

variables impinge upon the decision-making unit – from which foreign policy actions emanate. This model, then will provide the basic means to analyze the role of both environments in the foreign policy actions of states.

نموذج (إطار) عملية صنع السياسة الخارجية

ملخص البحث: تحاول هذه الورقة إيجاد نموذج لعملية صنع السياسة الخارجية،

من خلال التعرف على أفعال وسلوكيات السياسة الخارجية. وتفسر

هذه الأفعال والسلوكيات من خلال متغيرين، أحدهما يقع خارج

إطار الوحدة الدولية (الدولة)، والآخر يقع داخل إطار الوحدة

الدولية (الدولة). هذه المتغيرات هما البيئة الخارجية والبيئة الداخلية

والتي ترتبطان بوحده عملية صنع القرار.

في هذه النموذج (الإطار) نحاول أن نتعرف على الطرق الأولية

والوسائل الأساسية في تحليل هذه المتغيرات (الخارجية والداخلية)

في تصرفات وأفعال وسلوكيات السياسة الخارجية للدولة.

Rosi, Eugene. "Mass and Attentive Opinion on Nuclear Weapons Tests and Fallout 1954-1963". *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 29, (1965).

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A Model of Foreign Policy-Making Process

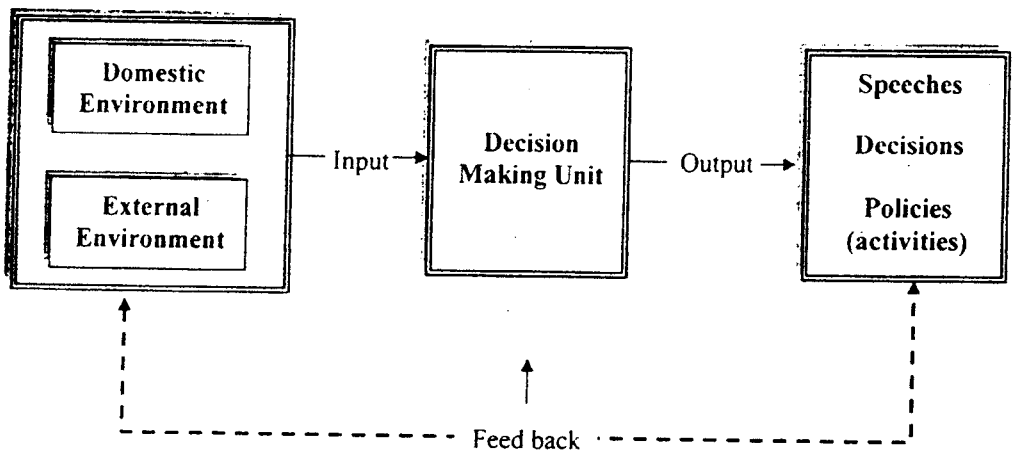
Abstract: This paper will try to find a model of foreign policy-making process. In this model foreign policy actions are accounted for by two set of variables – one set being attributes of the external environment of the state and the other being attributes of the domestic environment. The two sets of

- Griffin, Keith. "Pearson and the Political Economy of Aid", in Thomas Byres (ed.). *Foreign Resources and Economic Development*. London: Frank Cass, 1982.
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functions for state behavior, the way in which these many factors operate is not predictable in any exact fashion: either do we pretend to know their potency. In addition, while some states have many elements in common, yet the degree to which states recognize opportunities or limitations represented by these elements in the system is likely to be affected by the unique characteristics of each state. It is, therefore, the duty of the student to bring out some of the unique elements characteristic of his country of study in order to give a better picture of the issues involved in his case study.

Figure (1): Foreign Policy-Making Process



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- Benham, Frederic. *Economic Aid to Underdeveloped Countries*. London: Oxford University Press, 1981.

prescribes the concentration of religious and political power in the hands of one man".^[42]

However, though "individual politicians in developing countries are directly involved in foreign policy-making, this process takes place in a specific social, institutional context".^[43]

Conclusion:

We have adopted an analytical framework that looks at the simultaneous impact of both domestic and external factors. We have argued that the study of the domestic and external factors both within and between nations will add significantly to the explanatory power of any perspective purporting to explain the foreign policy of states. While the framework adopted in this study is not supposed to be a cookbook with recipes for action to fit every contingency, it does provide a way of thinking about the foreign policy of any country and ordering the factors that determine the conduct of foreign relations. We have suggested that the domestic and external variables are important to foreign policy makers because they reflect the broad contextual characteristics of the domestic and international environment in which foreign policy behavior takes place.

