were influenced not to veto the UN Security Council actions in the Gulf War, in part by the economic and other advantages gained from cooperation with the US and the Europeans. You may also find that Multi-National Corporations and even lobbyists for other countries will compromise the independence of your country’s policy makers. It seems incontrovertible that the existence of dependency has an impact on a country’s foreign policy orientation. You may also find that Multi-National Corporations and even lobbyists for other countries will compromise the independence of your country’s policy makers.

Assignment for Basic Characteristics

Your job here is multi-faceted:

- You need to identify the type of political system that prevails in your country and to pay particular attention to identifying what the organizational structure, both the legal and actual arrangements for policymaking are.

- How and to what extent is authority delegated? Where is the locus of authority?

- Who is finally responsible for foreign policy decisions; what political, constitutional, and organizational constraints, if any, are there,

- What are the security traditions influencing the country’s leadership? Make this brief and lively.

- In terms of citizen participation, you need to identify whether the citizenry, individually or in groups has an influence on the security policies of the country. What influences,
such as pressure groups, lobbyists, etc., outside the regime, are there? What degree of flexibility of action do those in charge of foreign policy actions have? Questions of the ability to take bold initiatives, to reverse policies with relative ease, to compromise, and to be proactive rather than reactive, are part of the nature of the foreign policy making system and its consultative processes.

- You need to find out the degree (if any) of dependence on or vulnerability to other nations in political-security matters. For example, are they heavily dependent on another nation or nations for arms? Are there powerful foreign lobbyists, formal or informal, who attempt to shape the foreign policy orientation of your country? These are the questions, some often difficult to discover, that help us understand how and why foreign policies are formulated.

- Perceptions in the country about the answers to the questions above influence the foreign policy orientation of a people and their leaders. Give examples, to support your statements. The write up should be here and, perhaps, in Section II.

Sources. Diplomatic histories and case studies of decisions in the scholarly literature are often useful places to seek information on this general topic. Of course, standard textbooks, the country study on your country put out by the US government, and comparative government texts are very useful sources. The Statesmen’s Yearbook, and articles by experts usually found in the scholarly journals and occasionally in popular periodicals and newspapers are the main sources of information here. At times, some embassies or consulates will have information relevant to your search.

Hints to Accomplish Assignment Successfully. We ask you to use a book that focuses on the foreign policy of your country. The sooner that you find such a book the easier a number of assignments will become. Many of these books will have information of the type you need. Do not waste space on a detailed description of how the entire government is organized. We are interested in a general overview. Leave relevant detailed specifics to the section on the National Security Apparatus. Wherever possible, charts and brief commentary are the way to go here.

Length of this Section: 1 to 2 pages.

b. The Current Political Conditions

Foreign correspondents, political pundits, Foreign Service officers, intelligence agencies, scholarly experts, business analysts, and even travel agents attempt to assess the political conditions of a country. They are especially interested in its stability, the legitimacy of its ruling regime, its responsiveness to the citizenry and their problems, and the probity or honesty of those who operate the system. Travel, investment, trade, security threats, and a host of other reasons lead people to seek as much information as they can about the political conditions in a country. It is a difficult task because there are differences of opinion, difficulties of making precise and reliable assessments (who predicted the downfall of the Soviet Union, for example?). Sometimes there are restrictions on access to information, inadequate knowledge of the political culture of the country, and simply the difficulty in predicting human behavior (a Republican Congress?). Yet, such assessment is crucial to the understanding of the foreign policy orientation of a country. Fortunately, there are some rough measures of conditions. They include information on the presence and frequency of riots and other civil disturbances, the extent of participation in elections (a tricky figure), in parliamentary systems
the frequency of votes of no confidence. Risk analysts also attempt to determine the existence of revolutionary groups, the presence of “terrorist” activities, the availability and popularity of exiled individuals and groups, the perception that the current regime as illegitimate, and the presence of widespread corruption. They are especially concerned about the existence of border controversies with other countries, and even the intensity of criminal activity. While each of these individually may not signal a weak regime, the presence of a number of them may suggest an unstable and troubled system. Below, we suggest a scheme for assessing these matters by suggesting that you construct an index of political and social indicators.

1) Governmental Indicators

It is possible to construct governmental indicators that focus on unity of the country, stability of the regime, the presence or absence of corruption (probity), the efficiency of the bureaucracy, the degree of citizen participation, and the morale of the bureaucracy. (Students who do an outstanding job here may receive bonus points.) In this section we are especially interested in the unity and stability of the country and in citizen participation and ability to influence decisions.

a) Unity and stability

Foreign correspondents, political pundits, Foreign Service officers, intelligence agencies, scholarly experts, business analysts, and even travel agents attempt to assess the political conditions of a country. They are especially interested in its stability, the legitimacy of its ruling regime, its responsiveness to the citizenry and their problems, and the probity or honesty of those who operate the system. Travel, investment, trade, security threats, and a host of other reasons lead people to seek as much information as they can about the political conditions in a country. It is a difficult task because there are differences of opinion, difficulties of making precise and reliable assessments (who predicted the downfall of the Soviet Union, for example?). Sometimes there are restrictions on access to information, inadequate knowledge of the political culture of the country, and simply the difficulty in predicting human behavior (a Republican Congress?). Yet, such assessment is crucial to the understanding of the foreign policy orientation of a country. Fortunately, there are some rough measures of conditions. They include information on the presence and frequency of riots and other civil disturbances, in parliamentary systems the frequency of votes of no confidence. Risk analysts also attempt to determine the existence of revolutionary groups, the presence of “terrorist” activities, the availability and popularity of exiled individuals and groups, the perception that the current regime as illegitimate, and the presence of widespread corruption. They are especially concerned about the existence of border controversies with other countries, and even the intensity of criminal activity. While each of these individually may not signal a weak regime, the presence of a number of them may suggest an unstable and troubled system. Below, we suggest a scheme for assessing these matters by suggesting that you construct an index of political and social indicators.

b) Citizen Participation

There is more to the political-security system than organizational structure. We also need to know about the levels of citizen participation and influence. Nations vary significantly in the role that the citizenry plays or can play in influencing security matters. Witness the almost decisive limits the attentive American public appears to have placed on the use of military power abroad since the
Vietnamese War fiasco. The question of whether foreign policy decision-makers must pay careful attention to the public’s pressures is an important element in determining a country’s foreign policy orientation. In trying to understand the foreign policy orientation of a people, the foreign policy analyst seeks not only to identify how the system functions, but also how the people perceived the government. As in most matters of assessing reputation, the task is not easy and the analyst must often rely on inferences and educated guesses.

A moment’s reflection on the American experience brings forward some useful examples. The US Congressional influence in limiting the Reagan administration’s desire to unseat the Sandinistas in Nicaragua; the influence of the wealthy friends of President Kennedy’s father in the decision to invade Cuba at the Bay of Pigs; and the Congressional restrictions on sending arms to the Allies before American entry into World War II show that the President, while a very powerful in foreign policy making, is by no means free of the constraining and/or guiding influences of others. A review of security policy actions in many other countries would reveal similar influences outside the formal regime.

2) Societal Indicators

On a broader level, it is useful to construct an index of societal indicators that focuses on the levels of crime, the frequency of riots and similar signs of domestic discontent, the existence of separatist movements, the frequency of revolutions, the existence of border controversies, and the presence of “terrorist” groups and actions. Once again, you may not find evidence for all of these indicators and you may develop some of your own.

Assignment on Current Political Conditions

Your job in this section is to find out as much as possible about the political conditions in your country. We want you to deal with all of the relevant matters raised above and to come up with an overall assessment of the nature of the political conditions in your country today. We want you to prepare this part of the assignment as if it were to be submitted to a client wishing to get a fix on whether it is desirable to invest in your country given its present political conditions. Your client would also like to know at least the following:

- Are there any on-going or threatened hostilities inside or outside the country?
- Would it be wise for an investor to invest major amounts of money for projects in the country?
- How likely is the possibility of nationalization of foreign property?
- In light of condition you have identified does the leadership in your country look with confidence on its relationships with the rest of the world?
- Does it have a fortress mentality, believing that is besieged from within and threatened from without?
- What is the contribution of these political conditions to its worldview?
We want you to keep in mind the possible impact of these current political conditions on the foreign policy orientation of your country. The write up should be here and, perhaps, in Section II.

Sources Current commentary on the problems and prospects of your country’s leadership is probably the best source of information here. Unlike other sections of this assignment, you may have to rely more extensively on newspaper and magazine reports about how things are going. Such magazines as the English periodical, The Economist, are often on target as are correspondents from the international edition of the New York Herald Tribune, the New York Times, Washington Post, the Los Angeles Times, Newsweek, Time, and many other informative periodicals of your choice.

Hints to Accomplish Assignment Successfully. Since this is new part of the FPO assignment, pay special attention to the assignment above. You will need to take advantage of the various services that report and compile the news. The indexes to the current periodicals are very helpful in your research effort. Do not neglect them. Try to develop comparative indicator charts.

Length of This Section: 3 to 4 pages.

c. The Security System

In this section we focus on the domestic and foreign security systems.

1) Domestic

While foreign policy analysis focuses mainly on the foreign security system, it is nonetheless desirable to identify the internal or domestic security system of your country. By this we mean, such institutions as the police (national, state, and local), the national guard, the secret service, and any other formal institutions whose goal is to maintain the peace and tranquility of the country. While we do not expect a detailed discussion of these institutions it is useful to know what sorts of domestic security operations are in place, how well they are regarded, how efficient they are, how respected they are, and other matters that give us clues as to their performance, their morale, and the regard in which they are held.

The Assignment

Provide a brief sketch of the structure of the internal security system and make an evaluative judgment about their quality and capabilities. Do they belong to Interpol? Are they regarded as honest or corrupt? Who controls them?

Sources. Most textbooks on a country will have information on the domestic security system. In addition you should be able to find descriptions of the system from official sources as well.

Hint. Do not provide a detailed account here. Consult with the Tas or Instructor if you have difficulty in this section.
2) Foreign

Here we want a careful examination of the nature and capabilities of the system designed to promote a nation’s security in the international arena. The question of national security is seldom left to one person or one agency of the government. In our era, the problems of being reasonably secure often demand high commitment of time, money, and personnel. This generally means that a number of agencies of government get into the act. This puts a premium on coordination. A foreign ministry, a defense department, a national security agency, a propaganda agency, an intelligence agency, even economic agencies may make up the Security Apparatus. However, it is not just the members of the agencies with an official mission in security matters who are important. It is also certain key players who are key by virtue of their prestige, their relationship to the country’s leader, and/or their possession of unusual skills and/or knowledge valuable for orienting the regime to a special problem. (Scholars are often found in the last category) We have focused this part of the analysis on the need to determine who these people are and what instruments of power (if any) are available as tools of persuasion. The following categories seem relevant: (1) the key players in the foreign policy establishment (regime officials and other influentials in and outside government); (2) a ministry of foreign affairs; (3) a defense or military apparatus; (4) an intelligence gathering apparatus; (5) a propaganda arm; and (6) sometimes, a clandestine or covert action force. We will discuss each of these briefly below.

a) The Key Players

In some countries the foreign policy security establishment and those officially in charge of foreign policy are the same people, but in more pluralistic societies, there are likely to be pressure groups, legislators, power elites, journalists, professors, and other influentials that participate, to varying degrees, in the policy-shaping process. Even so, many commentators agree that Michele’s Iron Law of Oligarchy i.e. in any organization power precipitates to the few is alive and observed in security policy planning, particularly in times of crisis. When the security of a country is threatened it is almost always a small group of confidants of the leader and her/his closest official advisors that play the central role. While this does not exclude the leadership of the foreign ministry and the military establishment, it is nonetheless clear that security policy orientations stem mainly from the leader of the regime and his closest advisors. Even so, in many countries people who have special knowledge of a situation or other special expertise may find themselves called upon. When a crisis is not underway, the day-by-day planning and organizing is usually left to the administration’s officers responsible for these activities and, perhaps, those in other branches of the government who have official and unofficial interest.

Assignment.

Describe the key players in security orientation for your country. Be aware that those formally responsible may not be the ones who make the choice. Give examples or other evidence of the specific roles they play and why they are included in such important matters. Discover their orientation to foreign policy if you can.

Sources. Since information on these matters may rapidly change, it is important to turn to the latest reliable sources for your analysis. Again, the reliable newspapers such as the New York Times and the Los Angeles Times, as well as the respected news analysis periodicals such as the Economist, Newsweek, and the New Yorker should be examined. If you have similar sources from your country itself, it is very desirable to consult them.
Hints to Accomplish Assignment Successfully. Perhaps this is the most speculative part of the entire 550 assignment. Yet reasonably reliable information can usually be discovered, if one is willing to read widely and search broadly.

Length of This Section: 1 page.

b) The Foreign Ministry

Every nation has an official organization that focuses primarily on foreign policy concerns with clear responsibility for promoting the security of the country. In the United States, it is called the Department of State, but most nations refer to it as the Foreign Ministry or similar title. Although not exclusively responsible for national security policy, the foreign ministry usually has important responsibility for planning security strategies and for implementing them as well. Thus, in analyzing a nation’s foreign policy orientation, it becomes desirable to focus on its foreign office. It is there that traditions, memories, experience, and professional staff operate to put a particular stamp on foreign policy formulation and implementation. While other agencies of government and, on occasion, individuals and groups outside government play a role, it is the people of the foreign ministry and the military establishment (discussed below) that usually are the most important planners of security policy.

Assignment

Your job is to gather information on:

- the organization of the ministry, including its functional and geographical divisions, the extent and location of its diplomatic representation outside the country,
- the selection, training, experience, and perspectives of its personnel, particularly its top leadership,
- what the traditions of the foreign service are; whether its policy planners go extensively into contingency planning or prefer to muddle along;
- whether there are formal means of coordinating security policy with other relevant agencies, particularly the defense forces;
- whether there are patterns of security policy preferences, such as placing the use of force in the forefront of negotiation or of seeking compromise on vital issues with other countries;
- what the reputation of the Foreign Service is for gathering accurate information and making successful judgments about policy actions.

Most importantly, you need to make an estimate of the impact of the ministry on the way those ultimately responsible for security policy decisions view the world. Because scholarly studies of the foreign ministries of many countries have not been done, this may prove a daunting task. Do the best you can. Try to present us with a security profile of the relevant agencies. The write-up linking these factor and the foreign policy orientation of your country should be here and, perhaps, in Section II.
Sources Textbooks on the foreign policy of your country should be consulted. Also, you may find scholarly articles focusing on the foreign ministry. Basic facts about the foreign ministry and its delegations abroad may be found in the Statesman’s Yearbook.

Hints to Accomplish Assignment Successfully. Do not be discouraged if you can only find the basic information about the foreign ministry and Foreign Service of your country. That will suffice for this assignment. Extra credit will be given to those who ferret out more information of the type suggested above. Minimally, we want to know in what countries of the world your country has representatives and what this says about its foreign policy orientation.

Length of This Section: 1 to 2 pages.

c) The Nature of the Military Apparatus, Its Forces, and Its Orientation

The military establishment, obviously, has a central role in protecting the security of the country. In some cases, the survival of the nation may well depend on the caliber and effectiveness of the military establishment. While not all nations maintain a true military establishment, most nations do. They do so sometimes because they feel threatened by those around them, sometimes because they wish to force others to do their bidding, and often because they hope to keep internal peace and order. Whatever the reason, the military apparatus is a prime player in the security game.

Although nations rarely contend that their armed forces are for anything other than national defense, history has shown that armies have often marched; the navy has often sailed; and the air force has often flown to support national interests beyond the borders of the country. This should not be surprising in an international system that is basically anarchic, where a condition of self-help has often been the most obvious alternative for those who were strong and the feared prospect for those who were weak. Knowledge about the military situation, its role in government, its weapons and its military strategies are all valuable pieces of information in the attempt to discover the foreign policy orientation of a country.

Assignment

Your job is to seek as much information as possible about:

- the nature of the military establishment;
- the selection, training and experience of the armed forces
- fighting traditions;
- their standard operating procedures.
- the size and mix of forces;
- the quality and extent of their military hardware;
- the magnitude and proportion of the governmental budget assigned to the military.
- their power projection capabilities. Do they have a blue water navy, for example?
• the role of the military in the political system itself. Are they firmly under the control of civilian authorities? Are there instances (traditions) of military coup d’etats?

• the nature and mission of the military

We suggest that you may wish to organize this discussion in the following manner: (1) the organizational and operational features of the military; (2) description of their weapon systems, including their numbers and qualities; (3) description of the military-civil authority relationships. (4) their traditions. The write-up linking these factors and the foreign policy orientation of your country should be here and, perhaps, in Section II.

Sources. Fortunately, there are a number of journals, books, and scholarly articles that focus on military matters. The San Francisco State library has many of them and the World Affairs Council also contains information on this subject. Do not neglect Jane’s publications, a London-based firm that specializes in making assessment of military capabilities around the world. The CIA estimates, and other professional military journals and specialized atlases are also useful.

Hints to Accomplish Assignment Successfully. Save space by utilizing charts and graphs to report on force levels, weapons systems etc. Use a comparative framework for presenting your information. Show where your country ranks in the world and the region. Do not forget to comment on the impact of the military situation in your country on its foreign policy orientation.

Length of This Section: 2 to 3 pages.

d) Intelligence Apparatus

Every government realizes that good information gathering is a vital tool in designing successful security policies. Traditionally, we call information gathering and evaluating “intelligence.” Although intelligence (as in the Central Intelligence Agency) often conjures up images of spying and clandestine activity, the reality is that it is less filled with intrigue, spies, and informers than with tenacious, sometimes plodding, library research, and on the spot observation.

The goals of most intelligence agencies focus on gathering information that helps decision-makers understand how another society operates; what its goals are; what strengths and weaknesses it has; what its leaders are like; and, in other words, what its foreign policy orientation is. That national governments close their innermost councils to outsiders makes the intelligence aspect of your information research difficult. You need to be aware that the ranks of gatherers of information and analysis include foreign service and other civilian governmental personnel, scholars, newspaper people, military attaches, and even visitors and tourists. Only by tenacious research and thoughtful observation will you get good results.

As in the study of the military, a determination of the nature and mission of the intelligence apparatus will give us important information about a country’s outlook on the world. It is the case, however, that some countries will not have a separate intelligence apparatus, but instead will rely on Foreign Service officers, military attaches and even business people and journalists to provide information.

Assignment

Your job is:
• to determine if your country has a separate intelligence gathering organization or does it rely on its Foreign Service and foreign posted military officers to do that job?

• to describe the basic features and its operating procedures of the manner of intelligence gathering.

• to discover how many intelligence operatives there are; how they are trained, selected, and assigned; what role they play in policy formation; how they are regarded locally and internationally; where they are located (often very difficult to find out); and their effectiveness.

What does the nature of the intelligence apparatus tell us about your country? Remember, the major purpose here is to relate this information to the foreign policy orientation of the country. This is also an extra credit assignment. Data and description for some countries is easy to find; for others it is almost impossible. Of course, some countries do not have a separate intelligence-gathering unit. The write-up linking these factors and the foreign policy orientation of your country should be here and, perhaps, in Section II.

Sources: In your research, pay particular attention to the growing list of publications on intelligence agencies and their activities. As usual, texts on the foreign policy of your country and the country study book will often contain useful information. Search for case studies of intelligence operations.

Hints to Accomplish this Assignment Successfully. If you have difficulty finding a discussion of the intelligence gathering operations of your country, be certain that you have searched for books and articles that focus on intelligence operations generally. They may have good bibliographies that will help you find information on your country.

Length of This Section: 1 to 2 pages.

e) Covert Capabilities

Increasingly, covert activities have come to the forefront in the relations among nations. The arrival of nuclear weapons in the hands of the several nations makes the conventional resort to war more problematic for the big powers, at least. Moreover, the old days, when an imperialist nation could simply load up its ships with men and materiel and invade another society seem on the wane. (Some would say, not entirely so and cite the American invasions of Haiti and Panama and the UN sponsored response to the invasion of Kuwait) But no longer are many of the peoples of the third world so weak and unprepared that an overt military action against them promises easy success for the aggressor. Vietnam and Afghanistan demonstrate that rather conclusively.

The shadowy practice of using clandestine force has been a tool of political groups since earliest times. Undercover warriors have been carrying on campaigns of deception, sabotage, assassination, blackmail, and other kinds of scurrilous behavior, at least since the dawn of the city-state and the ancient empires. It is certain that nearly all major nations carry on these activities; what is not so certain is the extent of their success. Even smaller states and dissident groups within them can use certain covert activities such as clandestine bombing of military and civilian targets (often called
terrorism) to attempt to further their goals. Today, covert escapades usually feature activities that cannot, for one reason or another, stand the light of public scrutiny or be openly attributable to the leadership of the responsible nation, although some groups proudly claim responsibility for covert actions of various kinds. Be aware that many nations do not have covert capabilities.