It is both accurate and appropriate to note at this juncture that although we have identified some of the elements in the domestic and external environment which perform constraining and facilitating

^[42] Dawisha, *op.cit.*, P.62.

^[43] Bahgat Korany and Ali Hillal Dessouki, "A Literature Survey and a Framework for Analysis", in Bahgat Korany and Ali Hillal Dessouki (eds.), *The Foreign Policies of Arab States*, (Boulder: Westview Press, 1984), P.16.

taken on the basis of emotional tensions, sentimentality or other similar motivations are bound to be irrational.

The individuals involved in the making of foreign policy play a significant role in determining a nation's foreign policy. The decision-making apparatus is not a machine that converts input emanating from the domestic and the external environment into output, but the input is colored by the beliefs and perceptions of those involved in the decision-making process and thus the decision-making apparatus is considered as part of the input process. Joseph Frankel argues that the images the foreign policy makers form "are crucial for their decisions as they make these decisions on the basis of the interpretation of their perceived, psychological environment and not of real life in which their decisions have to be implemented".^[40] Frankel adds that: "assumptions are generally unspoken and refer to beliefs which are fundamental and upon which one's reasoning rests, whereas images have much closer links with one's consciousness and with real life. In fact both are based upon the political culture and life-time experience of individuals".^[41]

In the case of the Middle East, Adeed Dawisha writes that: "the phenomena of the principal decision-maker is widely prevalent in the Middle East because of two factors. First, the tribe and the village had for centuries formed the core units of society in the Middle East, and in both cases authority had been traditionally bestowed on one person. Second, Islam, which dominates the political culture of the region,

^[40] Joseph Frankel, *National Interest*, (London: MacMillan Press, 1970), P.110.

^[41] Joseph Frankel, *British Foreign Policy 1945-1973*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1975), P.89.

colonial ties and the aid distributed by France and Britain.^[37] James Rosenau sums up the general importance of these variables by stating, "linkage phenomena are too plentiful and too influential to be ignored

(C) The Decision-Making Unit:

The second part of this study is concerned with how decisions are taken. It deals with the process by which policy inputs are converted into policy outputs. A number of factors are worth considering here, such as who takes decisions, what information is available to decision-makers, what goals guide a policy and what the perceptions and expectations of decision-makers are. The role of one individual may be more important in developing countries than in developed ones. This is why in the former countries, particularly, the role of the decision-maker must be carefully examined to give an accurate analysis.

Joseph Frankel argues that some foreign policy decisions may be highly irrational, while others approach much closer to rationality, but "every specific decision usually leads to action which requires explanation to the general public in the traditional terms of rationality".^[39] The question of rationality is linked with the time available to the decision-maker. The longer the time taken in formulating a policy decision, the more alternatives will be considered and the more rational will the process likely to be. It is not only time, however, that determines rationality of a decision. Decisions that are

^[37] Edward Wittkopf, *The Distribution of Foreign Aid in Comparative Perspective: An Empirical Study of the Flow of Foreign Economic Assistance 1961-1967*, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Syracuse, 1981, P.102.

^[39] Joseph Frankel, *The Making of Foreign Policy: An Analysis of Decision-Making*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), P.174.

international collective security organization, or to pursue a neutral line independent of others.

The influence exerted by military power is reflected in the old saying that a country must negotiate from a position of strength. The dilemma here is that moving towards promoting a state's strength usually leads to military conflicts with others. Edward Carr puts it this way: "the most serious wars are fought in order to make one's own country militarily stronger, or more often, to prevent another country from becoming militarily stronger, so that there is much justification for the epigram that the principal cause of war is war itself".^[35]

f. Linkage Variables:

By linkage variables we mean the historical traditions of the state in terms of her foreign relations, traditions of past foreign, economic and political involvements, linkages made in the past with other nations through treaties and colonial ties. This category is important because in many cases governments are bound to honor commitments made in the past to another country and they have to abide by international treaties. It is important also because it shows how past events can affect behavior now and in the future.

Stephen Brams, for example, links colonialism with trade and finds that colonial ties strongly affect the trade between the former colony and the colonial power.^[36] Edward Wittkopf, on the other hand, links colonialism with foreign aid and finds a relationship between

^[35] Edward Carr, *The Twenty Year's Crisis 1919-1939*, (London: MacMillan Press, 1951), P.111.

^[36] Stephen Brams, "Transaction Flows in the International System", *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 60, (1966), P.889.

The military strength of the state has always been deemed one of the most important factors that must be considered by the decision-maker when making foreign policy. It is rather difficult to assess the military strength of a state, but we can note a number of criteria:

1. Number of men in the three main branches of the armed forces: army, air force and navy.
2. Degree of training.
3. Nature of the military equipment.
4. Strategic accessibility.

From the standpoint of the individual state, the military instrument is used for three main purposes: first, to influence the external environment; second, to enhance internal stability, which serves the goals of foreign policy in an indirect way; and third for support of allies.^[34]

The power of a nation in military terms is closely dependant upon the sort of leadership the nation has. There are two crucial elements here; the leader's determination to equip his army with the most sophisticated weapons from different sources; and his determination to avoid military adventures that may result in disasters which could reflect on the morale of his army.

The intimate relationship between military power and foreign policy makes it necessary for governments to determine, as part of their foreign policy, how their state's military power should relate to that of other states whether to join a military pact, to rely on an

^[34] Padelford and Lincoln, op.cit., P.432.

problem.^[29] The nature of the states bureaucracy, then, definitely affects the success of that state's acts.

When we discuss mass influences, we refer here to the opinions held by different elements of a population which decision-makers must consider in making foreign policy.^[30]

Public opinion as a power has been widely discussed. For Thomas Bailey public opinion is a "giant who is fickle and ignorant yet still has a giant's strength, and may use it with frightful effect".^[31] Eugene Rosi believes that public opinion is only the product of the political elites through that influence they usually exert, while public opinion responds.^[32] Apart from the political elites, we have to bear in mind the role played by both the press and the pressure groups in influencing public opinion.

The type of political system determines the strength of public opinion. In closed systems, where all means of mass communications media are in the hands of the government, popular attitudes are greatly influenced by the decision-makers themselves. Under such circumstances, decision-makers can cultivate a favorable climate of opinion for their foreign policies.^[33]

e. Military Capabilities:

^[29] Henry Kissinger, "Domestic Structure and Foreign Policy", in James Rosenau (ed.), *International Politics and Foreign Policy: A Reader in Research and Theory*, (N.Y.: The Free Press, 1969), PP.263-264.

^[30] Coplin, op.cit., P.80.

^[31] Thomas Bailey, *The Man in the Street*, (London: MacMillan Press, 1946), P.1.

^[32] Eugene Rosi, "Mass and Attentive Opinion on Nuclear Weapons Tests and Fallout 1954-1963", *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 29, (1965), P.296.

^[33] Coplin, op.cit., P.80.

d. Bureaucratic and Mass Influences:

By bureaucratic groups we mean people who work at the administrative level and are responsible for passing information to the decision-maker and implementing his policies. By virtue of their work they may exert influence on policy-making. They are influential because they can advance to the decision-maker only specially selected information, or they may try to sway the decision-maker on a personal basis, or use tactics like leaking information to the press in the hope of arousing political opposition to the decision taken (and sometimes before a decision is taken). They may also alter policy at the administrative level by applying policies in a different manner than that which the decision-maker expected.^[28] Their beliefs, values and tactical judgments are very important especially when they differ from those of the decision-maker – in such circumstances the potential for misinformation is enormous and disastrous decisions could result.

To Henry Kissinger, the bureaucracy's task is to devise a standard operating procedure which can cope effectively with most problems. If it is efficient, the energies of the top leadership are freed to deal creatively with the unexpected occurrence or with the need for innovation. Conversely, bureaucracy can become an obstacle when what it defines as routine does not address the most significant range of issues, or when its prescribed mode of action proves irrelevant to the

^[28] William Coplin, *Introduction to International Politics*, (Chicago: Rand McNally College Publishing Co., 1984), P.66.

also important in creating nationalist sentiment, because geographical features unite a particular group and isolate it from other groups. Nationalism is often seen as one of the most dynamic forces for political change and action in the modern world. Quincy Wright's study on war, for example, shows that nationalism has proved to be one of the important causes of war. It has several characteristics that lead to war. It implies an attitude of superiority to some or all other peoples, it tends to extend its cultural characteristics to other parts of the world, and it ignores the claims of other states and of the world community.^[25] For example, President Nasser of Egypt led Arab masses on the platform of Arab nationalism.