Assignment

Your job is to seek information about the existence, the organization, extent of use, the numbers, training, and types of personnel of the covert action forces and the societal perceptions of their legitimacy and usefulness. The analyst tries to find case studies of covert action that may demonstrate their effectiveness and the emphasis that the country places on this kind of activity in promoting their national security. Do not neglect the possibility that semi-official or unofficial groups loosely connected to the government may be a source of major clandestine activity. Again, the determination of the nature and mission of the covert apparatus must contribute to our understanding of the nation’s foreign policy orientation to be commented upon. If your country does not have such an apparatus, ignore this section. The write-up linking these factors and the foreign policy orientation of your country should be here and, perhaps, in Section II.

The Sources. The study of covert action has captured the interest of a significant number of scholars and commentators. This is particularly true when an identifiable incident has occurred. Then articles and even books are written about the case and in these publications you can often find out valuable information on the nature and purposes of the covert action organizations involved. Of course any comprehensive study of the foreign policy of your country will contain information on covert activities, if the country has them, of course.

Hints to Accomplish Assignment Successfully. The best advice here is to try to locate a specific case study in which your country was involved in covert activities and to summarize that in terms of its relationship to its foreign policy orientation.

Length of This Section: 1 to 2 pages.

2. National Prosperity System and Policies

It should be clear that the way a people organize their national economic system has an influence on the orientation of their foreign policy. For example, if they are interested in protecting their local industries from outside competition, their orientation toward tariffs and quotas is likely to be favorable. We are interested not only in the type of economic system and how efficiently and expertly they organize economic life, but also in the nation’s current economic capabilities.

We have organized the discussion as follows: (1) A brief discussion of the basic characteristics of a national economy, including the type of system, the condition of the economy, its size, its national indicators and domestic economic policies of the government; and (2) Its capabilities including its industrial capacity, its technology, its labor force and its infrastructure, including its transportation system, its educational system, its information and communication system, and its energy situation. Then we go directly to a requirement to identify and explain the country’s foreign prosperity (economic) situation, the perspectives, strategies, and patterns of behavior in the global system.
a. Basic Characteristics of the National Prosperity System

We turn first to a discussion of what we mean by “type of economic system.”

Type of Economic System

A discussion of the type of economy focuses on the role of government in the economy, particularly on the extent to which the government is involved in managing the economy. Two polar concepts should help to make this focus clear: the command economy and the free-enterprise economy.

A command economy features governmental planning of production and consumption, administrative decisions on the price of products (rather than prices determined by market forces), and governmental ownership of the means of production and the channels of distribution (stores, markets and services). Social ownership of the means of production is the hallmark of this type.

A free-enterprise economy features minimal governmental involvement in the production and distribution of goods and services and a dependency on the “invisible hand” of the market forces of supply and demand to determine the production, distribution, and price of economic goods. Private ownership of the means of production is the hallmark of this type.

Enhanced productivity through planning and cooperation is the watchword of one; productivity through competition and survival of the most effective is the watchword of the other.

No major economy in the world lies fully at either end of these polar extremes. Rather, economies can be found at various points in between. Thus command economies have some degree of private enterprise, such as free markets for agriculture, shop ownership for small trades people, and privately owned service enterprises.

Although the free enterprise, market-oriented type of system now seems to be becoming more attractive, it is simply a myth that unfettered private enterprise operates in any major country of the world, nor could it, if the well-known failures of that type of system are to be avoided. Almost without exception, governments, including those who are the staunchest advocates of free enterprise, will continue to feature extensive governmental intervention through taxation, manipulation of the currency and interest rates, regulation of competition, and involvement in health, education and welfare matters. Even outright ownership of “natural” monopolies, such as the post-office and telephone systems is often found in this type of economy.

The Structure of the Economy
Here we are mainly interested in how the economy is organized. Economies can be characterized by the degree of concentration of ownership of the means of product, by the existence and role of labor unions, by the arrangement of production and distribution into large, medium, and small units, by the means of capital formation (existence of a stock market, mutual funds, institutional bonds), and by the nature and extent of financial institutions (banks, credit unions, brokerages etc.) The question of how they interact is complex, but the result of their interaction can be generally assessed in terms of the overall quality and competence of this structure. Knowledge of the centers of power within the structure of the economy must be assessed if we are to understand its strengths and weaknesses. We believe that the best way to get a reliable picture of the structure

Assignment for Type and Structure

Your job here is to ascertain the type of political economy your country features, its basic structure, and in what direction (more market or more government intervention and planning) the country seems to be heading. You need to describe very briefly the basic elements of the structure and make an overall assessment of their operation. You need to gather evidence on the degree of involvement of your country’s government in its economy and then to make a judgment if the type of economy has a discernible impact on the foreign policy orientation of the country. Provide specific evidence, if it does. (The instructor may give bonus points for an unusually effective discussion of this section.) Place the results of your analysis here and in the summatory section at the end of Part One, but only if it is one of the most important influences.

The Sources. Information on these matters can be obtained from recent economic histories, articles in journals, newspapers and magazines, and, usually, from the country study or similar publications. Pay particular attention to publications from international organizations, including the World Bank, IMF, and from other governmental publications.

Hints to Accomplish Assignment Successfully. This is one of the easiest parts of the FPO assignment. However, be alert to ways in which the type of economy may influence foreign policy makers.

Length of This Section: 1 page.

b. The Overall Condition of the National Economy

Like people, national economies can be healthy or sick or something in between. Thus, one can place them among the economically developed countries (EDCs) or the less developed countries (LDCs). And now there is a new category called newly industrializing countries (NICs). Although the matter of placing nations in one of these categories might seem easy, it is not so easy in reality. Are some countries retrogressing who were former EDCs? If so, how far? Economists and others have been grappling with this matter and several of the major international organizations have focused their attention on trying to make sense out of classifying the economies of the world. Gross National Product, Gross Domestic Product, Purchasing Power Parity, national income, per capita income etc. are all ways to try to discover a good classification system that can guide policy and make some informed judgments of the health and vitality of national economies. Of course, we know, almost without reflection that most of the countries of the Southern Hemisphere are poor countries with horrendous problems. And we know too, that in the North there are extremely wealthy countries by comparison, even though they may not have solved the problem of poverty within their borders. Thus any effort to discover the foreign policy orientation of a country must focus on gathering data about
the condition of your country’s economy. Fortunately, there is ample information about this aspect. In keeping with standard practice, we call these statistical measures National Indicators. We also argue that an additional important way to determine the condition of a national economy is to look at its capabilities that include industrial, agricultural, labor, technological, energy and infrastructure.

(1) National Indicators

We contend that the best way of getting at these national indicators is to focus on four aspects of a nation’s domestic economic policies. This will give us insight into the overall health of the national economy and the resulting quality of life of its peoples. Like most economists, we have divided this discussion into four categories:

- : the distribution of income and governmental policies
- price stability and inflation and governmental policies
- self-sufficiency and governmental policies
- growth and development and governmental policies

Let us begin first with distribution of income.

(a) Distribution of Income.

The question of what government does about the distribution of income is one of the central questions in analyzing the overall health of the economy and in estimating the potential for participation in the international economy. The determination of the health of the economy is also part of a calculation concerning its potential for unrest and even revolution. As we know, there are a number of policy alternatives in this area.

Some countries have opted for a policy that encourages individual incentives and unequal rewards for those who are most successful in income acquisition. This position creates wide gaps in income. The argument runs that if people are to contribute most effectively in the production of wealth, they must be given the prospect of gaining significant income differentials over those who are not willing (or able) to put out the same intense, creative, or hard-working effort. These disparities in income are supposed not only to increase incentives, but also to lead to greater savings, both of which lie at the center of promoting economic growth for the entire society. Moreover, the argument continues, without permitting significant gaps in income, the engine of economic growth slows down, as people find no particular advantage to working hard and saving.

Others argue that permitting great gaps between the rich and the poor is not only unfair, particularly if people are permitted to inherit significant wealth, but it will eventually result in a breakdown in the whole system as the ranks of the poor are swollen to the point of revolt. Karl Marx and other 19th century students of the workings of capitalism pointed this out most dramatically and their predictions came true, forcing governments to intervene.

Today, most governments are pressured to deal with the question of an appropriate response to the income distribution question. It is obviously an explosive issue in many places of the world. The field of battle is taxation policy and the right to property ownership and transfer. It is there that an
analyst must look for a description of the situation and an assessment of its foreign policy orientation effect, if any.

(b) Price Stability and Inflation.

In both command and free enterprise economies, the question of the desirability of promoting price stability and avoiding inflation is a knotty one. Command economies have tended to opt for price controls, particularly on the staples of life, such as rents, basic foods, transportation, electric and steam power, and other basic services. This policy tends to mask inflationary pressures and to distort the costs of production of a commodity, thereby leading to inefficient use of scarce resources, particularly power.

Free enterprise economies with few governmental controls have experienced great fluctuations in prices and cycles of boom and bust, leading to severe recessions and even depressions, as well as value destroying inflation on occasion. People with fixed incomes, the salaried, the retired, and other disadvantaged often suffer greatly when prices soar and inflation wipes out savings.

The challenge for governments is obviously how to “fine tune” the economy so that prosperity can be had for the greatest number of the people. Contemporary answers to the challenge range as widely as the deregulating, supply-side thrust of the recent Reagan administration to the tight controls over prices of basic products prevalent in the People’s Republic of China.

At this time, the answers to the question of which policies are best are often confused and always, of course, value-laden. Nonetheless, the foreign policy analyst seeks to understand the “pictures in people’s heads” and their relationship to foreign policy.

(c) Self Sufficiency or Comparative Advantage

In an effort to shield themselves from the uncertainties of the global market, some countries seek to become self-sufficient. That is, they want to rely as much as they can on their own resources and abilities to become prosperous. This means that the government tends to follow a policy of autarkie or heavy restriction on imports of goods from abroad. The policy stresses that a country should only import items truly essential to the health of the economy. Some large countries at various times have attempted to follow this policy, but with the globalization of the world’s economic system that has become increasingly difficult. Still this orientation exists and you need to discover whether your country is captured by the idea, even if in small measure.

The policy at the other end of the self-sufficiency orientation is a policy of comparative advantage. The governments following this policy encourage a more or less full participation the international political economy based on the principle of comparative advantage (or comparative costs). Simply put, this means that a government will generally have low tariff barriers and will rely on producing and exporting those goods and services in which they are comparatively strong and efficient.

(d) Growth and Development.

To discover a guaranteed way to promote economic growth and development sometimes seems comparable to the elusive attempt to discover the secret to prevent aging. Proposals abound; nostrums multiply; and guaranteed solutions are few. During the past five decades, social scientists and others
have intensified the effort to answer the question of how best to promote and sustain economic growth in a nation.

Many have focused on the poor countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, but the issue of proper growth policy captures the attention of the governments of the more developed rest of the world as well. In many ways, growth policy is the stuff of high drama dealing as it does with questions of poverty and wealth, starvation and conspicuous consumption, life and death, and optimism or pessimism toward the economic future of a people. As contending groups or classes of people within a nation seek to hold on to what they have and/or gain greater material satisfaction, the play becomes a tale of bitter conflict, and at times, of hopeless resignation by the most disadvantaged.

Growth policy thus becomes the *mise en scene* for an unfolding drama, as the players realize that policies toward income distribution, self-sufficiency, and price stability and inflation have important consequences for the desire to grow and develop. For example, a focus on rapid growth as a major goal may clash with a desire to maintain price stability and avoid inflation; while a focus on an equal income distribution may diminish the pace of growth; or, again, a stress on self-sufficiency may undercut the growth advantages to be gained from following a policy of free trade based on the law of comparative advantage. Small wonder that governmental attempts to fashion policies that will be the most effective in helping to achieve prosperity are so filled with difficulty and complexity.

The identification of popular attitudes of the people and of the regime toward these central economic policy issues is the job of the foreign policy analyst who seeks to understand the political economy capabilities of a nation and their influence on its foreign policy orientation.

Assignment for Domestic Economic Policies

*Your job is to discover the indicators (data) for each of the four categories and the policy perspective of your country’s government toward them)*

- **income distribution.** You now need to discover the data first and then governmental policies toward income distribution. Are these policies recent? Are they widely accepted or are they a bone of major contention? What kind of taxes on the population does the government levy? Who benefits, the most? Who the least? What inheritance laws are there? How are they and other taxation policies enforced? Does the government carry out its taxation policies efficiently and fairly? Is there notorious tax evasion?

- **inflation and price stability.** Is there evidence of major inflation as a threat to the economy now or in the past? How did the government attempt to control it? Did it succeed or not? Why? How does the current government regard inflation? What policies does the government have toward inflation? Why?

- **self-sufficiency.** Is there a general sense that it is bad to rely on imports from outside to promote the well being of the economy? How do you know that? What is the policy of the government toward self-sufficiency? What are the tariff levels and other important data (See Atlantis for what we want)

- **growth and development of your country.** Is the government trying to do anything specific about promoting growth or is it letting the market determine the course of
events? If it is doing something to promote or restrain growth, has it been successful? Why or why not?

In these four categories, the most important task is to relate your findings to the foreign policy orientation of the country here and in Section II. Besides contributing to the understanding of the economic capabilities of the country, this task is necessary to help clarify a later discussion of economic relationships between your country and the rest of the world. In the narrative write-up of this entire section on governmental policies, you need to identify possible contradictions brought on by the policy mix you have discovered. Of course you need to make your assessment of the connections, if any, between any or all of these topics to the foreign policy orientation of your country’s decision-makers. The write up should be here and, perhaps, in Section II.

Sources: The best sources are articles and books written by economists on these topics. By the use of Investigator, Lexis-Nexis and various other indexes, you should be able to locate them. The government documents section of the library often is a veritable gold mine of information and analysis of the kind needed here, particularly if the Congress has focused on your country. Do not hesitate to seek the services of our librarians, particularly in government documents. They are very talented and very knowledgeable about international relations sources. The publications by the Economic Intelligence Unit and the State Department’s and CIA’s analyzes are often quite comprehensive.

Hints to Accomplish This Assignment Successfully. Students have usually fallen down in locating and describing the policies that are required here. Instead they present data on the various categories. Again, the discovery of the indicators and the description of the policies is only part of your job. We are interested in what connection they may have to the condition of the economy and then to the foreign policy orientation of the country. You may be able to pick out the ones that have most relevance to foreign policy orientation and to report that in Section II as well as here.

Length of this Section: 3 to 4 pages (excluding charts and graphs)

b) Economic Capabilities

We have discussed the role of the type of economy, the national indicators and the government policies on the condition of the national economy. The industrial revolution of the 18th and 19th centuries which focused the creative and inventive abilities of outstanding intellects on the productive process opened up the possibility of ending poverty and reducing human suffering. Despite the sometime deleterious effects of this radical change in human productive potential, there is little doubt that the idea of a reasonable plenty has spread now around the world. It has become part of the mindset of large numbers of people on every continent. No government can afford to ignore the capabilities question for long. Thus the foreign policy analyst must pay special attention to the question of how capable is the national economic system to fulfill the goal of prosperity for the country.

To do this, we turn to what some commentators have called capability analysis, but we give it a special meaning: capability analysis focuses on the problem of assessing the extent and quality of five major aspects of the economy: (1) Industrial Capability, including the extent of capital plant, its modernity or lack thereof, its quality, and its connection to foreign trade and investment; (2) Agricultural Capability, including the extent and quality of its productive capacity, its ability to produce surpluses for export or its inability to meet domestic demand, and its potential for change; (3)
Technological Capability, including the extent and quality of its domestic technology, the degree to which it must rely on outside sources to enhance its technological capability, and its overall ranking in the world’s technology picture; (4) Labor Force Capability, including the training and quality of its work force, its motivational situation, and the extent of dependence on foreign labor; and (5) Energy Capability, including its overall situation in regard to energy production, its sources of energy, the quality and extent of energy producing facilities, and its dependence on outside energy sources.

Whether a country scores high or low on one or another of these capabilities, it is clear that its position will influence its foreign policy orientation. For example, if a country’s possession of efficient energy producing capacities is in short supply, as Japan’s or France’s possession of oil, then it must look to other suppliers to meet its needs. Similarly, if a country has an unskilled work force, it cannot hope to attract foreign investment in advanced technology production. On the other hand, an LDC with a highly skillful work force, like the Philippines, may well orient its foreign economic policy toward attracting foreign investment. A country’s possession of a high degree of technological sophistication may give it advantage in the international arena and, conversely, the lack of this sophistication may condemn a country to the production of primary products only and thus make it vulnerable to the fluctuations of the international commodity markets. These are the types of consideration you need to make as you seek to assess the facts of your country’s capabilities in all of these categories. A country’s capabilities do not end with these five factors. Undergirding them all is the country’s infrastructure. We turn to a brief discussion of infrastructure as part of capability analysis.

A country simply cannot modernize and move forward without a minimally capable infrastructure, especially a transportation system of roads, railroads, waterways, and airways, a sound universal education system of elementary, secondary, and college training, a reasonably modern communication system, including telecommunications, print media, and now utilization of e-mail and the internet. The nature of the infrastructure impacts almost every other aspect of the economy. The correlation between a poverty-stricken country and a primitive and inefficient infrastructure is high. A country has great difficulty emerging from an unsatisfactory economic condition without an infrastructure that is beginning to develop a modern system capable of moving goods, generating ideas and utilizing its people with efficiency and reliability. It is virtually impossible to do this without a competent and pervasive educational system upon which the ability to develop the other systems rests. Today, of course, a country needs to be able to travel along the “information highway” if it is to prosper in our increasingly technological world. So widely accepted is the need for capable infrastructure that it has become the target of planning and investment in almost every country of the world.

Assignment on Capabilities

Your job is to make an assessment of the capabilities of your country

- In agriculture
- In Industry
- In Labor
- In Technology
- In Energy
• **In Infrastructure**

What is the extent and quality of each of these categories? How do they compare with other countries? What weaknesses or inadequacies do you find? What are the leaders of your country doing to enhance their strengths and reduce their weaknesses? How does the capability situation influence the foreign policy of your country? With reference to the infrastructure, you need to describe the existing infrastructure and to make an assessment of its condition. It is very useful to put your assessments in comparative perspective. This means that you need to compare your analysis with other countries as well. It is usually best to compare the situation on a worldwide basis and with countries in your country’s region, as well. The foreign policy orientation connection should be here and in Section II.

The Sources. **The best sources are books and articles that discuss the strengths and weaknesses of your country’s economy.** Some countries, mainly the EDCs, have the most sophisticated comprehensive economic data in the world; others, mainly the LDCs, frequently have very primitive data gathering systems, so making a capability assessment is more difficult and problematic. Fortunately, in most cases, information about capabilities is rather easy to find. Every country is under pressure to gather efficient data so that each will have a good sense of where they stand and what they must do. The business of promoting economic development depends in significant measure on the availability of facts or data about the economy. Publications of the World Bank, the United Nations Development Program, the IMF, GATT/WTO, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the World Book of Rankings, and various other sources are available to supplement country studies by scholars from many countries. Their studies are found in the scholarly periodicals and in books as well.

Hints to Accomplish Assignment Successfully. **The tenacity of a good researcher and the intelligence of a good analyst are the basic qualities for accomplishing this assignment.** You may have the latter, but you may not be used to the former. You live in an area that abounds with good libraries (some of the best in the world) and you have access to Lexis-Nexis, the World Wide Web etc. If, as Thomas Edison said, “Genius is one-percent inspiration and 99 percent perspiration, you need to “perspire” like an investigative reporter or an employee of a risk analysis organization that specializes in giving their clients an accurate overview of countries all over the world. Do not forget the desirability of using charts and graphs to help you summarize and compare. Remember all this data is of no use if you do not relate it to the foreign policies of your country.

Length of This Section. 4 to 5 pages.

**IV. Foreign Policy Frameworks and Policies toward Security, Prosperity, Status, and the Environment**

We now arrive at the section on foreign policy frameworks and foreign policy behavior as manifested in their policies and perspective. Foreign Security policies become our first focus.
A. Foreign Security Policies: An Outcome of Foreign Policy Orientation

All nations have policies and practices to try to promote their national security. In order to
discover what these policies and practices are you need to have a conceptual framework to organize
your thinking and guide your research. The first concept is threat assessment of the current security
situation; the second is the basic perspectives and national security strategies; and the third is
national security patterns.

1. National Security: Basic Strategies

In a somewhat anarchic system, the need to develop strategies to promote the security of a country
(or its way of life) is paramount. Since long before the development of the international system as we
know it today, leaders, their advisors, and various commentators have pondered about the best way to
promote the security of the group. Two basic ideas have governed the consideration of what strategy
would be better: (1) To cooperate in some form with other nations or (2) to attempt to rely mainly on
the country’s strength and/or on its wits to preserve its security and independence. As you research
your country’s strategies you may find that it follows more than one of the strategies discussed briefly
below. This is not unusual. The United States, for example, pushes for a limited disarmament of
nuclear weapons, while at the same keeping a commitment to the North Atlantic Treaty alliance and
to a United Nations version of collective security. Not content to leave its security to these devices, it
continues to maintain a fortress strategy replete with the most awesome military power in the world.

Balance of Power Alliance. Some of the earliest strategists came forward with a strategy we now
call a balance of power strategy. It is based on the idea that it is wise for the leaders of a country to
ally with other countries in the interest of balancing the power of a threatening country or countries.
In this way the threatening one or ones will be deterred from attacking or be defeated in battle. The
balance of power strategy contains a number of variations that need not detain us here, but it is useful
to look for indications that your country may be involved in a balance of power alliance system.

Collective Security. A second strategy stemming from this perspective is the well-known
collective security strategy. It is based on the idea that all of the nations in a system, whether regional
or worldwide, agree to oppose with their combined strengths any nation that breaks the peace. While
this strategy confronts many obstacles to successful implementation, it remains a part of the
alternative conceptions of how best to promote a nation’s security. In one sense all members of the
United Nations have agreed to a collective security strategy, but the pull of national self-interest
operates to make it difficult for the agreement to cooperate, except in unusual circumstances such as
the Gulf War.

Limited or Full-Scale Disarmament. This is a third strategy somewhat related to the
affiliationist perspective. Signatories to the various treaties on strategic arms limitation and the
nuclear test ban treaty have turned to this strategy as a means of limiting the possibility of nuclear war
that would probably devastate all of humankind. While there is great skepticism about the ability to
make these limitations stick, there is remembrance that limited disarmament was partially successful
between the two world wars.

Fortress. A fortress strategy is to keep others out of the country by arming and fortifying one’s
own country. (It could also be called a deterrence strategy, but we are saving that term for the
discussion of nuclear strategy). This strategy has a long history. The Great Wall of China in ancient
times, the Maginot Line of World War II, the Star Wars conception by the Reagan administration in
the present era, and a host of other self-reliant military perspectives have captured the attention and commitment of strategic planners for centuries. Closely related to this general idea of a fortress strategy are the military strategies of a country. Nuclear strategy such as mutually assured destruction (MAD) or nuclear utilization theory (NUT) force de frappe, defense in depth, rapid deployment forces, and several other military strategies are illustrations of this type of strategy.

**Isolationist.** An isolationist strategy is to isolate one’s country from the quarrels of other countries. This strategy can, of course, go hand-in-hand with the fortress strategy when leaders decide to establish a defensive military apparatus with the hope of deterring potential aggressors.

**Imperialist.** An imperialist strategy is to seek control over other nations, in part, to improve their security situation in the region or in the world at large. Although this strategy has roots in ancient times, it has been particularly evident in the era of the Euro-centered nation-state system of the past two centuries. As we have seen the Europeans (and eventually the Americans and the Japanese) sought to guarantee access to vital raw materials essential to the nation’s military prowess and to the economy by political and economic control of other nations. This is imperialism.

Nations desirous of leading the world, of deterring the threat of aggressive powers, or of obtaining a hegemonic position in a region have launched imperialist adventures in search of profit and materials needed to establish and maintain a formidable military machine and a wealthy, vigorous citizenry. The race for colonies and spheres of imperialistic influence in the 18th and 19th centuries is an example of this strategy when individual European nations sought to bring the nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America into the power balance in Europe.

**Nationalistic-Universalist.** Hans Morgenthau, the distinguished international relations scholar, has provided us with a variation on the imperialist theme in his concept of Nationalistic Universalism. He pointed out that the people and their leaders in some nations have been so convinced of the superiority of their socio-politico-economic system (ideology) that they attempt to spread it to the rest of the world. An important element in this strategy is the idea that if others adopt the ways of thinking and behaving of the nationalistic-universalist nations the security of the nation will be enhanced. Both American-sponsored support for democratic/capitalist regimes and the former Soviet Union’s desire to spread the benefits of communism round the world are examples of this security strategy. Today some radical religious leaders and their followers, both Christian and Islamic, support the idea of spreading their way of life to the rest of the world.

Even though the age of blatant imperialism may seem to be over, you may still find some in your country just waiting for an opportunity to reestablish imperial control or to take unilateral action to maintain imperialist influence in other countries. It is clear that the imperialist strategy can take several forms and you must be alert to its possibility as you seek to describe the foreign policies of your country.

**Non-Aligned or Neutralist.** A self-reliant strategy is sometimes labeled the non-aligned or neutralist strategy. Obviously related to the isolationist position, it nonetheless differs in that its proponents recognize the extreme difficulty of disengagement from the affairs of the world. In the Cold War period, when the United States and the Soviet Union contested each other for influence, alliance and military support around the world, there were many countries that wished to remove themselves from having to take sides with one or the other of these superpowers. The non-aligned movement was the result. To stay neutral and non-aligned with other nations was considered the best security strategy by leaders in many countries.
**Appeasement.** An *appeasement* strategy is a strategy in which a country seeks to appease and otherwise accommodate the demands by another nation in hopes that this will deter further demands. The United Kingdom in its decision not to oppose Hitler’s moves to control Austria and the Rhineland in hopes of obtaining “peace for our time” is a clear example of this strategy.

2. **National Security Patterns**

Analysts of a particular nation’s security situation and strategies search for patterns of behavior in order to predict what they are likely to do in given situations. Of course, the search for regularities sends them on a voyage into the nation’s past in an effort to project the future. The country may be an alliance proponent or a leader of non-alignment strategy. It may have shown a tendency to appease enemies. While analysts must be cognizant of the fact that patterns may change, they nonetheless seek to know if there are regularities in a nation’s response to security situations. Thus, one might find that the United States in the twentieth century has had an uneven pattern of strategies, at times following alliance strategies, at other times following isolationist strategies, sometimes following self-reliant fortress strategies, and even following nationalistic universalist strategies. A look at China’s past might suggest an isolationist past strategy combined with a fortress strategy.

Sometimes the leaders of a country may give advance warning of the pattern of action they intend to take in a given international situation. These are generally called doctrines and they herald a very important stance toward certain issues in the international system. International Relations abound with these statements of official policy. Students of international relations are usually familiar with the most famous of them: the Monroe Doctrine, the Brezhnev Doctrine, the Truman Doctrine, the Containment Doctrine and the Hallstein Doctrine, to mention a few. Underlying these and other doctrines is the intention to make clear what actions are likely to be taken toward a certain problem when it is perceived to involve the security of the nation. As such, doctrines are announcements of security strategies in advance and they suggest a patterned response. We hasten to point out that not all countries have doctrines and that adherence to doctrines is often problematic and situational.

**Assignment**

*Your job is, first, to make a security assessment.* Who are the nation’s enemies, actual or potential? Who are its friends? What does the leadership regard as its most important security problems? What, if any, separatist movements are there? How powerful are they? What is their prospect for success? Are there revolutionary groups in the society? How powerful are they? What appear to be their chances of success? (You already have identified these threats to internal stability in Part One. Now you need to note what security strategies, including possible help from outside, are being followed.) Make a brief statement featuring your overall assessment of the situation.

Secondly, you need to discover what are the basic perspectives (ideas) and security strategies that your country is now following. You may find that your country follows more than one of the strategies briefly discussed above. If you have a nuclear-armed country, you may need to deal with the questions of MAD or NUT strategies.

Thirdly, you must make an effort at identifying what regularized patterns of responses to its security situation the country has been following. Has it reacted to threats in consistent ways over time or have its strategies fluctuated? What would you predict for the future? *Most importantly, we want you to attempt to categorize the leaders of your country in terms of the various theories of international relations that you have studied in IR 301 and in IR 104.* What theory do they seem
to be following? How does that theory relate to the strategies you contend that they follow? Do you think, their theoretical perspective helps or hinders them in making good strategic choices?

The Sources. Your best sources are more likely to be recent scholarly journals, newspapers, newsmagazines, and journals of opinion. Occasionally a new book will contain valuable information here. It is often useful to contact the diplomatic representatives of your country, but remember they will give you the “party line.”

Hints to Accomplish Assignment Successfully. Do not rely on papers from past classes, including your advocate’s, because this way of organizing the assignment is new. We believe there is less duplication and better sets of concepts than in the past. This makes it even more important that you read and understand the text completely. If you have questions, do not hesitate to ask the instructor. Also remember that a country may have more than one of the strategies discussed above and that it may have both perspectives at the same time.

Length of This Section: 4 to 5 pages.


Threat assessment means making a thorough evaluation of a country’s security situation. A country may have major threats to its existence as a nation or it may have worrisome, but rather latent threats that are not on the “front burner” currently. Of course, some countries may not have identifiable threats and yet feel the need to prepare for unexpected eventualities, including threats from within. Another part of this effort is to locate friends (allies?), as well as enemies. Which are the countries that can be counted upon in case of danger and which are those that are likely to remain neutral become grist for the analyst’s mill. An analyst even attempts to assess the possible changes in security status that may impact the country in time of crisis. The analyst must make this assessment with as comprehensive a picture of the situation as possible. Only then can the analyst proceed confidently with an effort to discover perspectives and strategies to meet whatever type threats there are.

B. Foreign Prosperity Policies

In the same manner as in the discussion of security policies, all nations have policies and practices to try to promote their prosperity in the international arena. This time we have a somewhat similar conceptual framework to propose. The first concept is the basic perspectives and prosperity strategies, and the second is the international prosperity patterns of your country, and finally an over all assessment of the current situation in terms of challenges and opportunities in the international political economy

1. Prosperity Perspectives and Strategies

a. Perspectives

Much as in our discussion of foreign security perspectives and strategies, there are two basic perspectives or ideas that provide the framework for consideration of strategies in the international political economy:
(1) **Mercantilism or economic nationalism** that is an effort to provide protection for the national economy by means of governmental imposition of tariffs, quotas, and other restraints in trade;

(2) **Free trade** that is a decision to permit a country’s combination of land, labor, and capital to determine the nature of interchange in the international economy with minimal governmental intervention (Before turning to questions of strategy, we will discuss these two polar concepts briefly.

(3) **Fair trade** that is a somewhat new idea that features the contention that other considerations such as environmental concerns, the rights and conditions of labor, the problem of lost jobs, and other possibly deleterious aspects of the globalization of the international economy must be taken into account. While no government has this idea as a current policy perspective, the idea has clearly caused governments to give the matter consideration as in the recent discussions and demonstrations at the Seattle World Trade Organization meeting in December of 1999.

**Mercantilism or Economic Nationalism.** The organizing idea for the international political economy was, at first, mercantilist. It reflected a concern for the economic interests of the nation as a whole and featured intervention by governments through tariff protection of home industries. The mercantilist policy-makers hoped to spark further growth by increasing foreign trade through state-supported monopolies and by encouraging a preponderance of exports over imports. This meant that gold and silver would flow into the coffers of the nation as indicators of their increasing wealth. The mercantilist idea was based on the assumption that there was a constant economic pie to divide, and that some would be winners and some losers in the trading process.

Unfortunately for the supporters of the mercantilist doctrine, the consequence led to inflation and general impoverishment, as Spain found out. The intellectual onslaught against the mercantilist idea launched by Adam Smith, David Hume, David Ricardo, John Stuart Mill and the entrepreneurs who were eager to challenge the state-supported monopolies. This attack led to the principle of “free trade” as a preferred idea about how the international political economy should operate if the increase of the Wealth of Nations were to be the goal.

**Free Trade.** These intellectuals developed the ideas of absolute and comparative advantage as the basis for trade and urged only minimal governmental regulation of trade and commerce. These two ideas rested on the contention that nations are variously endowed with the productive factors of land, labor, and capital and that these different endowments would lead to the more efficient production of some products and not others. What someone has called the most beautiful idea in economics, ”the law of comparative advantage or costs,” contends that a people should produce those things for which their country’s combination of land, labor, and capital gives them a comparative advantage and that they should trade for products which other countries produce more efficiently. Thus, a country should focus on producing and trading those products in which it had an advantage, while gaining other products through international trade. The consequence would be an increase in the availability of commodities for consumption and a mutually rewarding increase of the economic pie. The “invisible hand” of prudent economic relationships was supposed to lead to an expansion of the world’s total production with the possibility of improved living standards for all.

Despite the theoretical elegance of the law of comparative advantage, few nations have been willing to follow policies based entirely on this idea. Often spurred on by special interest groups who would be disadvantaged if free trade were permitted to operate, few nations fully follow completely the logic of comparative advantage in their trading practices. Moreover, national leaders are often influenced by political security concerns for access to vital food and minerals during time of war.
Thus, the existence of tariffs, quotas, subsidies, and other devices to make the purchase of foreign products less attractive in the domestic market continually alter the trading networks of the world.

Nonetheless today’s world witnesses the predominance of the free-trade doctrine. Although the mercantilist idea of the need for protective tariffs has never left the policy horizon, many world leaders profess adherence to free-trade perspective. Despite the fact that the economies guided by the “invisible hand” have not satisfactorily spread prosperity to all classes and nations, this idea is the most popular among the trading countries of the Northern Hemisphere. Yet even their perspective may be changing as production and jobs flee from their countries to countries where profits are greater. The generally poorer countries of the Southern Hemisphere lean toward protection of their newly emerging industries. These lesser-developed countries urge the highly developed country not to erect barriers to their exports, particularly to their primary products of field and mine. It is clear that they would like to have it both ways. While the debate continues, there is little doubt that free trade doctrine with important modification is the operating principle of the international political economy. Yet it is vigorously under attack both by scholars and practitioners. (See the debate over NAFTA and the discussion above about “fair trade.”).

Perhaps one of the most important attacks on free trade come from Latin American thinkers, primarily in their “dependency theory” and from Immanuel Wallerstein and his followers in their world systems’ theory. They have clearly influenced the intellectual elites in the developing world. Both of these theories contend that the current capitalist way of organizing the world puts most of the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America in a dependent or peripheral relationship with the advanced capitalist countries. This situation makes it difficult, if not impossible, for them to grow and develop.

In a challenging “class analysis” resting largely on a Marxist perspective, they argue that the world is not just a place of nation-states, but, more profoundly, a linking of the advantaged classes across national boundaries. They point out that indigenous capital funds necessary for development of these countries flee to the center of the world’s economy and condemn most of the peoples in the underdeveloped lands to remain as appendages to the world economy, rarely enjoying its fruits. They contend that only by a radical reorganization of the world can this unsatisfactory condition be remedied.

**Assignment**

*Your job* is to determine which of the major foreign trade perspectives, discussed above, appear to be influencing the set of foreign economic goals and priorities of your country. Be certain that you have gained a grasp of the principles of “mercantilism,” “free-trade,” “dependency,” “world system,” and whatever variations on these themes exist. In particular, you need to examine tariff and other indications of trade restrictions and to focus on the flow and nature of investment to discover where your country stands concerning these doctrinal positions. Pay particular attention to the international organization documents for available statistics and commentary.

**The Sources.** Almost any scholarly work on the foreign economic policies and perspectives of your country will provide information and analysis relevant to your assignment. International economic and financial organizations have a number of publications that are likely to the source of trade and investment data you are seeking. The IMF, the World Bank, the US Department of Commerce and a host of other business and economic books and journals will have the information you seek.
Hints to Accomplish Assignment Successfully. Remember that space is limited. Here is the place where you can most effectively use graphs and charts. However, you must also realize that graphs and charts do not speak for themselves. You must always have a brief commentary on their meaning. While there is no one right way to organize the data and interpretation, you should keep in mind that clear, unambiguous communication is very important here and that this is obtained by a thoughtful organization of the information and analysis. Also do not forget that we want trend data wherever possible in this analysis.

**Length of This Section:** 1 to 2 pages, not including graphs and charts.

b. Foreign Economic Strategies for Promoting Prosperity

The pressure on statesmen and stateswomen to carry out policies that enhance the prosperity situation of their country is one of the strongest forces in today’s domestic and international political economy. Because leaders and the groups they lead generally want to remain in power, it has become ever more necessary for them to arrive at minimally satisfactory solutions to the problems posed by the unequal distribution of wealth in the world. A complete policy of self-sufficiency seems to be a luxury that few countries, if any, can afford. Even the giant continental powers, the United States and the Russia, have found it difficult to acquire all the resources and goods they believe they need within their own boundaries. Even if they could do so, it would not necessarily be efficient. Yet it remains as a consideration as nations attempt to insulate themselves, on occasion, from the vagaries of the international political economy. The fact is that this is not a plausible alternative in this day of the globalization of the world economy. So nations now turn to foreign economic policy to help improve their prosperity situation. Many strategies have been attempted with varying degrees of success. The analyst seeking to understand the foreign economic policy a country needs to be aware of some of these strategies and to determine which, if any of them are being chosen by those responsible for policy. The first group of strategies we have labeled self-reliant and the second group we call affiliationist.

1) Self-Reliant Strategies

The Protectionist Strategy. A protectionist strategy is a strategy of erecting high tariffs, quotas, and other import restrictions to protect certain segments of the nation’s economy. It is obviously based on the mercantilist or neo-mercantilist idea. Developing countries, and some of the advanced capitalist countries utilize it as well. The United States and Japan, for example, argue strenuously over the non-tariff barriers that Japan places on US agricultural products and some manufactures. The analyst needs to recognize that within a country there are often major political pressures on the leadership to protect given industries and their employees who were threatened by more efficient producers abroad.

The Import Substitution Strategy. An import substitution strategy is a strategy that restricts imports of manufactured goods while encouraging imports of raw materials and some advanced technology vital to development and designed to enhance the speed and quality of production. The idea is to protect the domestic market so that a diversified and vibrant modern economy can be established. The strategy might be summed up by the saying, “import the chicken, not the egg.” This is a variation on the protectionist strategy. This strategy has been followed by some of the large Latin American countries and has been a feature of the People’s Republic of China’s trade strategy until
recently. It continues to be attractive to those nations that are latecomers to the industrialization process.

**The Export Promotion Strategy.** An export promotion strategy features efforts to replace raw primary product exports with processed primary products, non-traditional semi-manufactures, and low and semi high-tech manufactures. It has been very successful in some of the smaller developing countries in Asia. Governments in countries with this strategy often ally with their producers to help establish new industries and new markets. The export promotion strategy is often spurred on by multinational corporations who contract out part of their production to low-wage economies in the developing world.

**The Hegemonic Strategy.** In international relations a hegemon is a country that seeks to dominate the system or does so with some degree of inadvertence. Economic historians and others have frequently observed that international political economy has from time to time been under the guiding influence of a hegemonic leader. The Dutch, the British, and the Americans have had this hegemonic position in periods reaching back to the 18th century and beyond. As hegemons, they facilitated the working of the international political economy (to their benefit and the benefit of some others) as bankers, investors, traders, and imperialists. Some students of international political economy argue that a peaceful and prosperous international system needs a strong hegemon to keep political and economic order in the otherwise anarchic world of nation-states. They argue strongly that the system must have a hegemon, if the international economy is to have a chance of operating efficiently and escaping resultant chaos. A current debate is whether the United States is a declining hegemon; whether the newly emerging European Community will assume the role; whether economically powerful Japan is able to assume the role; or whether some combination of the advanced countries will become a multi-national hegemon.

It is doubtful that any country today would admit to following or want to follow a hegemonic strategy with itself as the leader and arbiter of the world economy. Since managing the world’s economy is a difficult, even daunting, task nations have not recently raced forward to volunteer their services despite fact that countries such as the United States, the European Community, and Japan sometimes act as if they were hegemons. Perhaps, the Group of 7 of the EDCs is tomorrow’s hegemon.