Turning to the role of religion, L. Richardson observes that "differences of religion have apparently caused war, especially the differences of Christianity and Islam".^[26] Rudolph Rummel links the state religion with its voting in the United Nations. Rummel finds that the more similar two nations are in Catholic culture, the more aligned their United Nations voting will be.^[27] An example of how religion affects the foreign policy of states is Saudi Arabia's adamant refusal to establish diplomatic relations with any communist state (such as North Korea and Vietnam), on the grounds that these states are atheist and from an Islamic point of view collaboration with non-believers is prohibited.

Cultural variables, then, are highly significant and cannot be neglected when examining foreign policy issues.

^[25] Quincy Wright, *A Study of War*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), P.213.

^[26] McGowan and Shapiro, *op.cit.*, P.127.

^[27] Rummel, *op.cit.*, P.234.

productive is in a far better position than a country which is faced with its own economic problems. The latter is likely to be less independent – possibly requiring aid from the outside world – while the former can extend aid to other countries and thereby gain political influence.

c. Cultural Variables:

The main cultural variables which are relevant here are ideology, religion and national sentiment.

Ideology can be defined as a body of ideas and beliefs concerning certain values, often positing a particular socio-political order as the way to achieve these values.^[21] To Patrick McGowan and Howard Shapiro, ideology seems to be a more potent force in the formulation of foreign policy than national interest,^[22] while to Norman Padelford and George Lincoln it is, on the other hand, “only one of the factors that shape events and policies and may often be only a relatively minor factor in actual decision-making on foreign policy”.^[23] Although the role may indeed be small, nevertheless, ideology evidently does exert influence on the conduct of foreign policy.

With regard to nationalism, this can be defined as “the common feeling or sentiment of solidarity which makes a group of people a nation or nationality”.^[24] It is the product of many factors, mainly language, literature, race and religion. The geographical element is

[21] Ibid, P.137.

[22] McGowan and Shapiro, op.cit., P.126.

[23] Padelford and Lincoln, op.cit., P.138.

[24] Charles Schleicher, Introduction to International Relations, (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1954), PP.148-149.

significant variables. Some scholars regard the significance of economic variables as lying in the effect they have on the type of government that the state has. R. Benjamin and L. Edinger, for example, observe that the lower the GNP, the more likely it is that the military will control foreign policy-making.^[17] A different dimension is brought out by Rudolph Rummel who contends that the economic level of the state accounts for the scale of its activities on the international level. In Rummel's words, "the more economically developed and larger a nation is, the more it will be active in the international system".^[18] Michael Hass, on the other hand, relates economic development to conflict behavior and concludes that "rich countries have more foreign conflict than more of the economically developing nations of the world".^[19]

The economic dimension can also become a deliberate instrument of foreign policy. The economic variable as an instrument can be defined as any economic capacity, institution, technique, or policy which is applied to the pursuit of foreign policy goals and has a significant international impact.^[20] During the October war the Arab states showed how the use of oil as an instrument in the battle against Israel could achieve a number of political goals.

A country's capacity in international relations largely depends on its economic position: A country whose economy is sound and

[17] R. Benjamin and L. Edinger, "Conditions for Military Control over Foreign Policy Decisions in Major States: An Historical Explanation", *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 15, (1971), P.18.

[18] Rudolph Rummel, "Some Empirical Findings on Nations and their Behavior", *World Politics*, Vol. 21, (1969), P.234.

[19] McGowan and Shapiro, op.cit., P.109.

[20] Norman Padelford and George Lincoln, *The Dynamic of International Politics*, (London: McMillan Press, 1972), P.402.

helps to determine the nation's power. If the size of a country's population exceeds the capacity of the existing productive resources to support it, or if the economy of the state is incapable of meeting the population's needs, then it is a source of weakness rather than of strength. The population variable, therefore, must be linked with economic variables. Adeed Dawisha gives an example of this: one important reason why Egypt has always occupied a central and leading position in the Arab world is because Egypt's population alone constitutes nearly 25% of the total population of the Arab world. But Egypt's population has increased to the extent that it has come to inhibit Egypt's foreign policy. The political leadership has found it necessary to divert resources from the external to the domestic sector. To Dawisha, Egypt's withdrawal from the common Arab stand towards Israel can be explained mainly by her need to support a large population.^[15]

Societal variables, then, are important no matter how big or small the nation, how open or closed the system, or how developed or underdeveloped is the state.^[16]

b. Economic Variables:

By economic variables we mean, the nature of the economy, the level of economic development and the type of economic system. Marxist theory puts great emphasis on the role of the economic element in determining the foreign policies of states. To us, the economic element is also important – although it is one among other

^[15] Ibid, PP.53-54.