2) **Affiliationist Strategies**

In general, an affiliationist orientation means that governmental leaders join with other countries to gain the benefits of foreign trade and investment. This desire to affiliate leads them to join international economic organizations or even form customs unions, free trade associations, and similar organizations so that they might diminish the barriers to trade and investment. Smaller countries are often found in this category. The most important affiliationist strategies are:

**The International Commodity Agreement.** This is a strategy designed to help nations, especially the LDCs, cope with the price instability and uncertainties of the international market. This strategy features agreements between producer and consumer countries, designed to “stabilize prices, assuring adequate supplies to consumers and to promoting the economic development of producers” (Carbaugh 156). Such devices as “export quotas,” “storing commodities” for future release, and “multi-lateral contracts” are the tools for implementing the commodity agreements.
**Preferential Trading Agreements.** This strategy usually occurs regionally or in efforts to retain mutually beneficial contacts between the former imperialized countries and the former imperialists. The regionalization of the international political economy that they portend is yet another way that leaders of nations have attempted to cope with the problems of the international political economy. These are trading blocs, where the participating members may erase all or most barriers to trade among them while maintaining some barriers to those who wish to import into their bloc. The preferential agreements may range from establishing a free trade area, for example the European Free Trade Association; to a customs union; to a common market; to a full economic unity; such as the European Economic Community intends to become. These obviously divert trade, sometimes to the disadvantage of the growth of productivity and efficiency in the world.

**The World Trade Organization (formerly the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade).** This strategy focuses on the reciprocal reduction of tariffs and other trade barriers on a non-discriminatory basis by multilateral agreement. An outstanding feature is the famed most-favored nation idea “whereby tariff reductions would apply not only to any given country entering an agreement” (Carbaugh 129), but to all other nations as well. More than eighty countries of the world now belong to the WTO, and the international community is continually witnessing periodic meetings (often called “rounds”) where the effort to lower barriers has resulted in major trade expansion since the close of World War II.

**The Transformationist Strategy.** The transformationist idea refers to the fact that many nations want to transform the system. They are unhappy with their unsatisfactory position in the system. This is clearly the attitude of many of the developing countries of the world. They feel that the cards have been stacked against them for centuries and that only a radical change in the system will permit them to prosper and grow. The call for a New International Economic Order (NIEO) is a dramatic illustration of this discontent. They want to transform the system and particularly the international division of labor. Many of them consider that they are in a dependent relationship with the countries at the core of the international political economy. This strategy leads them to request special treatment for tariffs, debt reduction, transfer of technology, and emigration.

**Assignment**

*Your job is to give a brief discussion of the strategies your country is using. It is usually best to mention several, since few countries follow only one, even though your country may not follow all of them. You need to describe any dramatic changes in basic perspectives and strategy, if they have come about recently. What theory or theories underlie their choices?*

**The Sources.** Almost any scholarly work on the foreign economic policies and perspectives of your country will provide information and analysis relevant to your assignment. International economic and financial organizations have a number of publications that are likely to the source of trade and investment data you are seeking. The IMF, the World Bank, the US Department of Commerce and a host of other business and economic books and journals will have the information you seek.

**Hints to Accomplish Assignment Successfully.** Remember that space is limited. Here is the place where you can most effectively use graphs and charts. However, you must also realize that graphs and charts do not speak for themselves. You must always have a brief commentary on their meaning. While there is no one right way to organize the data and interpretation, you should keep in mind that clear, unambiguous communication is very important here and that this is obtained by
a thoughtful organization of the information and analysis. Also do not forget that we want trend data wherever possible in this analysis.

Length of This Section: 1 to 2 pages, not including graphs and charts.

2. Patterns of Prosperity Interaction

As we did in the discussion of security policies, we turn to the need to discover patterns of your country’s foreign economic behavior. We have divided the discussion into four main sections: (a) Foreign Trade; (b) Capital Flow; (c) The Relationships with International Economic Organizations; and (d) a Balance of Payments Summary.

Foreign Trade: The analyst who seeks to understand a country’s foreign economic policies, their prospects and problems must discover the patterns of foreign trade for a country. The main trading partners, the main commodities exchanged in terms of imports and exports and their values or magnitude, and the relative condition of the terms of trade. Trends (at least 5 years) are very important here, since there often is significant difference in composition and direction over time. Some assessment of the vitality and soundness of the interchange is also necessary.

Capital Flow: A very important pattern in today’s world is the flow of investment capital and other forms of capital in or out of a country. The patterns of extending or receiving loans, investments, developmental aid, and technological assistance provide major insight into the foreign policy situation of a country. The direction (to whom from whom), the kind of investment or loans, their magnitude, and the debt situation tell us a great deal about the performance and purposes of a country in the international system. They also reveal the existence of various kinds of relationships that may have security aspects as well. Again, we must know trends (at least 5 years) in order to make satisfactory judgments and predictions about the direction that the country is going in the international arena. An assessment of the problems and prospects of capital flow is also necessary.

Relationships with International Financial Organizations: Most nations of the world have banded together in a number of international economic institutions. The analyst of the foreign policy of a country must know about these relationships to fill out the picture of national behavior in the system. These institutions focus on the regulation of trade, international finance and foreign exchange, and economic development. The International Trade Organization (formerly GATT) and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) are the two main bodies that focus on problems of trade, particularly trade barriers. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) is the chief regulatory agency that focuses on the problems of foreign exchange and international finance. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and its affiliates, the International Finance Corporation and the International Development Association, are usually referred to as the World Bank whose purpose is to provide aid and advice to the developing countries of the world. In addition, there are many other international economic organizations such as Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC); the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development; The Group of 77 less developed countries; and the Conference on International Economic Cooperation, to mention a few. Finally, there are a number of regional efforts to provide economic cooperation and even integration for groups of countries. The European Community is one that has moved most rapidly.

The Balance of Payments Summary: In a sense, the balance of payments trends for several years give us a summarizing picture of a country’s foreign economic position and help us have some ability to project into the future. The pattern over a ten-year period is desirable.
Assignment

Your job is to give a brief discussion of the patterns your country is using. Obviously, you must

- Gather data on the trading relationships of your country.
- Identify which commodities are involved?
- Discover who are the main trading partners?
- Discover the magnitude of the trade?
- Identify any problems with trading partners? If so, are they being solved or do they remain as sore points?
- Indicate what sorts of restrictions, if any, on trade does your country use? Do you expect any significant changes in the near future? In the long term?
- Gather data and interpret the meaning of the flow of capital, whether it is inward or outward or both. Who are the main recipients and/or extenders of loans or economic and technological aid? What are the magnitudes? Has it been used successfully, in the eyes of the investor or donor and in the eyes of the recipient? What capital flow problems exist? Are they being solved? What is the debt situation? Is it a major problem? What solutions are proposed or underway, if any?
- Analyze the balance of payments trends to demonstrate the success or failure of your country in the international economic arena?
- Identify, what theoretical perspective seems to have led to these patterns or can be used to explain these patterns?
- Find out what are the relationships of your country to the international financial organizations such as the World Bank and the IMF? What role does your country play? Does it have any problems with any of the organizations? If so, what kind and how are they trying to resolve them? Finally, we ask you to make a judgment about the health or lack thereof of your country in the system.

The Sources. Almost any scholarly work on the foreign economic policies and perspectives of your country will provide information and analysis relevant to your assignment. International economic and financial organizations have a number of publications that are likely to be the source of trade and investment data you are seeking. The IMF, the World Bank, the US Department of Commerce and a host of other business and economic books and journals will have the information you seek.

Hints to Accomplish Assignment Successfully. Remember that space is limited. Here again is a place where you can most effectively use graphs and charts. However, you must also realize that graphs and charts do not speak for themselves. You must always have a brief commentary on their meaning. While there is no one right way to organize the data and interpretation, you should keep in mind that clear, unambiguous communication is very important here and that this is obtained by
3. The Current Situation: Challenges and Opportunities

Now is the time for summing up of the foreign prosperity situation today. For most nations involvement in the international economic system offers both challenge and opportunity. The opportunity rests on prospects for advantageous trade and investment (or gaining economic aid); the challenge rests on the reality of often fierce competition in the international political economy for markets, raw materials, capital, and even sources of cheap labor. In the discussion of the impact of natural resources, demography, geography, the characteristics and conditions of the national economy on foreign policy orientation, you amassed significant amounts of data and interpretation of what these factors portend for the nation. In this section, the analyst needs to know as specifically as possible whether this combination of factors provides an overall advantageous position for the country as it interacts in the world political economy or do they put the country at risk in the system, or is it some of both? The determination of this position requires an overall assessment of the features of the country’s economy that aid or impede a country in its effort to promote their prosperity through interaction in the international political economy. In a sense, the assessment of the current situation requires a balancing of the pluses and minuses of the country’s ability to be a successful player in the international political economy. Above you have the perspectives, the data and your analysis. Your conclusions need to appear here and in a brief way in Section II.

Assignment:
Your job is to make a general assessment of your country’s advantages and disadvantages in the complex world of international trade and finance. What types of its products generally are most competitive in the world markets today? In regard to investment capital, in what situation does your country find itself? Does it have abundant working capital and a high savings rate that makes it less dependent on outside sources? Or are these in short supply resulting in a turn to borrowing from outside the country? Is the country an attractive place to invest? Why or why not? Is your country seriously in debt to outsiders? Where does it stand in relationship to the IMF, the World Bank and regional sources of assistance? Is it largely in a dependent situation where the terms of trade are continually running against the products it sells? How does your country’s growth rate affect its trade and investment potentials? How does your country’s level of education and skill of the labor force affect the country’s competitive position and attractiveness as a place to invest? Are your country’s financial institutions and practices contributory to smooth commercial interaction with other countries? What does the overall balance of payments situation tell us about the strengths and weaknesses of your country in international political economy? Who are your country’s main competitors? What are the most important problems of your country in terms of its success or failure in the international system? Is your country on the rise, staying the same, or declining in the international political economy? These questions and more that you may develop should guide you in your task to make an overall assessment of the international economic position of your country. You may not be able to answer all of the questions above and you have freedom to organize your response in the most cogent and clearest fashion.

Sources. Economic histories of your country, if fairly recent, are an invaluable source for this section. The World Bank, IMF, and various regional commissions and banks provide assessments of the conditions of countries in these areas. The publication, Economic Intelligence Unit, also has valuable
assessments of the countries of the world. Again, the scholarly area journals and the economics journals, particularly those focusing on economic development and trade and investment are often useful, as well. Do not neglect periodicals such as the Economist, the Far Eastern Economic Review, the Wall Street Journal and a host of other publications aimed at the business community. The US Department of Commerce also has valuable information about the soundness, and prospects of many of the national economies. The CIA makes estimates as well. Use Lexis/Nexis here too.

National Prosperity Through Foreign

Hints to Accomplish This Assignment Successfully. You may not find answers to all of these questions and remember that they are not put forward in any particular order, This latter means that you will have to organize this discussion on your own. Be certain to start with an outline—the only way to do efficient and coherent writing.
Length of This Section: 3 to 4 pages.

C. Status Policies Toward the International System

There are a number of ways in which a country gains status. Most countries have policies designed to contribute to their status in the international system. They sponsor cultural events, trade shows, television programs, brochures and publications, nationals who have received international recognition and other celebrations of national success. Governments feel the necessity to sing the praises of their citizenry in every way possible from sports, to literature, to science, to exploration, to the arts, to the accomplishments of the past, and to any other events, people, and circumstances that put the country in a favorable light. A significant amount of money is spent on bringing the accomplishments of the people to the attention of the world

Assignment

Your assignment here is to describe whatever policies your country has toward status enhancement. See Atlantis especially for how this is done.

Sources: Texts and articles on your country’s foreign policy with special reference to the foreign policy text or texts you are supposed to consult.

Hints to Accomplish this Assignment: You need to infer from various actions possibly related to status what the policies seem to be

D. Policies Toward the Global Environmental Situation

In this section the main policy concerns of your country in the various worldwide or regional environmental problems is the focus of attention. Some problems are truly global, at least in their effects e.g. global warming and the depletion of the ozone layer. Other problems are obviously regional like the pollution of the Mediterranean and the Danube River. We want to know the nature of the policies, if any, for participating in international efforts to solve or at least mitigate what they consider the most important global environmental problems. It will probably be the case that the problems they identify as most important are the very ones that have the greatest impact on their own
country. We especially want to know what specific policies they propose and/or support in the international arena.

Assignment

Your job is to provide a very brief description of global and/or regional problems and your country’s participation in the several conferences, agreements, and protocols dealing with them is necessary. We already know from your discussion of the environmental problems in the section above what environmental problems seem most important to the leaders of your country and to discover whether these leaders are becoming involved in international efforts to solve them. What policies, if any, toward these global problems have been developed? You need to discuss the role your country has played in the global consideration of environmental problems and particularly the participation in joint efforts to solve the problem.

The Sources. The information you need will be found in scholarly articles, periodicals, sometimes books on the various problems, and, in particular, from reports coming out of the Rio Conference and other Regional Conferences.

Hints to Accomplish Assignment Successfully. This discussion should be brief and selective. The focus should be on global concerns, but, of course, the domestic environmental problems will undoubtedly influence priorities. You should look on this part of the assignment as a possible source for your policy planning assignment at the end of the course.

Length of This Section: 1 to 2 pages.

V. Part Two: Cases in the Past; Problems for the Present

Now that you have studied the foreign policy orientation of your country and the policies stemming there from, it is time to put your analytic capabilities to work in the search for understanding of the decision-making process and the current problems in foreign policy in your country. This part of the assignment is in two parts: Past Cases and Present Problems.

A. Past Cases.

To do this part of the assignment we ask you to focus on at least 3 important foreign policy decisions that your country has made in the past. Try to find one of the cases open to a realist interpretation, one to a pluralist interpretation and a one to a globalist interpretation. By focusing on these past cases we hope that you will gain further insight into the workings of your country in foreign policy creation and implementation. We also hope that you will refresh your memory about the major theoretical perspectives in international relations.

Assignment

We have divided this part of the assignment into 3 parts for each decision or case you have selected. For each decision focus on:
• the nature of the problem. You are to state the problem as the decision makers saw it.
• the decision. Be very specific on what exactly the decision was.
• the implementation of the decision. Here you need to describe what was done to carry out the decision.
• the outcome. What was the outcome in the short run and long run?
• the explanation. What aspects of the culture constructs and objective conditions help in understanding the decision?
• the applicable international relations theory. Choose a realist, pluralist, or global perspective that best fits the decision and why the selected theory in each case is more appropriate than the other two perspectives. No more than two paragraphs.

Sources. Search mainly for books and articles that focus primarily on the foreign policies of your country. Depending on how recent the decisions were, you may also find useful accounts by analysts employed by the media, especially newspapers and television news bureaus.

Hints to Accomplish the assignment: Be certain to consult Atlantis to discover how this is to be done. Be certain that your cases are foreign policy cases.

Length of Section: No more than 7 pages.

B. Problems for the Present.

The foreign policy analyst who wishes to determine a nation’s foreign policy orientation must pay particular attention to identifying the issues or foreign policy problems that provoke discussion about the need for action by foreign policy decision-makers. Remember that an issue is a matter to be decided. Whether to take action, postpone action, or ignore action are alternatives. Issues may be security issues, economic issues with other countries, and/or international environmental issues. Thus, an important focus of analysis must be on discovering issues (problems) that are likely to lead to foreign policy action. It is imperative that the issues selected be foreign policy issues that have not been solved.

Assignment

Your job in this section is to identify two or three major foreign policy issues (problems) currently facing the nation. These issues or problems can be in any one of the policy areas discussed above. Security issues, prosperity issues, status issues, or international environmental issues are all potential sources of problems. We ask you to describe those issues briefly and to explain how they are being approached. You need to

- describe the issue/problem;
- identify whence the issue arises;
- determine the priorities the policy makers appear to be giving it;
- assess what the prospects are for resolution of the problems. Do not select issues that are basically domestic issues.
Sources. Scholarly articles in the recent journals, journals of opinion, good newspapers such as the New York Times and Los Angeles Times, the nightly news, in-depth television reporting, the consulates and embassies, your professors who specialize in the area of the world in which your country resides, and even your fellow students are possible sources.

Hints to Accomplish Assignment Successfully. You must be certain that the issues you choose are truly current, foreign policy issues or problems. They must not be problems that have already been solved. They must not be domestic problems. They must be problems or issues that occupy the attention of the leaders, particularly the foreign policy makers of your country. In the past, many students have received no points whatsoever in this section because the issues they chose were not foreign policy issues or problems.

Length of This Section: 1 to 2 pages.

VI. Conclusion

At last you have come to the end of the effort to place your country in foreign policy perspective. It only remains for you to make an objective assessment about the foreign policies of your country. Focus on what is significant about its policies and processes. This also is your opportunity to be subjective about your country and its ways of interacting in the global arena. It is also necessary for you to make a prediction about the prospects for your country in the future.

Assignment

Your final job is to make concluding statements about your country and its participation in the international arena. This is not a summary. You do not have to deal with all that has gone before. It is an opportunity for you to write something interesting and significant about your country’s role in the international system. It is your opinion about the country. It is useful to divide this assessment into an objective assessment of its problems and prospects, a subjective assessment (your opinion) of the country and its peoples. You top all this off with a prognosis of the prospects for your country in the future.

The Sources: You!

Hints to Accomplish Assignment Successfully: Make your final assessment interesting and informative. Let people, especially the professor, know that you are now a fledgling expert on your country and entitled to make insightful comments. Good luck.

Length of the Section: 1 page.

The Briefing Assignment (Notes Not Permitted)

◊ Pre-Presentation Procedures

Specific information on the pre-presentation procedures is found in Success in International Relations. Here, we wish to emphasize certain points:
1. The Key (or Cue) Word Outline
A major part of giving a successful briefing is to make good judgments about the key words you are going to use to structure your briefing. We require you to make an outline and from that outline most of your visual aids should be constructed. Note that the key or cue words are to assist both you and your audience to follow and to remember your brief.

2. Script or No Script
The instructor does not require you to write a script. However, you may find it very useful to write a script, so that you have had the experience of putting all your thoughts down in a coherent and clear fashion.

If you do write a script, we strongly advise you not to memorize it.

3. The AVs
Here we wish to emphasize that the AVs must be attractive. We live in an increasingly mediated world where professional visual aids are part of our every day experience. Try to make yours as professional and attractive as possible.

4. The Rehearsals
Each student is required to have at least two rehearsals in front of the advocate. This includes one full “dress rehearsal”, complete with visual aids. Anyone who does not do so will not be permitted to give the briefing.

B. The Briefing Presentations
Below, please find a checklist of requirements for the Foreign Policy Orientation Briefs. Note that you are responsible for seeing to it that each of the seven items is used. Refer to your syllabus for other requirements not mentioned in this text.

1. Checklist of Requirements
- An annotated bibliography. At least one book selection must be mainly about the foreign policy of your country.
- Video-tape
- Maps
- Charts and Graphs
- “Road Map”
- Pointer
- Overhead Projector or Computer Projector
2. **Length of Briefs**

Your syllabus will inform you of the amount of time for each briefing. Upon the point of exceeding the maximum time, the instructor will interrupt your brief.

**Post-Briefing Process**

**The Question and Answer Period**

The companion text, *Success in International Relations*, describes this process at length. In IR 550, there will be a question and answer period after each brief. According to some students in the past, the question and answer period is the most dreaded and the most intriguing part of the course. The instructor evaluates each question on a three-point scale that emphasizes thought questions for three points, and information-seeking questions for one point.

**The Debriefing**

After each brief, the instructor, the teaching assistant, and the advocate accompany the briefer for a debriefing of the presentation. The purpose of the debriefing is to give the student immediate feedback on the strengths and weaknesses of the brief in hope that improvement will be noticed in the future. Although the feedback may sometimes unfortunately be considered somewhat negative, students should find that there is a very strong effort to provide constructive criticism and positive feedback. Sometimes students do not put sufficient effort into the assignment to receive positive feedback; at that point, feedback may be very negative indeed.
Chapter Three: Decision-making Analysis

To recapitulate: The methodological approach of this book can best be labeled as methodological individualism that argues that a full explanation of a foreign policy decision requires the analyst to focus on the individual decision maker(s), as well as the institutional and systemic aspects. Obviously, it is individuals who take foreign policy actions, albeit as part of a national group and a structured bureaucracy. These foreign policy decision-makers are shaped by belief systems, influenced by the situational factors (objective conditions, governmental practices and information from past and present) and armed with purposes or goals. (You have already examined these connections in your foreign policy orientation/policy paper and brief).

Again, let us emphasize that individuals are not immune to the roles they occupy in the institutions constructed for carrying out foreign policy actions. Obviously, there are organizational constraints that include standard operating procedures, traditions of bureaucratic interest, and influences from outside the regime. When coupled with the historical structure of the international system, the foreign policy makers may find their range of choice much more limited than their values, attitudes, emotions, and images would favor. History is filled with instances when a policy-maker’s predilections before obtaining office were changed significantly on becoming an incumbent. One need only reflect on former President Reagan’s failed promise to recast American China policy toward Taiwan to see the impact that incumbency may have on policy preferences.

Despite the pressure on the preferences of the policy maker, we maintain that it makes a difference what individual or individuals occupy the authoritative foreign policy positions and what their beliefs and goals are. A remembrance of the careers and impact of Adolph Hitler, Josef Stalin, Winston Churchill, and Franklin Roosevelt should convince even the most obstinate of the need to pay attention to what people believe and who they are, if we are going to develop satisfactory explanations of foreign policy actions, either in a nomothetic or ideographic sense.

First, it is desirable to define a foreign policy action, because we want the student to be clear what is and what is not a suitable topic for investigation. A foreign policy action is a purposive action taken by governmental authorities, directed toward conditions or situations beyond the territorial jurisdiction of the country. It is explicitly designed to deal with perceived problems arising from stimuli either within or outside the nation. While the actions of many non-state groups, such as multi-national corporations and various charitable, educational, religious, and cultural groups are not foreign policy actions, they may involve policy in various ways. Consequently, the purview of the foreign policy action analyst is broad indeed, but the analysis of foreign policy actions is limited to those actions that do specifically involve the authoritative representatives of the government.

Finally, we believe that use of an explicit model or framework for study and analysis is the best way to arrive at knowledge and understanding of foreign policy actions. The model presented below is based on the theoretical perspective of the foreign policy orientation/policy model and much of the information necessary for describing and explaining a past foreign policy action may already have been touched on in your first assignment. The Decision-making analysis model (DM) is divided into three parts: (1) An introduction that contains a brief abstract of the foreign policy problem and decision; (2) the Explanation of the Foreign Policy action under study, including an identification of the problem, the description of the type of problem, a recounting of the precipitating event that triggered the problem, a detailed analysis of the background of the problem, an identification of the
policy purposes or goals of the decision-makers, and the recounting of the action decision and its process of implementation. The model then requires you to examine the belief system of the decision maker(s) as causal factors and then to describe the domestic and international influences on the decision taken, and the policy outcome; and (3) The Assessment of the results of the action on a factual or objective basis, on an interpretational or patterns basis, and on a judgmental or subjective basis.

The author maintains that, not only does decision-making analysis require an assessment or evaluation of the success or failure of an action, in terms of the goals and beliefs of the policy maker(s), but also in terms of value judgments, according to the highest ideals of the nation, international law, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, or other ethical or moral principles. Thus, the philosophical perspective of the author is that students (and others as well) should be required to grapple with the often very complex matters of ethical and moral judgments. Obviously, this is an explicit rejection of the philosophy of moral relativism and an invitation to think about the possibility of common standards of decency and humanity in the world.

I. Abstract

The first task is to provide an abstract of the action taken by the decision-makers in your country. This involves a brief description of the action taken to try to cope with the problem facing the decision-makers at the time. In a sense, it lets the reader (or the audience) know what you are going to write or talk about. It is an abstract designed to alert the reader and the audience to the interesting tale you are going to tell. In a way, this part is much like the introductions to a mystery in which the audience knows what happened, but does not know why or how the events came about. This is sometimes called the flashback technique. It should be designed to whet the audience’s appetite.

II. The Narrative Describing the Action

In the first paragraphs of this model above, a theory of foreign policy action was put forward that contended that the cause of a foreign policy action lies in the belief system of those assigned the responsibility for policy making. Their values, attitudes, and images are the source of their policy choices. When discovered, they tell us an important part of the answer to why a policy action was taken.

Searching for the causal factors, however, is not enough. The foreign policy analyst who wishes to develop a full explanation of what policy action was taken must also identify the problem as seen by the policy maker(s), reconstruct a background to the problem, and discover the purposes of the policy makers in terms of their ideological or other teleological goals, as well as the instrumental goals that came into play in the particular action taken.

Moreover, accurately identifying the problem, carefully reconstructing its background, and discovering the purposes, ultimate and instrumental do not exhaust the explanatory need. One must also search for reasons why a particular choice was made to accomplish a purpose or set of purposes and why other alternatives were not selected. This involves a search for influence within the country, domestic influences, and influences outside the country, international influences. In this way, the analyst can gain an understanding of operational codes of behavior that have to do with the style, methods, and norms of action.
We now turn to a brief discussion of the descriptive narrative. It includes the identification of the problem, the background of the problem, the precipitating events that sparked the problem, the action decision itself and its implementation, and finally the immediate outcome of the problem.

The assignment then winds up with a requirement for you to make an assessment of the decision, its success or failure, its pattern, and your moral judgment of the decision.

### A. Identification of the Problem

Your task is to take the critical first step in explaining a past foreign policy action by attempting to identify and define the problem that demanded action by the policy makers. You must be careful to discover how these policy-makers viewed the problem, that is, what they saw as the central features of the problem. You must try to identify what precisely was at issue. An issue, in this context, refers to a situation that demanded action in the eyes of the policy makers.

It is important for you to guard against applying your own set of perceptions about the nature of the problem and to seek statements by the policy makers themselves and, particularly, to seek documents or directives that contain a definition of the problem. Nonetheless, you may need to utilize your own empathic abilities, based on your grasp of the foreign policy orientation of the country, to help you infer how the problem was perceived.

For example, one could describe the problem that the Soviet Union presented American policy makers when it threatened to place nuclear-armed missiles into Cuba as a threat to the cautious stability of the balance of terror. It was perceived by the American policy makers to damage their ability to ward off a first-strike action. (A full identification of this problem will not be given here because a student may have the Cuban Missile Crisis as the topic for inquiry in this assignment)

In identifying the problem, you are also asked to assess the problem for its criticality. Was the problem a threat to the core values of the nation? Was it a crisis, demanding quick decision? Was it a problem that permitted extensive planning and discussion over an extended time? The search for reasons for a foreign policy action needs to include a recognition that the policy making process may vary with the type of problem encountered. Thus, some problems, although important, do not demand quick decisions. There is time for consultation, for thinking extensively about alternatives, and for other deliberative processes to be carried out. Other problems may immediately threaten the core values, and even the existence, of the regime or the nation-state itself, resulting in a demand for quick and decisive action.

For example, in the Cuban missile crisis, a confrontation between the nuclear-armed superpowers was perceived by the Americans as a threat to the very survival of the country and brought into play ad hoc groups composed of the top political and bureaucratic leadership. President Kennedy was convinced that there was need for a reasonably quick decision. Had the matter not been considered so urgent, there might have been an entirely different action taken.

On the other hand, the planning and putting into action of the Containment Policy was considerably more drawn out. There was time for the famed long telegram from Mr. X (George Kennan), for internal debate, and for debate in Congress before the actions were begun. In policy decisions like these, where time may not be of the essence or core values not threatened, the analyst may find it much easier to ascertain what reasons were used to justify the policy.
Your task is to put forward a clear and precise identification of the problem as the policymakers saw it. To do this, it is best to quote from official documents, or public statements by the officials involved. Your research should draw on scholarly articles, newspaper and magazine accounts, possibly books, and government documents. You must also determine what was the influence, if any, of the type of problem faced by the decision-makers.

**B. Background to the Problem**

Your next task is to put the problem in perspective. The need is for a careful reconstructing of the background to the problem and a discovery of the salient historical events or conditions that led up to the problem. You are expected to offer an insightful examination of how the problem came about. A richness of historical and analytic detail is desired so that you can portray a sense of the import of the problem, as perceived by the policy makers. Often, but not always, these policy actions are the stuff of high drama. Whatever its background, you should seek to make your description as interesting and stimulating as it may have been to those who lived through it.

**C. Precipitating Event(s) or Stimulus (i)**

Your task here is to determine what event(s) or stimulus (i) precipitated the foreign policy action. For example, when the Soviet intention to install missile launching sites in Cuba became known, the US decision-makers were forced to consider whether and how to respond. The crossing of the Kuwaiti border by Iraqi troops in the Gulf crisis stimulated a flurry of policy considerations in many capitals around the world. The foreign debt crisis, faced by many countries in Latin America and Africa, is a situation that has enlisted the attention of foreign policy decision-makers in many countries from the developed, as well as the developing world. These are what we mean by precipitating event or stimulus.

This portion of the paper should be brief and to the point. In some instances, this recounting of the event or of the immediate situation may offer an excellent opportunity to bring forth the drama, importance and high tension of a problem that worried and perplexed the policy makers at the time.

**D. The Action Decision**

Your task here is to describe the policy action that was chosen as the way to deal with the problem. You need to discover as best you can, what alternatives, if any, were considered, and, if possible, to describe briefly why the alternatives were rejected.

**E. The Process of Implementation**

Once the policy makers of the government have agreed a policy course of action on, the problem of how to implement the action rears its head. A plan must be made that includes among other things: delegating responsibilities; drawing up orders; making logistic arrangements; informing and coordinating necessary parties, including allies; and deciding strategies and instruments of persuasion.
Sources of information about this can usually be found in scholarly case studies of the action, in periodical accounts, sometimes in first person accounts by those who were there, and in biographies and autobiographies of a more general nature.

We turn next to the need to describe the tools of persuasion used in implementation of the decision.

F. Policy Outcome

Your final task in this section is to describe the outcome very briefly. What happened? What was the result? This should be a very brief statement of the immediate outcome because you will be making a detailed analysis of the successes or failures in the assessment section.

III. The Explanation of the Decision

In following set of topics, you are now asked to explain why the decision was made. On the surface this may seem to be a rather simple matter, but, as we shall see, it is often very complex and even confusing. To truly understand and thus explain the decision requires rigorous research, a conceptual model (provided, in part in the FPO model), and careful analysis of the decision reasons as the decision-makers themselves saw it. To do that we ask you to examine policy purposes, the relevant belief system of the decision-maker (s), and the domestic and international influences on the decision.

A. Policy Purposes of the Decision-makers: Instrumental and Ultimate

Two levels of purpose are part of the explanation. They are the ultimate goals (ideological or other) and the instrumental goals that are connected to the actions that were found desirable. Your task in this section is rather straightforward. You need to identify what ultimate goals were connected to the action and what the instrumental objectives were. The scholarly community often brings both under scrutiny and, more often than not, the participants state immediate objectives. The usual sources should be consulted.

For example, some analysts believe that ultimate goal of Chinese foreign policy makers in the Sino-Indian Border dispute (and other border disputes) was to restore China to a place of respect in the community of nations, to end the era of territorial humiliation and imperialism by restoring lands that had been traditionally Chinese, and to demonstrate, in Mao Zedong’s words, that “China would never again be an insulted nation.” Among others, instrumental goals in this situation were: (1) to establish a clearly defined border with India; (2) to attempt to guarantee the security of the Tibetan province by controlling the Aksai Chin area whose road was a vital link between Xinjiang and Tibet; and (3) to erase the “notorious” MacMahon line that had taken Chinese territory when China was too weak to resist.

B. The Belief System/Causal Factors Influencing the Decision.

Because a primary goal of explanation is to answer the question of why something happened, the search for underlying causes for an action must be made. Not only do we need to determine the
purposes of the policy makers and the reasons for the choice they made, but, importantly, we also
need to seek the underlying causes of the action. As we argued in the foreign policy orientation/policy
chapter, the causal factor in foreign policy behavior is the belief system of the policy maker(s).

Their values and norms, their attitudes, their images (or perceptions), and their emotions combine
to determine what their purposes, both ultimate and instrumental, will be in designing responses to
foreign policy stimuli. Although these aspects may often be in conflict, a choice is nonetheless
demanded that results in prioritizing possible responses, explicitly or implicitly (and sometimes
almost absent-mindedly), so that action can be taken. While it is true that conflict in the
decisionmaker’s mind can lead to immobility or avoidance of a decision, in this assignment, you need
not concern yourself with that possibility because an action has been taken.

For example, the underlying causes of the decision by George Bush to pressure the Japanese to
lower their trade barriers against American products may well have rested on his basic belief in the
value of free trade. Also involved was his pride in office with its responsibility to act in the interest
of the American people, and in the value he placed on capitalist democracy as a way to promote a
higher quality of life. Note that values may sometime clash in one person, and that, in this case,
President Bush compromised his anti-protectionism, free-trade values, by leaning in the direction of
managed trade because of the value he put on staying in office. We might also mention that fear of
loss of American preeminence in the “New World order” may also have played a role in his reaction
to the Japanese.

Your task in this part of the explanation is to try to determine what aspects of the policy makers’
belief systems can be directly connected to the purposes and choices of the policy action under
study. Thus, the values, attitudes, emotions, and images of those in power need to be examined and a
convincing case presented why these were the operating beliefs. This is the most important part of
the explanation. Be aware that you may not find all relevant aspects of the belief system in your
research. And remember the point so often emphasized in the FPO/P Model, namely that you must
have evidence to support your contention about the salient aspects of the belief system that came into
play. It should not be brief. It should directly relate beliefs to the policy decision under examination!
Scholarly journals, biographies (particularly autobiographies), books, monographs, and even
journalistic accounts will be useful sources.

C. Other Influences on the Choice

It is obvious that all policy actions are the immediate result of choices made by those in power.
What is to be done and how shall we do it are the basic foreign policy questions. The foreign policy
analyst must search for reasons why a particular action was taken, and often for reasons why an
alternative action was not taken. By “reasons” we mean the influence of situations, conditions, events
and other actions that serve to justify and rationalize a decision.

We have organized this inquiry into two basic parts: (1) the need to discover the domestic
influences which the decision-makers considered or cited as reasons for taking the particular action
and (2) the impact of international influences on the decision, featuring the perceived purposes and
positions of involved parties in the international arena.
1. Domestic Influences

The foreign policy analyst must seek to discover what influences within a country led the decisionmaker to take the action. No matter how powerful a leader is, he or she not only must consider the consequences of the action on the nation (or parts thereof), but also is prone to justify actions, at least partially, as necessary responses to the domestic situation. Thus, does the analyst find some of the reasons for an action. There are four categories that bring this search into focus: Partisan Politics, Bureaucratic Politics, Societal Conditions and Information on the Past and the Media at the Time.

a. Partisan Politics

It is a truism of politics that, almost without exception, a political leader, heading a nation, wishes to stay in power as long as possible. Although this desire may be modified mainly by health (psychological and/or physical) and constitutional limitations in some countries, political leaders find the lure of high office well nigh irresistible. Moreover, political leaders are almost constantly pressed to consider the partisan political implications of their choices. Political elites almost universally wish to maintain their program, their regime, and their party even after they pass from power.

For example, President Bush realized that the economic recession threatened his ability to get reelected and clearly, this was an important reason for his decision to go to Japan to pressure the Japanese to open their markets to more American goods. He knew that the Democrats were primed to use the trade imbalance and the shaky state of the economy as a weapon to end his stay in the White House. Similarly, Deng Xiao Ping launched a new open door policy in China, in part, because he realized that his leadership might be in danger, if the Chinese economy did not advance more rapidly.

Your task is to analyze what role, if any, partisan political concerns were important reasons underlying the rationale for action. Be certain you understand what we mean by “partisan Politics.” In our context partisan politics refers to the struggle between parties not part of the administration or government (as many countries term it). In the United States, partisan politics are played out in Congress and in the interaction between Congress and the Executive Branch. In short, partisan refers to political parties, democrats, republicans, greens, Tories, labor etc. Students often make a mistake on this section by not understanding clearly what partisan politics means. If you are still doubtful, ask your instructor.

b. Bureaucratic Politics

Your goal as a foreign policy analyst should be to become aware of the complexity of the policy making process in your effort to find reason for the action under scrutiny. The following discussion may be helpful in putting that in perspective.

The several types of policy-making systems in the world range from the “one-man” dictatorial rule, through authoritarian elite regimes, to more democratically inclined systems. The person seeking to explain a past foreign policy action needs to determine, if possible, how the type of governmental policy-making system influenced the action that was taken.

Too often there is a presumption that the process of policy-making is rather straightforward and uncluttered. That is rarely the case. One of the most creative efforts to point this out is contained in Professor Graham Allison’s stimulating and controversial book, The Essence of Decision. By focusing
on the Cuban Missile Crisis, he attempted to discover how explanations of the how and why of the process might vary according to the assumptions of the nature of the process. In doing so, he has alerted us to several important considerations for the foreign policy analyst. His categories and his findings influence some of the following discussion.

There is a presumption among many analysts that policy makers use a rational-actor model to arrive at policy decisions. Use of this model in explaining foreign policy actions rests on the assumption that policy makers seek the best possible information and assessments to help them select one of a number of contending alternative courses of action; that a cost-benefit analysis of these alternatives is undertaken; and that the policy action is reached through a carefully considered discussion.

However, careful analysis of policies past suggests that the rational actor model, while useful, needs to be augmented by recognition that policy-making, particularly in crisis situations, is muddier and more complex. Indeed, evidence shows that some policies, at least, are formed and put into operation by a process known as “satisficing” in which policy-makers tend to settle for the first course of action that seems to promise success. The analyst of a particular policy action needs to be aware of this possibility, even though some societies have established and used extensive and elaborate policy planning organizations to consider solutions to current problems, to develop contingency plans, and to be ready with critical information in times of crisis.

Professor Allison has put another model of policy-making forward. He has labeled it the Bureaucratic Politics Model. It points to the observed fact that policy actions arise out of the power struggle among various involved bureaucracies within the administration or regime. Bureaucrats influence policy actions with particular reference to their location in the multi-splintered bureaucracies. “Where one stands depends on where one sits.”

The mere existence of several bureaucracies interested in foreign policy decisions creates problems of coordination, conflicts of mission, differing perceptions of the best way to accomplish agreed upon goals, and even disagreement about the goals themselves. Obviously, when there is bureaucratic conflict of ends and means, there is a need to coordinate and reconcile differences. Moreover, the permanent personnel in a bureaucracy may have developed an expertise (at least, in his or her own mind) that makes them reluctant to go along with a policy decision that they oppose. Not only this, but the standard operating procedures by which bureaucrats seek to bring order, responsibility, and effectiveness in carrying out of their mission may sabotage a chosen policy. Or they may force a given policy preference to be cast aside on grounds that the bureaucracy responsible for carrying it out believes that it could not possibly do it.

Given the ubiquitous role of bureaucracy in any government, you need to be alert to its possible influence in shaping the decision under study. In this sense, the congeries of interests and perspectives may lead decision-makers down quite different paths than the assumption of full rationality suggests.

Your task is to search for reasons for the action stemming out of the pull and haul of the bureaucratic decision-making process. In other words, what influences did the bureaucracy have on the decision? This search may often be very difficult, simply because the efforts to describe the process are hindered by the desire of governments to shield their innermost conflicts and deliberations. Yet it is surprising how much can be found out by the determined researcher. For example, we have rather accurate accounts of the internal struggling among the heads of the various American bureaucracies during the Cuban missile crisis. Allison and others have identified the
positions of the various participants in the ad hoc governmental group that recommended the action finally taken, and we know the reasons they gave to support their respective positions.

**Once again a word of caution. Be certain that you understand the difference between “bureaucratic politics” and “partisan politics.” Understand, for example, that the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representative is not a “bureaucracy.” The Departments of State and Defense are bureaucracies.**

c. **Societal/Objective Conditions Influences**

There is little doubt that both the general and specific conditions of a society provide reasons to explain why particular actions were taken. Even in the most authoritarian or dictatorial societies, leaders and/or the elites of which they are a part must eventually pay some attention to the overall condition of the society. This attention often leads to reasons for taking a foreign policy action. The old adage, “Uneasy lies the head that wears the crown,” signals a recognition not only that coups and revolutions are possible, but also that the leader has some responsibility for the general well being of society, or at least of important groups therein.

For example, President Gorbachev’s decision to permit the destruction of the Berlin Wall and the subsequent reunification of Germany was undoubtedly influenced by his desire to focus the Soviet government and society on internal restructuring of the economy that was made more difficult by the continued expenditure of resources to keep the cold war going. Thus, the trends toward deterioration of the Soviet economy provided an important reason for taking the action. Similarly, President Bush’s decision to move toward “managed trade” in the relationship with Japan was clearly influenced by the sorry state of the American economy, particularly in the loss of jobs in critical states. This was done despite his oft-expressed confidence in the principles of free trade!

A somewhat different aspect of the societal conditions of the nation focuses on the need to examine what role the objective conditions in the country played in influencing the decision, what constraints and limitations they presented, what opportunities they offered, and what other impact they may have had.

Such matters as the advantages or disadvantages of the location of the country and the opportunities or constraints made possible by the condition of the several aspects of the resource base often offer important reasons why certain actions and not others were taken. The resource base (which includes natural, human, and capital resources) in particular, is a very critical factor because the tools of persuasion, which make policy success a good or unlikely possibility, rely so heavily on the capabilities provided by the societal resource base. Decision-makers usually make estimates of their capabilities to bring the matter to a successful conclusion and, on occasion, they err. The resource situation and the physical setting may have had a major impact on the foreign policy decision.