^[16] McGowan and Shapiro, op.cit., PP.117-118.

a. Societal Variables:

Societal variables are aspects of the social structure which in some way affect foreign policy. This category includes such factors as size of population, population growth rate, racial composition, class division, ethnic division, literacy of population, and religious composition.

Although scholars have not always acknowledged the significance of societal variables for foreign policy formulation, it is contended here that such variables have generally a vital role. History tells us, for example, that war has often arisen from grounds of ethnic conflict. Different religious groupings in one country is sometimes a problem because of the potentiality of a conflict within the nation. If it is the case it usually affects the state's foreign policy by weakening the government's position and giving foreign powers the opportunity to interfere. The situation in Lebanon is an example of how a combination of elements – i.e. religious, ethnic and class – created a civil war. It is evident how this conflict has affected the foreign policy of Lebanon, due to the state having a weak government that could not deal with the internal situation. The deteriorating situation there gave Israel the excuse it needed to interfere in Lebanon, claiming that it wanted to save the Christians while no doubt its real aim was to crush the Palestinians.

The population element in terms of size is one of many variables that account for a nation's foreign policy. It is strongly related to foreign policy outputs because, together with the skills of population, it

Lewis Sinder, despite the growth of disintegrative factors across the Middle East, is a “reflection of a powerful and profound sense of common heritage and identity”.^[12]

2. The Organizational Context: Though their impacts on the foreign policies of member states are debatable, nonetheless, they should not be disregarded. For example, Jack Vincent writes that “the Arab League takes on the qualities of an alliance, collective security system and regional economic organization. The League also provides the foundation for the organization of the Arab caucusing groups within the United Nations”.^[13]
3. The Super-power Context: Adced Dawisha argues that “because of the dynamics of the patron-client relationship, the super-powers have sometimes constrained the policies and actions of regional states”, though he adds that “because of the region’s strategic and economic importance, various Middle Eastern states have been able to overcome the strict limitations traditionally associated with the patron-client dependency relationship”.^[14]

(B) The Domestic Environment:

The second set of variables we discuss in our framework are those emanating from inside the state. We will examine six categories of variables which lie within this environment.

^[12] R.D. McLaurin, Don Peretz and Lewis Snider, *Middle East Foreign Policy: Issues and Processes*, (N.Y.: Praeger Publishers, 1982), P.2.

^[13] Jack Vincent, *International Relations Structure*, Vol. 2, (Lanham: University Press of America, 1983), PP.72-73.

^[14] Dawisha, *op.cit.*, PP.46-47.

policy.^[8] David Schwartz believes that threats have two effects on foreign policy. First, the higher the level of threats, the greater is the receptivity of decision-makers to messages from opponents. Second, the greater the threat, the more credible does escalation become.^[9] Evidently what James Rosenau defines as "penetration" while talking about a nation's domestic politics or foreign policy affected by the policies of another government is inescapable. All of the studies that have been carried out in this respect show that nations are indeed penetrated.^[10]

The phrase "other nations policies and actions," however, is a very wide one. Such policies and actions could on the one hand emanate from nations bordering the state under analysis, and on the other could have origins in states thousands of miles away. A subdivision into categories is, therefore, valuable. In the case of the Arab states, the most appropriate categories (contexts) would appear to be as the following:

1. The Regional Context: Adeed Dawisha argues that "the high ideological content prevalent at the regional level has obviously influenced the conduct and direction of foreign policy of local states".^[11] For example, Arab nationalism, according to R.D. McLaurin, Don Peretz and

^[8] McGowan and Shapiro, *op.cit.*, P.151.

^[9] David Schwartz, "Decision Theories and Crisis Behavior: An Empirical Study of Nuclear Deterrence in International Political Crisis", *Orbis*, (1967), PP. 486-488.