For example, that Afghanistan shared a common border with the Soviet Union made the invasion not only easier, but also that the United States was so far away led the Soviets to reason that they could accomplish their purposes in Afghanistan without the United States and its allies being able to do much about it. A more recent example of the role of societal conditions with particular reference to governmental capabilities is the American action in the Gulf War. Not only did the Americans have an overwhelming military force, particularly in weaponry, navy and aircraft, but also they had an exceptionally well-organized and capable military leadership. Thus, one of the important reasons why
President Bush took the action was that he believed that his military capability was more than a match for the forces of President Saddam Hussein.

**Tools of For Accomplishing the Action.** In foreign policy decision-making, there is always the necessity for determining what tools for accomplishing the desired mission are available. If a military action was decided upon, did the decision-makers carefully examine the questions of availability, preparedness? Did they assess the willingness of the people to support the use force? Did they concern themselves with maintaining a balance between “guns and butter?” If the action was basically an economic action, did the decision-makers take into account the possible impact on their own society of using economic tools to accomplish their purposes? The raising of tariffs or denying someone most favored nation status, or attempting an economic boycott of goods, or setting quotas on imports and exports, or other economic strategies are all tools available to some decision-makers. Did they play a role in deciding what to do and how to do it? Did the decision-makers attempt to influence the people of the desirability of their use of economic weapons to accomplish their purposes? Were there pressure groups arguing for or against the action?

2.  

*Your task is to look carefully at the socioeconomic and sociopolitical conditions of your country at the time of the decision to determine what impact they may have had on the decision. You need also to assess what the influence of the objective conditions, particularly regarding governmental capabilities in providing a rationale for the action. Your task also is to discover what tools of persuasion (identified in the foreign policy orientation/policy model) or appeals to mutual interest were utilized.* Remember that not all tools of persuasion may come into play in any given decision and that threats, implied or actual, and pleas for special consideration or identifying mutual interests may have been heard.

**a. Psycho-historical Influences**

Many students of foreign policy actions have pointed out the often-important influence of the past on the makers of foreign policy. Historical information, in the sense of bringing experience of similar problems into the deliberative process, is a source of reasons why a particular action was taken. Decision-makers have often been known to use historical analogies to guide and sometimes justify their actions. The impact of psychohistory need not come from events in which your country was involved. The analogies may be from other actions by other nations. There often is a pronounced tendency for national leaders to examine past actions (their own or others) in similar situations to determine what lessons can be learned. And the history they examine frequently is interpreted to justify the course of action decided upon.

For example, some analysts believe that George Bush’s comparison of Saddam Hussein to Hitler stemmed from his assessment that World War II might have been avoided or at least ended sooner, had the allies opposed this dictator at his first transgression across national boundaries. Whether he actually believed the comparison entirely valid or not, there can be no doubt that he used this experience from the past as a public reason or rationale to take action against the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.

In a different sense, the life experiences of the leader (as psychohistory) may influence the decision to do or not to do something. Efforts have been made to construct psychological profiles of leaders to attempt to understand the decisions and even predict what sorts of decisions they might
make in the future. Did these experiences have an impact on the personality of the leader? Did they lead to caution or recklessness? Did they result in an authoritarian personality unwilling to give careful consideration to the ideas of others?

Your task is to be alert to the strong possibility that decisions in the past had an important impact on the decision present and that the psychohistory of the main decisionmaker led to the kind of decision that was taken. You need to make some assessment of whether the historical analogy (or analogies) brought forward was somewhat far-fetched or rather convincing analogies. You also need to determine if the analogy was used to rationalize the decision as well as guide it. These tasks are often not easy. Do the best you can.

b. The Influence of the Media

A further search for reasons why a foreign policy action was taken may involve the examination of the role of the media on the choice. In the prior discussion of the role of the media, we suggested that the print and electronic media could have a powerful effect on how people perceive the world. The effort to explain a past foreign policy must not overlook the possibility that the media had a major impact on a specific policy action, particularly in the sense of shaping the perceptions of the public, of the policy influencers, and of the policy makers themselves. We have been living for a long time in the era of “managed news” which is to say that governments not only respond to the media, but also attempt to shape it to their liking. The managed news scene in the recent Gulf War against the Iraqis is an obvious case where the military presented what they wanted others to see and hear unlike the freewheeling media in the Vietnam War.

Your task, here, is to attempt to determine the influence of the media on the decision under scrutiny. Do not be discouraged if this is a difficult task. More often than not, such information may not be available.

3. International Influences

It is obvious that the international arena is an important place to look for reasons why a particular action was taken. Most importantly, the perceptions of the intentions of the policy makers in other involved countries and their likely reactions become matters for consideration when planning to take a foreign policy action. Thus, you need to discover how the policy makers in your country were influenced by the information on the purposes and capabilities of those who were directly involved as targets of the action, as well as those who retained a major interest in the problem. In this connection, you need to recall the discussion of the impact of the foreign policy orientation on policy makers. The foreign policy orientation often filters, distorts, or otherwise screens out information that does not fit with preconceived attitudes and images. Be as certain as possible, that you are describing the situation as your nation’s policy makers perceived it.

We emphasize that this search should focus not only on the primary opponent in a policy action, but also on other relevant countries, whether as potential allies, neutrals, or opponents. In fact, a significant amount of foreign policy making consists of estimating the intentions and capabilities of others in the world community, even though these estimates may turn out to be grossly inaccurate or substantially misperceived.

For example, when Saddam Hussein was contemplating an invasion of Kuwait, he obviously considered what the reaction of the United States, in particular, might be. One of the reasons he
invaded was clearly that he believed (or was led to believe) that the US would not actively oppose, or even if they did, the American fighting capabilities were such that they would be unsuccessful in dislodging his forces.

Your task, as a foreign policy analyst seeking to find reasons for a particular actions is to search the record for what role the international situation at the time played. What evidence is there of the role that allies, enemies, and/or neutrals played in the decision to take action? Was there consultation, secret or rather open? What assessments, if any, were made about the likely behavior of friend and foe in the action contemplated? What perceptions of the views of others influenced the decision? How, specifically? Your task is often made easier by the fact that competent commentators on an important case may include their judgments of what were the underlying reasons for an action.

IV. Assessment

It is the position of this author that the job of the foreign policy analyst is not over once the description and the explanation of a foreign policy action has been completed. If full learning is to take place, it is necessary to make an assessment or evaluation of the policy and to determine if the action was part of a pattern in similar situations. Assessment comes in three forms: (1) The Instrumental: Stated Objectives Accomplished, (2) The Interpretational: Patterns of Action; and (3) The Judgmental or subjective assessment.

A. Instrumental: Stated Objective Accomplished?

In this part of this assessment, your task is to determine the success or failure of the policy (or gradations in between these polar opposites), by marshaling evidence of the costs and benefits of the action. While the determination of the success or failure may have its subjective elements and may be inconclusive for a number of reasons, the analyst still needs to offer an informed opinion of whether the policy action accomplished the purposes of the policy makers who put it into action. In making this assessment, it may be wise to determine what other options were available and/or considered. Indeed, the most interesting part of the assignment may be to gather evidence and make interpretations about the results of an action. Your task is to assess the costs and benefits of the selected policy, as well as comment on alternatives that were rejected or were possible, but not even considered.

B. The Interpretational: Patterns of Action

The search for recurrent patterns of behavior is a part of scientific inquiry in all fields of analysis. While the focus on one case study of a past foreign policy action obviously cannot discover a pattern, the analyst can be alert to the possibility that the kinds of policy actions he or she studied in the foreign policy orientation assignment may, in combination with this case, suggest a pattern of response to foreign policy stimuli by the policy makers for the country. Indeed, one of the goals of focusing on individual cases is to build a set of convincing explanations with which analysts can search for patterns.

Your task in this connection is to be alert to the possibility of patterns and to attempt to form a hypothesis of your own (or report that of others) about the possibility of recurrent patterns of foreign policy behavior, either through time in regards to your country or through type, in the
It is important to analyze whether the action is an exception to a pattern, and if so, why. Whether the policy-makers in this case study, seemed to depend on analogous cases and similar experiences from the past is a useful question to ask, not only for enriching the explanation, but also for assessing the possibility that certain patterns exist. **Most importantly**, attempt to relate the decision to one of the **theories of foreign policy decision-making** you that you have studied in IR 301.

### C. The Judgmental: Subjective Assessment

The judgmental aspect of the assessment focuses on subjective matters. A value judgment is required. The author believes that the almost mindless and allegedly valueless relativistic position, that has prevailed among too many of the experts in the field, is not only inappropriate, but also bordering on the dishonest. The mere act of choosing a particular set of facts and approaches is itself value-laden and the effort to keep them entirely separate is never possible in the analysis of human behavior. Importantly, if the analyst makes public her/his value judgments, the reader has an improved opportunity to examine the description and analysis for the possibility of bias.

Moreover, an unwillingness of the scholarly community to make explicit value judgments about foreign policy actions is an abdication of the scholar’s duty to comment on the human condition and to express preferences. The alternative is a moral vacuity that the author believes is unscholarly. It thus becomes desirable, to require value judgments as part of the assessment.

Note, however, that these judgments come as a last step in the process, with the hope that the biases and the preferences of the analyst can be held in check during the descriptive and explanatory part of the analysis.

**Your task is to make these judgments by applying some explicit standards of assessment. We suggest that the evaluation be attempted by assessing how well the action measured up to the professed ideals of the nation under study. Then, we ask you to examine relevant international standards, such as international law and/or the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and to apply your own ethical and moral standards to the action.**

### V. Synopsis of the Assignment

#### A. The Research

Most of the research suggestions are included in the DM model itself. Here we wish to emphasize that the same techniques of research that were required in the FPO assignment are required in this assignment as well. This includes proper note taking and bibliographic techniques and utilizing 5"X 8" note cards, which must be keyed to the outline. While students receive a credit/no credit grade on these, failure to do them properly will result in an incomplete in the course.

#### B. The Paper

The instructor will be looking for improvement from the FPO paper. Since the paper is likely to be considerably shorter, the instructor expects fewer compositional errors and an improved writing style. This means that more than two drafts of the paper are likely to be necessary for most students.
1. **Paper Format: Checklist**

The format of the paper should be the same as the FPO paper with the exception of the annotated bibliography and length of paper, which are modified below.

2. **Annotated Bibliography: Must Contain At Least:**

- 5 Scholarly Books
- 10 Scholarly Articles
- 2 Biographies
- 4 Government Documents
- 1 Foreign Broadcast Information Service Citation
- 1 Atlas

3. **Paper Length**

25-page minimum

C. **The Briefing**

The instructor expects improvement in briefing techniques on this briefing. In particular, the instructor looks for specific improvement on those items that were brought to the attention of the briefer in the debriefing session.

**The Briefing Presentation**

- Checklist of Requirements: Same as FPO
- Length of Briefing: 20 minutes maximum, 15 minutes minimum
- The Debriefing: Same as FPO
- The Evaluation Process: Same as FPO
To solve or diminish problems is one of the primary roles of government. Those charged with the responsibility of making decisions on foreign policy matters perform one of the most important jobs in government. The question of how and how well the governmental authorities promote the security and prosperity of the nation is complex and sometimes confusing. This suggests the necessity for the development of a strategic planning process. Governments in several countries have established a policy-planning agency in their foreign ministries as recognition that planning needs special talent and special focus. We suggest that the word strategic be added to planning since planning normally evokes strategies and tactics for accomplishing purposes. Thus by Strategic Planning, we mean a disciplined process precipitated by the existence of a problem or mission, augmented by a desire to promote a vision of the future, and designed to accomplish a clear set of goals and objectives. We do not suggest that the word strategic limits the concept to military planning.

Moreover, we are cognizant of the likelihood that practitioners examining this framework may have negative reactions on several grounds: we do this sort of thing already but with a better framework or without an explicit one; time often does not permit such a detailed effort; the world of policy-making is too complex, too episodic, and too flavored by uniqueness of situations and events to be guided by a “cook-book” recipe for successful ingredients necessary for a properly baked plan. Our response is then let them enter the conversation with their own frameworks (or their governments) and their own take on strategic planning. Unlike strategic planning in business, the literature is largely barren as far as foreign policy planning goes. So we turn to the discussion of a strategic planning framework or model hopefully to stimulate thought on the matter.

The plan provides important reference points for further adjustment as the action proceeds. In this sense a strategic plan can be rather sweeping as National Security Council 68 that set the Containment Strategy for the US for several decades; it can be more limited as in the Marshall Plan; or a plan may be much more issue specific as in the recent Bosnian plan to solve the crisis.

Below we discuss these features in some detail. We should note that this model has been influenced by the writings of Professor Harold Lasswell who, more than three decades ago identified five necessary aspects of good problem-solving. He suggested that problem-solvers should: (1) Clarify the goals which they wanted to accomplish; (2) Identify the trends, past and present, which bring the problem to the forefront; (3) Analyze the conditions (or situations) which shaped the context of the problem; (4) Project current developments into the future and, finally (5) Invent, evaluate and select alternatives to solve the problem. While our model is not organized in precisely this fashion, its intellectual debt to Professor Lasswell should become obvious. It should also be mentioned that the writer spent his sabbatical leave in Europe, visiting various think tanks and talking to interested professors and officials in several countries about models for strategic planning. While the model below is definitely an original creation, the impact of the several-month experience examining planning in Europe is also reflected in this stage of model development.

The following is a developing Strategic Planning Model. It features sections on Elements of Scenario Construction, Alternative Proposals—strategies and tactics, Choice and Implementation, and The Outcome. The Chart below indicates the components of each of the four aspects.
The chart above has the orderliness of a flow chart; it differs in that sequences under each of the three headings may vary somewhat. Nonetheless, the author believes that there is some value in proceeding the way the arrows suggest. The rationale for that will appear below.

**I. ELEMENTS OF THE PLAN**

We now proceed to explain the meaning and importance of each of the elements of a strategic plan. Where appropriate, a limited number of examples are provided. This is the substance of a good strategic plan complete with a statement of the assignment for each element and a very approximate estimation of the number of pages assigned to each element.
A. The Identification of the Problem.

An obvious first step in policy planning is the identification of the problem. It is difficult to overstate how important the matter of correctly identifying the problem is. Without clearly grasping the problem in all its ramifications the path toward successful solution is likely to be filled with mistakes, missteps, and mismanagement. To fail to identify the problem carefully has led to fearsome long-term consequences.

Danger of Unclear Problem Identification. For example, some analysts believe that the American tragedy of involvement in Vietnam stemmed from a faulty identification of the problem by American policy makers. Although not clear about their objectives nor the problem, the identification of the problem seemed to be that the expansion of communist regimes anywhere in the world was a threat to American vital interests and that the forces led by Ho Chi Minh needed to be contained or destroyed because they were a part of the communist expansion strategy led by Moscow and supported by Beijing. This was the “domino effect.” This assessment led them to a progressive involvement in Vietnam to stop the Vietnamese communists. Ho Chi Minh was wrongly regarded as a subordinate part of a worldwide communist expansion under the direction of the two great communist powers, the Soviet Union and China. Thus the increasingly enlarged commitment of troops and resources to preserve American credibility plunged the Americans into a morass from which they emerged only with embarrassment and a sense of futility.

The American leadership had failed to grasp that the Vietnamese communist forces were Vietnamese nationalists, fiercely resistant to being subordinated to any outside regime, whether it was a communist regime such as the Soviet Union or the People’s Republic of China or not. Thus the “best and the brightest”, to use David Halberstam’s phrase, kept looking for the “light at the end of the tunnel”, a light that never shone. Robert McNamara, one of the architects of this strategy now admits the failure of decision-making in his book, The Tragedy of Vietnam. This failure in problem identification led the United States and its allies to fight a war that was not winnable, at least in terms of the price they were willing to pay.

The Gulf War outcome that left Saddam Hussein’s dictatorship in place provides another, though controversial, example of failure on problem identification. Simply put, if a major part of the problem of Iraq’s threatening activities in the Middle East was the regime’s plans to develop chemical and bacteriological weapons and delivery capabilities, then the failure to march to Baghdad to enable the victorious allies to inspect, assess, and otherwise destroy this capability demonstrated an inadequate identification of the problem. The resulting inspection stalemate and continued sanctions become persuasive evidence of this failure.

Assignment: This is one of the most important steps as indicated above. We suggest that each member of the group independently develop a statement of the problem and then discuss their similarities and differences with an eye toward a common statement.

Number of Pages in this Section: 1 page.

A. The Urgency of the Problem.

Problems vary, not only in their importance, but also in the intensity of the pressure to resolve the problem. Some problems simply are more urgent than others. Problems, like the Cuban Missile Crisis, demand immediate attention in a limited time span. International relations scholars have been
attempting to develop crisis models not only for obtaining better explanations of why an action was
taken, but also for providing some guidance to practitioners. It is probably the case that true crisis
problems, in which the core values, that is the very existence of the nation and/or the regime are
immediately threatened, exhibit little leeway for careful planning of the type put forward here, but not
necessarily so. There can be useful contingency planning and simulation of crisis situations. We argue
that this kind of planning is desirable, even though it is unlikely that the unfolding of an event in the
real world will be exactly like the simulated plan.

Most of policy formation, however, does not focus on an immediate crisis. So there is time for
careful planning. This does not obviate the need to make some assessments of the urgency of the
problem. Merely, because there is not a “crisis,” does not suggest that a problem is unimportant or
that its resolution is not timely. Even a non-crisis problem may require high priority, if it is not to
deteriorate even further. In that regard the model contends that the authoritative decisionmakers make
a judgment about the urgency of attempting to solve the problem. The planner then responds with the
appropriate degree of urgency.

Once the priority judgment is made then the interrelated matters of timely planning activities can
be assessed. The midnight oil in the chancelleries of the world may never need to be burning as the
problem lends itself to calm deliberation over many weeks, months, or even years. Yet every planner
knows that the call for “immediate” answers may come at any time and so the planner in a planning
agency must be prepared for a maximum output of time and energy over extended time periods. We
argue that models of the type proposed here can facilitate this.

Thus the identification of a problem must be an assessment of its criticality. This raises the
question of the desirability to have a policy planning staff armed with a conceptual framework to
guide planning, both of the immediate and contingency types. The planner, of course, will at times be
under the gun to come up quickly with feasible scenarios or choice of alternative actions; at other
times the planner will be able to operate on a longer term time line. There may be significant
advantage for an organization to have a strategic planning staff whose job it is to anticipate problems
and to develop contingency plans or scenarios designed to meet the problem. However, it is crucial
that such an agency have the ear and blessing of the top decisionmaker(s). Otherwise, talented
people will refuse to serve in the agency or regard it as a career dead end.

Several nations do have policy planning staffs that try to be ready to deal with problems that may
arise. The literature however, contains insufficient information on how these planners work, what
their conceptual frameworks are, and to what extent they are used either in crisis situations or longer
term problems. That literature will be reviewed in a monograph subsequent to this working paper.

The distinction between urgent problems that threaten core values and important and not so urgent
problems can be easily seen from two examples from the American experience. First, the Cuban
Missile Crisis between the nuclear-armed super-powers was clearly a threat to the very survival of the
country should it have led to a nuclear interchange. On the other hand, the problem of establishing
the North American Free Trade Association (NAFTA), though important, permitted planners to
assess the pros and cons of establishing such a regime. There was only a small sense of urgency and
ample time for debate within the administration and with the Congress and interested American
groups.

Some studies of decision-making suggest that crisis problems lead to the involvement of a very
small group of people who bring with them their bureaucratic and even personal agendas and
perspectives. This results in a failure to assess the full range of alternative courses of action (which we label scenarios). One of the purposes of this model is to counteract this tendency by providing a clear framework for planning with a theory of foreign policy behavior that can, if necessary, be used in a crisis situation.

**Assignment:** Estimating the urgency of the problem is basically a subjective exercise since you are not in a foreign ministry bureaucracy. Nonetheless, we want you to make an estimate that is supported by reasons for your assessment. To do that you may wish to devise some meaningful categories for judgment. You then need to rate the problem on the basis of those categories with their rationale. The group should attempt to arrive at a consensus on the urgency of the problem.

Approximate Length of This Section: 1 page.

**B. Goals and Objectives.**

While problem identification and assessment of urgency are vital to successful planning, that obviously is only the beginning. Planners must also state clearly what the goals and objectives are once they have agreed that the problem must be attacked. By goals we mean what overarching result do they seek and by objectives we mean what instrumental means are necessary? The failure to speak clearly and in detail to desired goals and the means to accomplish them becomes a major pitfall in strategic planning. A detailed statement becomes *a sine qua non* of this process.

An example of lack of clarity came in the recent Gulf War. The overarching goal seemed clear enough: contain Saddam Hussein and his regime’s threat to the peace, tranquility, and the oil resources, vital to the world’s economies. Another was (according to President Bush and others) to send a signal to other countries that might threaten peace and tranquility elsewhere by manufacture of chemical, biological and nuclear weapons that they would be actively opposed. The rationale for opposing Saddam Hussein and the Iraqi regime brought the specter of the failure to oppose aggressors prior to World War II. The argument ran that early opposition to Hitler might well have avoided most of the destruction of World War II.

The first objective became to get the Iraqi forces out of Kuwait and to make it extremely difficult to launch an aggressive action elsewhere. It is not clear that the second objective was to force the Iraqis to give up their weapons of mass destruction and to destroy their capability for doing so. If it was this objective was confounded by the contradictory objective of leaving post-war Iraq capable of balancing Iranian initiatives in the Middle East. The saga underlying that objective continues.

A major point in seeking to formulate goals and objectives is that the planner must consider the sometimes complicated range of goals and the instrumental objectives flowing therefrom and the possibility of conflicting goals and objectives. It is no easy task to articulate a sophisticated assessment of what precisely needs to be accomplished to mitigate or solve a problem.

One wonders in the current imbroglio in Kosovo whether Milosevic had a clear set of goals and objectives and even more whether NATO did as well. In NATO’s case it is clear that the goal of NATO allies was to create a situation that would permit the Albanian Kosovars to return to their homes and live safely without further barbarity from the Serbian Forces. NATO’s consequent objectives were to persuade Milosevic to withdraw his forces, stop ethnic cleansing, and permit the NATO and the UN to maintain armed ground forces to assure that the overarching goal could be attained.
At this point the goals and objectives are less clear. Did the NATO powers seek to unseat Milosevic and eventually try him as a war criminal? Will they be content just to help the Albanian Kosovars to exist in an autonomous part of Yugoslavia? Is their implied objective to make it difficult for the Serbian military to rise again and launch another murderous campaign? Questions such as these highlight the problems of articulating objectives for planners, especially in a multi-national alliance.

**Assignment:** Here you need to state as precisely as possible what the goals and objectives are. This should be a result of conferring with each group member. To do that, each should independently write up a brief statement of goals and objectives and then discuss differences with an eye toward a common statement.

Approximate length: 1 page.

**C. The Background: Conditions, Events, and/or Actions Leading to the Problem.**

The policy planner needs to discover what events, conditions, trends, and/or past actions (the stimuli) have brought the problem to the forefront at this time. Here there must be an effort to find out what caused the problem and, if it has been a long-standing problem, what, if any, attempts to resolve it had been undertaken and why had they not been fully successful. It is in reconstructing the background of the problem that the planner may gain insight into the sources of the problem, the complexity, the reasons for its intractability, and possible routes toward resolution. One might describe this need as the need to write a history of the problem.

This means, among other things, that the traditional tools of the competent historian and social scientist need to be used. So important is the clear assessment of the background of the problem that it may call for going outside the foreign policy governmental establishment to consult with historians, anthropologists, political scientists, economists and other social scientists, either in person or in their professional writings. This pool of experts who have spent most of their adult lives studying a country and/or a problem in all its complex interactions in the world system should be consulted. They can be found not only in academia but also in various think tanks now in place in many countries around the world. They can offer insights into understanding the past, the perspectives, the proclivities, the passions, the positions, and the policies of those who have caused the problem. These experts may even offer informed judgment about the likely outcomes of various strategies and tactics.

An example of the failure to do so can be found in Robert McNamara’s revealing memoir in which he opines that the American decisionmakers did not have access to sufficient expertise to make the now clear judgment that the Vietnamese were primarily nationalists. It is incredible that this judgment is brought forward more than twenty years after the fact by one of the main decisionmakers who does not yet realize that the government could have had access to very competent experts on Vietnam and the Communist world. There were experts who could have provided an assessment of the Vietnamese sense of nationality and national independence. At the very least this could have resulted in a searching and more informed policy review than appears to have taken place. At most, it could have led, as one prominent person suggested to “declare victory and leave.” Thus could many of the 32,000 American casualties have been avoided (We comment below on the desirability for in progress review and the need to recognize failure.).
**Assignment:** This is one of the most important parts of the plan. We want to know how the problem got to be that way and what the current situation is. The group should discuss what background is relevant and each member should analyze different aspects of the problem.

**Approximate Length of This Section: 4 to 5 pages at the most.**

**D. Lessons from Past Analogous Cases.**

The wise policy planner recognizes that there may have been somewhat similar problems in the past. Perhaps something can be learned about the successes and failures of these past cases, whether or not they were directly analogous. These cases need not necessarily involve the participants in the current problem. The search for past analogous cases is intended to demonstrate whether there is a precedent that might be followed (or avoided) in the case under consideration. Whether the past policy action or actions were successful or not, it may still be desirable to attempt to draw lessons and guidance from experience. Lessons learned from the past may help avoid repetition of the same mistakes. For example, the lessons that the Americans learned from the debacle in Vietnam were many. Perhaps, the most important was that a clear grasp of the nature of the problem and clearly articulated goals and means to accomplish them were necessary. Had that been done, there is doubt that the US should have entered the conflict at all. However, there is a possible pitfall in looking to the past for guidance for the future. Situations are rarely the same, each having its own set of circumstances and settings. Moreover, there is a danger that the lessons from the past may unnecessarily limit the range of actions in the present.

This latter danger seems clearly the case in the present situation in Kosovo. There Americans in agreement with other members of the NATO forces unnecessarily limited the range of action by making it implicitly clear that they were not going to use ground troops to buttress the massive air attacks. Although we cannot be certain at this point apparently the American military and the political leadership thought back to the days of Vietnam where the TV pictures of body bags entered the American living rooms creating a pressure to withdraw. This has made the American political leaders and the military very unwilling to become involved in ground action in places where American vital interests could not be easily justified to the American public. Similar concerns existed in other NATO capitals as well. Despite the fact, that the military forces were composed of professionals supposed to be willing and able to take the risks of a military action, the NATO alliance initially forfeited the strategically important threat of using massive ground forces as had happened in the highly successful Gulf War. The Institute of Strategic Studies in London issued a scathing critique of this strategy on grounds that it unintentionally gave Milosevic some assurances of being able to remain in power and even of emerging semi-victorious since the conventional wisdom has been that a war cannot be won by air power alone. That the bombing and successful diplomatic initiatives by the Russians with the critical help of President Ahtisaari of Finland eventually forced Milosevic to give in does not counter the criticism fully. The reason is that had the original strategy included the realistic threat of ground forces Milosevic and his followers might have been forced to surrender much earlier. As in all cases of what might have been, there is no certainty, of course.

**Assignment:** Here you need to research to find out if this problem or a similar one has been examined before. If similar problems or ones having similar aspects are found, each member should select one and analyze its value, then try to discover why the solution was unsuccessful or successful and to refer to that finding in their paper. All problems may not have analogous cases. If your group cannot find an analogous case, you need to briefly describe the search made and analyze why this problem is unique.
E. Projection of Current Trends Without Resolution.

The wise policy planner attempts to project the trends or consequences of a particular problem should the problem continue without resolution or mitigation. Not only will this help to determine the comparative urgency of the problem, but it will also sensitize the senior decisionmakers and, perhaps their planning staff to the need to prioritize problems and to think about the future. Often this is a very difficult task, especially in dealing with the complex problems facing the policy planner. Even in the area of international economic policy, where a branch of the discipline of economics has developed very sophisticated forecasting tools, the projections are often tenuous and highly contingent. Economic “man” in wondrous variety remains difficult to predict and there simply may be no solution to some problems.

No wonder the problems facing the policy planner are daunting. Nonetheless, an attempt at forecasting must be made, if the problem is to be put into proper perspective and the prospect for worsening an untended problem is to be avoided. Even if the planner can only expect to “muddle through,” in a satisficing way, that does not exempt her or him from attempting to be as informed, systematic, rigorous, organized, clear, anticipatory, and forward-looking as possible. This is a tall order perhaps, but it should be the goal of the planner.

For example, the problem of international debt, facing both lender and recipient alike, confronts the policy-makers in many countries. Not only is it essential to make a careful analysis of how and why the problem arose, but also it is also desirable to make projections about the consequences of the continuance of the problem without mitigation or solution. What might be the consequences for both debtor and creditor of widespread default? Would the investment pool, so much in demand by some countries, simply dry up? What would be the consequences of default on the living standards of the lenders or on the development plans of the recipients? What might be the consequences for the health and viability of the entire capitalist international political economy? There is evidence, of course, that planners have struggled with these questions. It is clear that these questions, and many more as well, are the stuff of forecasting or projection. In a sense, they fall into the sometime playful, sometime deadly serious game of “What If?”

Another example of attempting to project trends is engendered by the current (Spring 99) crisis in Kosovo. We are not aware of the policy planning models and the details of the planning deliberations (understandably kept confidential) that took place as the NATO powers decided to intervene. Nonetheless we observe that trend projection was obviously made when it became apparent that the Serbian ethnic cleansers were willing to continue their barbaric actions. NATO saw that the situation was becoming desperate for the Albanian Kosovars and had it been allowed to continue might well have rivaled the genocidal activities of Adolph Hitler. This trend projection clearly heightened the willingness to intervene and led to the application of major air bombardment of selected targets in Yugoslavia. The questions one now has, of course, could this projection have been made earlier and could any planner have projected the massive refugee outflow. At this point, we do not even know whether the projected possibility was considered.

There are two points to be made in this connection. (1) The world is often a contingent place where estimations of the future are difficult, perhaps even impossible in certain situations. (2) Strategic planning calls for imaginative projection of trends not obvious at the time the problem comes to the forefront.
Assignment: You need to develop and/or discover information that describes in detail what trends are likely if the problem is not resolved. The group needs to discuss what trends exist and divide up the task of analyzing them. Each should develop trend lines from the past with projections for the future. Research may reveal efforts of this type already in place. If not, reasoned projections of the future trends need to be made. In either case trend charts are expected.

Approximate Length of This Section: 1 page.

F. Threat Assessment.

Much of strategic planning in the business world rests on the attempt to ascertain what strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats (often indicated by the acronym: SWOT) to the attainment of their goals can be identified. Early in the development of strategic plans in foreign policy-making or other planning efforts, it is wise to try to discover what threats there may be to specified goals, quickly to be followed by a careful look for opportunities to accomplish purposes. Here is where the very best and experienced minds must be put to work, consultations made, and outside experts utilized. This process is especially true for threats. To underestimate or ignore threats or obstacles likely to arise stands to compromise the mission from the very outset. Yet this is probably one of the most difficult and demanding aspects of strategic planning and there may be a tendency to downplay the threats that have been identified.

One of the most dramatic examples of failure in threat assessment came in the Korean War where the US policy-makers essentially ignored the threat of Chinese intervention. General MacArthur’s failure to give credence to clear diplomatic warnings that the Chinese would intervene if MacArthur pushed his forces to the Yalu not only resulted in a stunning defeat, but also had major negative impact on the United States mistaken view of Chinese future intentions.

There are other examples. Clearly in the current (Spring 1999) imbroglio in Kosovo, Mr. Milosevic had underestimated or even failed to identify the powerful threat to his country and his regime soon to be launched by NATO. The same could be said for Saddam Hussein’s failure to consider carefully the threat posed by the United Nations, primarily the United States and its Allies to his adventure in Kuwait. While we do not know the secret processes that the Iraqi regime went through as they planned their invasion, it seems unlikely that Saddam Hussein did a searching threat assessment. This might have included consideration of the importance of oil to the Western powers, the awesome potential of allied air, ground, and sea power, and the desire of many national regimes around the world not to disturb the existing boundaries. It is possible of course that these aspects were considered and that he simply made a bad judgment about the probabilities that his thrust would be vigorously opposed. Some have even argued that he was victim of a well-laid trap by US Ambassador Glaspie who allegedly indicated that the US had no position on the matter. Whether or not he was misled, he was foolish to launch the invasion despite his valid point that Kuwait was a country created by the imperialist west at the expense of Iraq.

While threat assessment need not lead to paralysis, it should lead to a realistic estimation of the situation encountered and, hopefully the development of contingency plans, should threat assessment go awry. The answer to the observation that there are just too many imponderables and contingencies to spend valuable time on threat assessment especially in face of a crisis is that past experience suggests that this conventional wisdom may well be wrong. To be sure, threat assessment may be a bit like a chess game where one’s assessments will be heavily influenced by the opponent’s action. That, too, can be simulated in a good strategic planning process.
**Assignment:** If this problem clearly threatens the core values and perhaps the existence of human beings in the next millennium you need to put forward the reasons for that in the starkest and most persuasive manner. If it is a problem that threatens one or more nations or non-state actors to a greater extent than others, this needs to be analyzed as well. Group members should make an independent assessment in their papers. The group will need to attempt to arrive at a consensus before presenting its strategic plan in a brief.

**Number of Pages This Section:** 1 page.

**G. Opportunity Assessment.**

“Strike while the iron is hot” is a bit of folk wisdom that might well be applied to strategic planning. In the shifting world of international relations opportunities to reach goals come and go. One of the keys to a planner’s success is to be alert to the prospect that the time and situation are ripe for a successful planning initiative. A dramatic instance recognizing the opportunity came at the end of World War II when the American foreign policy establishment launched the Marshall Plan. As we know, Europe at the end of the war was physically, emotionally, and materially exhausted. Economies were disrupted, casualties had been high, and many people were on the brink of a starving winter. The opportunity to make a difference had not been slow in coming. During the war planning was underway to create organizations that would help to restore economies and hope for the future. The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Agency (UNRRA) was one such result of wartime planning, but it was clearly not enough. Into the breach came George Marshall and the American planners to propose a plan for revitalization of all of Europe including the Soviet Union. It was an opportunity not to be missed. Winston Churchill characterized the Marshall Plan as “the least sordid act in history.” While the Soviets refused to participate, the result of this “carpe diem” strategy was the astonishingly quick recovery of the Western European countries. One wonders what might have been had the Soviets participated and had the Americans followed the advice of some in the State Department not to assume the implacable enmity of the Soviets signaled by the Truman Doctrine.

The Monnet/Schumann Plan of the French government for a European Coal and Steel Community in the aftermath of World War II provides another example of recognizing opportunity and persuasively following through. Based upon an insight into the problem of plunging Europe into internecine wars twice in the first half of the century, the French saw that Western Europeans, at least, were ready for an initiative that would link long-time enemies in an organization that promised to make them so interdependent that war between them would be less likely. The fact that Europeans were tired of war, tired of its devastation, and its interruption of a peaceful and prosperous existence made this an opportunity not to be missed to initiate the long dreamed of European integration.

The world has also witnessed a number of instances where opportunities may have been missed. One especially intriguing missed opportunity was in the failure of several of the European powers, especially the Dutch, French and the Portuguese to recognize that the opportunity to reestablish imperial control in the post WW II in Asia and Africa no longer was in their reach. Instead the real opportunity lay in helping to usher in the drive for independence long simmering in the countries that had suffered under the yoke of imperialism. Thus did the struggles in Indonesia, Vietnam, Algeria, and Angola play out under a bitter sky that cost the lives and benefits of many on all sides. While the inevitability of independence for colonies was eventually recognized by the Europeans, one wonders once again what a different and better outcome might have been ushered by the early recognition of an opportunity to lead rather than try to hold on to the past.
As in threat assessment, opportunity assessment is often fraught with imponderables and filled with misperceptions of the possible and probable. Sometimes the opportunities are perceived, but the domestic and foreign political constraints make it impossible to take advantage of them. There can be little doubt that at least some in the policy-making establishment in the United States saw the recent opportunity to change American Cuban policy (a policy now lacking support over most of the world) opened up by the visit of Pope John Paul to Havana. Yet, the rabidly anti-Castro position by many of the Republican leadership in Congress made the possibility of a mutually acceptable accommodation out of the question—a case of opportunity lost. Similarly, the Americans missed an opportunity to strengthen mutually advantageous relationship with China by forging the agreement for China’s entry into the World Trade Organization during the recent visit of Chinese Premiere Zhu Ronji. Apparently the confusing and contradictory behavior on the part of the Clinton administration was a result of an effort to avoid giving political capital to the Republicans. The prior accidental bombing of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade made the lost opportunity to improve relations doubly foolish.

Small wonder that the life of a foreign policy planner often seems like an exercise in timidity. Yet to be attentive and vigilant lest opportunity come and go may be one of the most valuable skills of the strategic planner. Then to get the ear of the decisionmakers becomes an exercise in political sophistication of the highest order.

Assignment: This section should focus on whether or not now is the opportune time to tackle the problem. This features an examination of what prospects for success there seems to be at this time and why. If this is a problem where certain nations or non-state actors may have more opportunities than others, this needs to be analyzed as well. Group members should make an independent assessment in their papers. The group will need to attempt to arrive at a consensus before presenting its strategic plan in a brief.

Number of Pages This Section: 1 page.

H. Positions and Interests of Contending Parties.

In order to do a competent job of problem solving it is necessary to identify the positions and interests of the involved parties to a problem. All good planners need to determine the positions and interests of the parties to a problem or dispute as accurately as possible. The focus on positions and interests was developed most persuasively by Fisher and Urey of Harvard’s Negotiation Center in their book *Getting to Yes* which is a guide to good negotiating strategy. What is the meaning of position and interest? **Positions are statements of preferred outcomes**, i.e. goals. **Interests are reasons underlying a position.** A position is something one wants; an interest is why one wants it.

We have already indicated that a strategic planner must determine goals and objectives in seeking to develop a plan to solve a problem. In this section we focus mainly on the opponents or challenges, but that does not mean that the strategic planner should simply ignore the relationship between the goals and objectives of her/his country or alliance and its underlying interests. Fisher and Urey give this example of the connection and difference between position and interest. In the Egyptian/Israeli dispute over the Sinai after the Six-day War, the Egyptian position was that the Sinai belonged to them; the contrasting Israeli position was that part of the Sinai now belonged to them. The basic underlying reason for Israel’s position was that the Israelis judged that their interest in national security would be strengthened by possession of the Sinai as an effective buffer between them and Egypt. The Egyptian interest was not only in enhancing their security from possible future Israeli
incursion and seeking economic aid from the United States and other western powers, but also the Egyptians had a historic interest in maintaining sovereignty over the Sinai that had been part of Egypt since Pharaonic times. It was upon the recognition of interests that a settlement was actually reached.

It is absolutely critical in policy planning (and in negotiation) to identify positions and interests. The prospects for a solution to a problem will depend, in part, on the ability of the planner to distinguish between positions and interests and, most importantly to identify fundamental interests of parties to a dispute. That includes the planner’s own country as well. This is even true when the prospects for peaceful settlement seem remote and a decision to use military force has been made. In the midst of combat planners must continue to seek to identify fundamental interests of an enemy as a strategic basis for terminating the conflict. While unconditional surrender may be the demand of the winning parties as it was in World War II, there are actually always conditions. Even there an assessment of the possible interests of Germany and Japan in rebuilding their countries helped promote their willingness to participate fully in the victors-led to efforts to assist in the economic recovery. This was truly unprecedented and it relied on a sophisticated recognition of mutual interest in recovery. Unlike the mistakes of Versailles after World War I that led to the instability of the Weimar Republic in Germany and the rise of Hitler, the Allied planners chose to take actions that would help the defeated countries create societies where people could live in peace and prosperity. The successful outcome speaks for itself and is testimony to the value of recognizing long-term, mutual interests.

At times there are primary and secondary players in the international problem drama. Focus, of course, should be on the primary players, but the secondary players must not be forgotten in dealing with most problems. For example, the primary players in the effort to establish a North American Free Trade agreement were Canada, Mexico, and the United States, but the planners appear to have considered the desires of some of the Latin American countries to participate. That story, of course, still remains to be told.

Finally, the planner needs to identify possible convergence of interests as a basis for a negotiated settlement of a dispute. This is the place that calls for the most creativity and insight. The Camp David Accords between Egypt and Israel brokered by President Carter of the United States are a good example of creatively seeking convergent interests. Carter saw that Egypt’s basic interest was in ending the continuing hostile environment with Israel. He realized so that problems of the economy could be better addressed with diminution of a hostile environment and that providing some hope for a Palestinian homeland would help counteract the severe criticism from the Arab world for President Sadat’s effort at rapprochement with Israel. He also saw that Israel had an interest in protecting its southern flank so that it could deal more effectively with problems of threatening situations in Lebanon and Syria. Thus the interests converged and the Framework for Peace was established. Tragically, the pace toward the ultimate settlement as far as the Palestinian interests were concerned has moved far too slowly. Nonetheless, the example confirms the value of seeking convergent interests as part of strategic planning.