^[10] James Rosenau, "Pre-Theories and Theories of Foreign Policy", in R. Barry Farrell (ed.), *Approaches to Comparative and International Politics*, (Evanston: North Western University Press, 1966), P.65.

^[11] Adeed Dawisha, "The Middle East", in Christopher Clapham and William Wallace (eds.), *Foreign Policy-Making in Developing States: A Comparative Approach*, (Westmead: Saxon House, 1977), P.51.

interests of aid-giving nations.^[4] For similar reasons, many recipient governments look upon offers of foreign aid with suspicion and distrust. They assume ulterior motives on the part of the donors and believe that if donor aid policies are attuned to the national interests of the providing power they, therefore, cannot be in the best interests of the recipient country. Such governments fear commercial and economic penetration and they usually feel that aid is given in the context of East-West competition.^[5]

Many scholars agree that the donation of foreign aid does give the donor influence in the internal politics and the foreign policy of the recipient.^[6] Robert Walters, however, asserts that such influence does not usually reach the extent that states change their policies or that a complete agreement comes to exist between the donor and the recipient on major issues of foreign policy.^[7] It should be realized, moreover, that in many cases it is difficult to trace the influence of donor governments, and that sometimes aid is extended to countries which are totally different in ideology and political system.

A further dimension to the effect which other nations' policies and actions have on a state's foreign policy can be seen by examining the use of threats. The pattern of threats nations direct at each other and the subsequent level of fear affect the general tenor of foreign

[4] Keith Griffin, "Pearson and the Political Economy of Aid", in Thomas Byres (ed.), *Foreign Resources and Economic Development*, (London: Frank Cass, 1982), P.119.

[5] Lloyd Black, *The Strategy of Foreign Aid*, (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1988), PP.131-132.

[6] Patrick McGowan and Howard Shapiro, *The Comparative Study of Foreign Policy*, (London: Sage Publications, 1983), P.155.

[7] Robert Walters, *American and Soviet Aid: A Comparative Analysis*, (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1980), P.242.

variables included here require further definition and elaboration. As with other variables, we will discuss here some of the general attributes of these variables in international politics – so as to make clear their nature.

a. Other Nation's Policies and Actions:

There is evidently a relationship between the foreign policy acts that a nation directs at another and the responding act of the target nation. Ivo and Rosalind Feierabend, for example, studied the foreign policies of 84 nations over a six year period. They concluded that “aggression generates aggression” and, “external aggression expressed is highly related to amount of aggression received”.^[2]

One issue which brings out clearly some of the difficulties involved in assessing accurately the effect which other nations' policies and actions can have on a state's foreign policy is foreign aid. In this case such “other nations' policies and actions” may impinge directly on different elements of the domestic environment. The United Nations defines economic aid as consisting only of outright grants and net long-term lending for non-military purposes by governments and international organizations.^[3] Donors generally maintain that aid-given is intended simply to reduce poverty. Some scholars, however, contend that the real purpose of aid is to further the economic and political

^[2] Ivo and Rosalind Feierabend, “Level of Development and International Behavior”, in Robert Butwell (ed.), *Foreign Policy and the Developing Nations*, (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1979), P.146.

^[3] Frederic Benham, *Economic Aid to Underdeveloped Countries*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1981), P.24.

A Model of Foreign Policy – Making Process

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Introduction:

James Robinson and Richard Snyder use the term “conception” instead of the technical term “model” or “theory”, because many such technical terms are loose, suggestive of approaches that identify variables or categories for data collection rather than specify predictive relations among variables.^[1] Nevertheless, the term “model” will be used since it is commonly accepted.

The model of foreign policy-making is outlined in figure (1). In this model foreign policy actions are accounted for by two sets of variables – one set being attributes of the external environment of the state and the other being attributes of the domestic environment. The two sets of variables impinge upon the decision-making unit – from which foreign policy actions emanate. This model, then, will provide the basic means to analyze the role of both environments in the foreign policy actions of states. It must be noted that the model used here is based on the ideas of a number of scholars – in a particular Patrick McGowan, Howard Shapiro, James Rosenau and William Coplin.

(A) The External Environment:

The first set of variables, emanating from the external environment, is centered on other nation’s policies and actions. The

[1] James Robinson and Richard Snyder, “Decision-Making in International Politics”, in Herbert Kelman (ed.), *International Behavior: A Social-Psychological Analysis*, (N.Y.: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1985), P.437.



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