**Assignment:** Here you must state what are the positions of the countries and the most important non-state actors involved in the problem and their interests in mitigating or solving it. In many cases it may be desirable to try to classify the various nations and non-state actors in some manner according to their degree of development, their situation in relationship to the problem, their ability to contribute toward its solution or some other categories that will permit you to document positions and interests in some defensible way. Group members should divide up this task with each analyzing a different party or category of parties.
II. CONSTRUCTION OF SCENARIOS

Above you have been asked to put forward the elements of the plan that must be used to construct all scenarios for solving the problem. The next step in the planning process is to develop a solution to the problem. Here is where the planner must make one or more proposals of ways the problem might be resolved or, at least mitigated. With the several steps discussed above, now is the time to be specific about the various actions to be taken. This lies at the art of the planning process. The planner must describe the strategy and tactics to be employed and the reasons for doing so. A scenario must provide sufficient detail so that informed judgment can be made later on about which option (scenario) to accept. The group needs to discuss possible scenarios. Each member must then construct a different scenario that will be evaluated by the group in order to make its recommendation for a strategic plan.

A. Guiding Principles

An effective strategic plan needs a set of guiding principles that can determine the nature, extent, and limits of the engagement. These principles can range widely, but they must be explicitly stated if confusion about strategy and tactics is not to occur while planning and once the action is underway. Principles may focus on such matters as

A. the saving of civilian lives in air strikes,
B. a taboo on assassination of other countries’ leaders,
C. following the standards of international law, other legal obligations such as the World Trade Organization and the International Monetary Fund regimes,
D. the avoidance of duplicity,
E. the willingness to use maximal traditional weapons and not resort to weapons of mass destruction (Nuclear, Chemical, and Biological),
F. refusal to resort to terrorist tactics,
G. a contrasted willingness to resort to all weapons in a nation’s arsenal,
H. a preference for diplomatic initiatives and compromise,
I. refusal to commit ground troops,
J. no first-strike strategy,
K. a preference for economic pressure,
L. a requirement that the United Nations approve of the action.

An excellent illustration of the use of guiding principles came when Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy in the Cuban Missile Crisis argued successfully that it was against American “moral principles” to bomb Cuba and the Soviet forces who were installing missiles. The fact that this principle was nowhere stated clearly and in writing before the crisis demonstrates how dangerous it may be to leave a discussion of principles up to the moments of crisis. That Kennedy won the day was by no means guaranteed in the tense moments of the crisis. While national leaders are often not willing to tip their hand by publicly enunciating guiding principles in war-like or important economic situations, we contend that there is value in doing so, at least for internal consumption. Guiding principles should be a part of that plan.

Assignment: You need to develop or discover several guiding principles that will influence the construction of your scenario and explain why you think they are important guides.
B. Proposed Strategy and Tactics for Solving the Problem

Next you need to develop a set of actions that we have labeled strategy and tactics. By strategy and tactics we mean those specific actions and procedures designed to accomplish the goals and objectives already in place. More specifically, a strategy is an overall plan of action or doctrine usually focused on long time periods to meet broadly conceived goals and objectives previously agreed upon. Tactics are methods of proceeding to gain the strategic ends identified. For example, in 1946 and 1947, the Truman Administration developed the strategy known as the Truman Doctrine to counter Communist influence or possible threat in Greece and Turkey. The tactics they used were to provide military and economic aid to each country.

Although much more on the imponderable side of planning, there is also the desirability of seeking to estimate the strategy and tactics of those who may oppose the plan. Role-playing or exercises in conflict resolution using the insights from these considerably well-developed explorations in problem-solving, and other simulations may be used here. It is the sense of this inquiry that few of the planners actually turn to this kind of activity, but the possibility remains that much more is going on than meets the public eye.

The focus on the NATO strategy and tactics for forcing Milosevic and the Serbs to withdraw and permit international on-site guarantees of Albanian Kosovar security offers a clear example of strategy and tactics in the context intended here. The basic strategy was to conduct a diplomatic negotiation featuring agreement by all parties to guarantee the return and safety of the Albanian Kosovars while enabling the Serbs to continue to include the area as a part of Yugoslavia. This diplomatic strategy was supported by the strategic decision to threaten and guarantee to implement military action by air bombardment against the Serbs in Kosovo and Serbia (Yugoslavia itself). Once diplomatic negotiations broke down and the Serbs continued their policies of ethnic cleansing, the tactics featured a continuation of diplomatic efforts with Russia taking center stage. At the same time NATO was launching a major air war against the Serbian military forces and connected command and infrastructure facilities in Belgrade and other cities in Yugoslavia. While, as we have seen, there is major debate about whether the selected strategy and tactics were the best way to force the Serbs to acquiesce, there is little doubt that the plan had much discussion and debate among the NATO allies. There is less certainty about focus on Serbian strategy. Perhaps, one should assume that there was this focus, but the evidence is now shielded. There is little indication from the outside whether the scenario adopted had the kind of systematic detailed consideration of the type put forward here. Indeed, as pointed out above, the International Institute of Strategic Studies, several military analysts and political commentators severely criticized the NATO planners for failing to recognize that the Serbs, especially Milosevic, would not believe the threat to his position credible without a willingness by the NATO allies to send major ground forces to the area with a threat to intervene in a ground war. It is significant that the Sanitary Air War that took several weeks punctuated by the disastrous flow of refugees failed to break the will of the Milosevic regime to continue. Now that Milosevic has surrendered ignominiously the unanswerable question is whether a different strategy would have resulted in a favorable outcome in a shorter time.

Assignment: Here you must make a clear statement of the basic strategy and tactics for your proposed scenario. In your analysis you must also take into account the strategy and tactics of those who may oppose the plan. This is essential not only for implementation of a scenario, but most
importantly for assessing the feasibility, costs and benefits, the obstacles, and its strengths and weaknesses. While this need not be a detailed plan of implementation, it is necessary to outline fundamental strategy and the tactics to meet the goals and objectives that have been agreed upon as important to solve the problem. The call to be clear about strategy and tactics is one that should not be resisted.

Number of Pages This Section: 2 to 3 pages.

C. Culture Constructs: The Leaders in Context

Unlike most strategic planning models, this model rests on a theory of foreign policy behavior that argues that there are three keys to understanding the foreign policy orientation of a country, a regime, and/or a leader. They are: culture constructs, the objective conditions in the situation, and the impact of the international system. These are useful to explain the foreign policy behavior of leaders of a country. This theory has been explained in detail in the Foreign Policy Orientation Model above. Here we only focus on those mindsets that a planner needs to explore in the search for feasibility of a plan.

Difficult though it may be, the strategic planner needs to do everything possible to develop a grasp of those sources of conduct that shape the responses of nation’s leader or leaders in foreign policymaking. The planner is at a disadvantage here since leaders may not have articulated a worldview in all its complexity in writing or in speeches, but this is not an overwhelming impediment. As the planner attempts to put together a behavioral profile of the leadership, it is useful to recognize the possibility that, despite deviations from societal norms, the deviations are rarely widely divergent. Advances in cognitive psychology, especially the Janis/Mann general conflict theory and Margaret Hermann’s scheme for analyzing a leader’s public statements should be put to use here. In fact some scholars argue that if one can get at the sources of national identity, one will have a rather good predictive tool. However, obviously preferable is to have valid assessments of the mind-shaping aspects of all of the constraints and proclivities from the group to the individual.

Various scholars have observed that there is a tendency on the part of analysts simply to take a realpolitik approach to interpreting the behavior of governmental leaders, thus not allowing for the richness and complexity of behavior that these analysts tend to understand in their own society. The planner must avoid this retreat to undeserving simplicity. Moreover, it is often the case that the leadership in a given situation has spoken out sufficiently for the planner to develop an empathic understanding of other parties to the problem. It is almost impossible for someone to rise to a position of leadership without carrying many of the mindsets of society with her or him. It is also the case that exploring the culture constructs may give insight into the willingness of the people in the society to support the leadership in time of stress and danger. The test is to determine which aspects of these culture constructs come into play in a given situation.

We know that there is a wealth of experience in seeking to figure out the wellsprings of behavior of a leader. During World War II for example, it was regular practice to learn as much as possible about the personalities, proclivities, and behavioral style of generals in the field to help to discern likely behavior. The scholar Nathan Leites in his Operational Code of the Bolshevik used textual analysis to arrive at a sketch of likely behavior of the Soviet negotiators in the Korean War. More recently Alexander George has provided a framework for identifying core beliefs relative to foreign policy. Mindset analysis pioneered by Fisher is another indication of the possibility of
discovering keys to behavior. Our point here is that strategies emerging from examining culture constructs can lead to plans more likely to succeed.

**Assignment:** Here we ask you to try to identify the values that are likely to have the most acceptance as you propose a solution to the problem. For example, if you believe that most countries and non-state actors involved in the discussion of the problem value a cleaner, less polluted environment, you would emphasize that value and perhaps others that are connected in some way. In addition you need to try to identify the attitudes toward the problem that decision-makers in various nations or groups of nations have toward the problem.

**Number Pages This Section:** 1 page.

**D. Strength and Weakness of Involved Parties.**

Whether devising a strategic plan for a business enterprise, an institution of higher education, or a foreign office, it is imperative to make an estimation of the strengths and weaknesses of all of the actors in each scenario, including one’s own. In many respects this is a difficult and imprecise effort, especially to examine unflinchingly one’s own strengths and weaknesses.

The estimation of tangible strengths and weaknesses is likely to be the easiest of the estimations, but still fraught with difficulty. Assessment of economic conditions and capabilities of involved parties can be reasonably straightforward and accurate. Planners can be similarly confident of military assessments even though history demonstrates some egregious errors in estimation in the past. Such assessments include budgetary and financial situations, production abilities, the availability of necessary material resources, the vulnerability of supply lines for critical materials found only outside the country, and the technological level of the actors. Where military action is a definite possibility, the strategic planner must ask the full range of questions about force levels, mobility, deployment, and equipment for all actors.

In addition to the abilities of the governmental ministries such as the foreign ministry and service, the military establishment, the financial ministries (Commerce and Treasury in the US), the intelligence agencies (the CIA, for example), and the government sponsored or independent “think tanks”, there exist a host of additional institutions, both national and international that focus on making estimates of strengths and weaknesses. Such institutions as the prestigious International Institute of Strategic Studies based in London, Jane’s Ships, the Brookings Institution and the Rand Corporation in the United States and more than 50 “think tanks” around the world offer professional (though not necessarily unbiased) assessments of economic, military, and other strengths and weaknesses of various nations. The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development based in Paris, the United Nations institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, and often-reliable published assessments of conditions by various national institutions round the world offer grist for the planner’s mill.

Very important but difficult to assess are the strengths and weaknesses of intangibles such as morale, quality of leaders, the quality of the necessary work force (includes employees, technicians, and/or military and diplomatic personnel depending on the nature of the problem), and the quality of information. This is especially true if there is a pride of position, place and people that may lead to miss estimation of one’s own qualities and the qualities of others, whether allies or enemies. Despite the difficulty, the wise planner needs to make the estimations.
One finds this problem very sharply present in international conflicts such as the Korean and Vietnamese Wars. In the Korean War, it became clear that General MacArthur and his staff badly underestimated the fighting qualities and inclinations of the Chinese and North Koreans and overestimated the UN forces. (It is widely believed that MacArthur had a basic contempt for the fighting qualities of the Asian warriors even after he was forced out of the Philippines.) The French similarly failed to recognize the strengths of the Vietnamese communists as the debacle at Dienbienphu demonstrated. Currently, NATO strategists seem at first to have underestimated the abilities of Milosevic and the Serbs to withstand their “sanitary war” featuring massive bombing, especially when not faced with a credible threat of NATO action on the ground.

Perhaps it is sufficient to remark at this point that strength/weakness assessment must go on with as unbiased and straightforward evaluation of all actors and all aspects as possible. Given the tendency of humans to resist cognitive dissonance, thereby ignoring or restructuring the evidence to fit with preconceptions, the successful planner must seek to develop as objective an assessment as possible.

**Assignment.** Here you need to make an estimation of the capabilities or lack thereof of the involved parties in the effort to solve the problem and what might be done about it. That estimation of course will influence your choice of actions.

**Number of Pages for This Section: 2 to 3 pages.**

**E. Obstacle Anticipation: Domestic and Foreign.**

Closely connected to the evaluation of strengths and weaknesses is the requirement that an effort be made to discover what obstacles lie in the way of a successful prosecution of the scenarios considered and to develop countermeasures to overcome them or lessen their effect. Without this anticipation, the implementation of the selected scenario may suddenly find that the best laid plans “hae gang aglee” to use the language of the Scottish poet, Bobby Buns. No person in charge of implementing a plan wants to be blind-sided by some unanticipated event or difficulty. Like the evaluation of strengths and weaknesses, however, this too can be a very challenging and complex assignment. It clearly requires the use of the imagination, intuition, historical analogy, experience, and effective leadership.

We turn again to the ill-fated Vietnam War for an example of the difficulty and the disastrous results of failing to anticipate domestic obstacles facing them as the American planners/decisionmakers escalated the involvement of American troops in the conflict. It should have been clear from 1964 onward that domestic opposition, first rather small and at the fringes of American society, was becoming more widespread and important. Then when television brought the war to America’s dinnertime and the body bags began their final journey home, the obstacles to continued involvement had become so widespread that the kind of “in progress review” (that we recommend below) tended to underestimate the domestic opposition. Realistically, nowhere in sight could be found the hoped for “light at the end of the tunnel.” In a sense the failure to accurately assess the importance of domestic obstacles led the Americans to the tragedy of Vietnam. (The Gulf War demonstrated dramatically that the American military learned part of that lesson well and no longer permitted uncontrolled media access to the operations. Managed news of the operation became the order of the days.)
Today when pollsters are busy estimating public support for an operation, the planners face a different kind of obstacle. The question arises can important foreign policy planning permit itself to be hamstrung by the polls. There may be no effective answer to that question except that a careful considering of domestic as well as foreign public opinion is obligatory for the planners as they move toward the selection of a scenario. The wise planner must argue for a long-term perspective given the volatility of public opinion in the short run. Perhaps most importantly, there is no substitute for a leadership that is willing to risk significant disapproval and to develop counter tactics.

Public opinion, both at home and abroad, is not the only kind of obstacle that needs to be considered by the strategic planner. The anticipation of attitudes, stances, and proclivities of all of the parties likely to be greatly interested in the actions proposed is a must. This is even the case with allies who have joined in common cause. In an allied effort involving several actors, there may be various degrees of support for the action. That the differences may be so great that the plan is hobbled and the preferred outcome in danger should speak to the soundness of the plan. More importantly, a prior anticipation of the obstacles involved in a joint effort should precede and heavily influence the selection of one of the scenarios and measures to counteract division. Clearly, this estimation was done by the Clinton administration in the Kosovo affair as the continued public support of the action demonstrated despite the fact that vital American interests were not involved.

Obstacles from those who are not on the other side, but lean favorably toward that side should be expected and, at least, a preliminary set of “what to do if” considerations should be made. We do not know whether the NATO planners thoroughly examined the question of Russian opposition to the NATO attack on the Serbs before they selected the bombing initiative, but we do know that this kind of obstacle should have been anticipated. Evidence so far suggests that it was and that well-thought-out diplomatic efforts were underway even before the attack.

The point, of course, in citing these examples is to observe that rarely can a selected scenario expect to sail through without serious obstacles rising to complicate the plan. While anticipating obstacles may improve the chances for success for the selected plan, there is no guarantee that some obstacles simply cannot be overcome. Despite obstacles (and perhaps because of them) the careful planner (s) must turn finally to a cost/benefit analysis of the various scenarios prior to choosing one of them. We turn to that part of the model next.

Assignment: Here you need to provide a very brief statement of what you consider to be the main obstacles, both domestic and foreign, to the success of your plan. Provide enough explanation to make your assessment credible.

Number of Pages This Section: 1 page.

III. The Estimation of the Costs and Benefits of the Scenarios.

Which of the scenarios seems most salient? The answer rests largely on the estimation and assessments made above. Here a summation must be attempted. Almost in ledger-like fashion, the
planners need to turn a searching light on what each of the scenarios may cost and what benefits may accrue in driving toward the attainment of goals and objectives. Costs and benefits in economic, political, and psychological terms need to be calculated. The planner must make a projection of expenditures of resources, personnel and forces available to the government and even to the society at large to accomplish the plans put forward in the scenarios. Neither nation nor group of nations has unlimited resources. Whether the threat or opportunity focuses on fundamental core values of the nation(s) such as their security and prosperity or to important, but often lesser concerns such as credibility, the promotion of human rights, or matters of power position, national pride and prestige and psychological satisfaction may, of course, heavily influence that projection. It should come down to how much are “we” willing to pay in people, materiel, power position, credibility, and other resources to accomplish our goals and objectives.

Difficult though some of these cost projections are, the determination of benefits can be even more imprecise at times. While the preservation and promotion of core values such as security and prosperity may offer obvious benefits, other values and preferences are likely to be more problematic and difficult to put forward. For example, there was no immediate threat to the core values of the NATO nations participating in the effort to protect the Albanian Kosovars from the barbaric ethnic cleansing and systematic torture, rape, and murder by the Milosevic/Serbian forces. This raised the question for all the NATO participants of what benefits were to accrue to their countries should the action be successful in permitting the Kosovars to return to their homes in peace and security.

Assuming for a moment that “no man is an island and each is part of the main” (John Donne) how the planners articulate and defend the moral and ethical benefits to emerge from a successful action as in the Kosovar case becomes a major challenge indeed. Yet many would argue that there is a moral, practical, and ethical benefit in a world tied so closely together by the problems and processes of commerce, finance, pollution, disease, environmental degradation and the mobility of people. In turn, that benefit may relate closely to the development and maintenance of a world of law, basic morality and peaceful interaction where the possibility of enhancing the prospect of a better world improves. Just stating this example suggests how controversial and difficult some efforts to assign benefits to a particular action may be. We argue that such assessments are nonetheless essential for the planner.

Assignment: The task here is to make an informed judgment about the costs and benefits of your plan. Depending on the type of problem this estimate may have actual monetary costs as well as costs in materiel, power position, credibility, and other resources to accomplish the goals and objectives. This is where the “art” of judging costs comes most quickly into play. A matrix showing the various kinds of costs and benefits may be useful here. You need to clearly separate your analysis of costs from that of benefits.

Number of Pages This Section: 1 to 2 pages.
Grading Values for each section.

Name:  

Problem:  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Composition Errors</th>
<th>Information/ Analytical Errors</th>
<th>Points Possible (17-23 pages)</th>
<th>Points Earned</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. ELEMENTS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Identification</td>
<td></td>
<td>3 (1/2p.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Urgency</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 (1/2p.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Goals</td>
<td></td>
<td>5 (1p.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Background</td>
<td></td>
<td>15 (4-5p.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Past Case</td>
<td></td>
<td>5 (1p.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Trends</td>
<td></td>
<td>5 (1p.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. Threats</td>
<td></td>
<td>5 (1p.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. Opportunities</td>
<td></td>
<td>5 (1p.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. Interests</td>
<td></td>
<td>10 (1-2p.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. SCENARIO</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Principles</td>
<td></td>
<td>5 (1p.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Strategy and Tactics</td>
<td></td>
<td>20 (2-3p.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Cultural Constructs</td>
<td></td>
<td>5 (1p.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Strengths + weaknesses</td>
<td></td>
<td>15 (2-3)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Costs + benefits</td>
<td></td>
<td>15 (2-3p.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td>125</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Name:

Problem:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Composition Errors</th>
<th>Information/Analytical Errors</th>
<th>Points Possible (17-23 pages)</th>
<th>Points Earned</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>I. ELEMENTS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Identification</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3 (1/2p.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Urgency</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2 (1/2p.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Goals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5 (1p.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Background</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>15 (4-5p.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Past Case</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5 (1p.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Trends</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5 (1p.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. Threats</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5 (1p.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. Opportunities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5 (1p.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. Interests</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10 (1-2p.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>II. SCENARIO</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Principles</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5 (1p.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Strategy and Tactics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20 (2-3p.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Cultural Constructs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5 (1p.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Strengths + weaknesses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>15 (2-3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Costs + benefits</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>15 (2-3p.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>125</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>