

DRAFTING FOREIGN POLICY AND DECISION MAKING

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ABSTRACT: *The conception of states as if they were single actors is useful to some extent, but perhaps not very accurate. A state is not a single rational being; its actions are a mixture of personal human choices, made by its citizens, its political leaders, its diplomats and its officials organized according to the internal structures of the state.*

People who make important foreign policy choices must be open to new evidence, "coherent" and "consistent" in responding to arguments. Decision makers who are open to arguments and evidence must be free of serious obstacles when evaluating evidence and thinking about the possible consequences of options. Policy makers must learn from history, be able to draw some lessons from the past and apply these lessons appropriately to the future, while assessing the possible consequences of the options they face.

In this paper, we will look at the state from the inside-out, in an effort to explain and understand the processes and structures within the states, which make them take certain actions towards other states.

Keywords: *Being, State, Foreign Policy, Decision Makers, Politics, Sustainability*

Introduction

In foreign policy, images are quite difficult to change. Deeply ingrained cognitive processes operate systematically against rational expectations of appropriate diagnostic updating. When beliefs and arguments change, they generally change in erratic ways and reflect patterns in information and basic attribution processes. Although none of them correlates very well with rational expectations, there is some evidence that is more optimistic. This comes from detailed analysis of differences among foreign policy experts in their willingness to consider the possibility of change over time.

Every day, states take action on international issues. Constantly, states appoint diplomats to specific tasks, instructions are given for official talks, for resolving conflicts and various disputes, for sending or withdrawing military troops to certain peacekeeping or peacemaking missions. Trade negotiators bargain to lower their demands. Military forces move in certain operational directions and, according to occasion, are sent into battle. Behind each of these moves, and many others, are decisions made by foreign policy officials of various states, including but not limited to senior state leaders.

These decisions generally reflect the general policies that states have worked out to guide their relations with other states. The study of foreign policy involves studying the essentials of other countries' policies, such as what the United Kingdom's intentions are in relation to the EU, Iran's plans regarding the spread of the Islamic revolution in the Middle East, and more broadly, or North Korea's goal of increasing the high rate of production and testing of nuclear weapons? Of course, US foreign policies (as the most powerful actor) have a very strong influence on achievements in International Relations (IR). However, MN scholars are less interested in specific policies (but not always), than in the foreign policy process, or how certain policies are arrived at and how they are implemented in different states.

Methodological bases of research

The application of different methodologies is undoubtedly based on the goal of providing as much data and facts as possible so that we can get to know the topic we are focusing on as much as possible. In the concrete case, how to be decision-makers in the drafting of foreign policy, in the best possible way. In this way, we gain certain knowledge that determines how to objectively break down the problem in front of us.

The use of basic literature and methodologies condition us and force us to see the positive and negative sides of the process of drafting the foreign policy and its strengthening, the way of approach and development, because there are always shortcomings and weaknesses that expressed either within the process, or in the manner of its implementation and development. Therefore, the role and function of methodologies as a research goal and objective, their qualitative application, is irreplaceable within the qualitative breeding of the thematic issue.

In this paper, the main goal is to analyze and analyze the detailed possible research and scientific objectives. Therefore, throughout the paper by referring to authorial citations, facts,

references and using scientific methods such as analytical and survey, we give the paper appropriate study frames.

The research questions in this paper are: What are foreign policies and how are they drafted? What are the models and decision makers in this process?

Research results

Drafting of foreign policy: Foreign policies are the strategies used by governments to guide their actions in the international arena. This does not preclude the existence of other alternative definitions. Foreign policies materialize the objectives that the leaders of the states have decided to pursue for certain relationships or circumstances, as well as the general means by which they intend to achieve these objectives.

In order to create and implement foreign policies, states create diverse organizational structures and functional relationships. Officials and agents (such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs) gather information about a certain circumstance through various channels to act; they hold meetings to discuss an issue; some of them meet privately outside of these meetings to decide how to push the meetings in certain directions. Such activities are what we mean by the words "foreign policy process". MN researchers are interested in investigating how certain types of political processes lead to certain types of decisions; how certain processes produce better outcomes than others.

The conclusions of foreign policy derive from multiple forces, which operate simultaneously at different levels of analysis. The conclusions reached depend on the particular decision-makers, on the type of society and government culture within which they operate, as well as on the international, regional and world circumstances in which their actions are carried out. Since the study of foreign policy focuses on domestic forces, its main emphasis is placed on the individual and national levels of analysis.

Comparative foreign policy: is the study of foreign policy in different countries in order to discover whether similar types of societies or governments invariably respond to similar types of foreign policy. This study focuses on making comparisons between countries or between different time periods of the same country. Such studies have focused on three characteristics:

1. In size, large states versus small states.
2. In wealth, rich societies versus poor societies.

3. In the degree of participation in government, states with democratic governments versus authoritarian ones in which few people participate. (Goldstein, 2003)

These studies pay great attention to the issue of whether or not these certain characteristics of a state, society or international organization make them more aggressive, more prone to war or more acceptable in negotiations. We are analyzing the concept with the example taken, especially during the Cold War. During the Cold War, scholars debated whether communism or capitalism was inherently more warlike. After all the research done, it is concluded that no simple rule has been discovered to predict the war tendencies of a state based on qualities such as: size, wealth or type of government. There is great variation between countries, and even within a single country at different times. Both the capitalist state and the communist state have been proven capable of aggression or peaceful behavior. It all depends on the circumstances.

Some scientists and scholars of foreign policy and MN comment on the foreign policies of individual states from the point of view of the political culture and history of each of them. For example, during the Cold War, both the superpowers of the time, the USA and the USSR, were affected by long periods of geographical expansion, which ended only in the twentieth century. This may help to explain the expansionist world foreign policies of both superpowers during the Cold War. However, the Soviet Union had experienced repeated devastating attacks from land over the centuries, culminating in World War II, while the US had experienced two centuries of security across the great oceans. Thus, the military power of the Soviet Union and its control over its bulwark states, primarily in Eastern Europe, appeared essentially defensive to Soviet leaders but aggressive to US leaders.

Most studies of foreign policy and MN have not focused on comparing the policies of different states. So instead, they are more focused on understanding more generally the kinds of processes used by each state to achieve and implement certain foreign policies. Researchers have tried to measure the impacts of these processes on the results achieved. (Goldstein J. J., *International Relations*, 2003)

Decision-making: The foreign policy process is a decision-making process. States take action because the people in government choose those actions. People, mainly functions in the foreign ministry, in international organizations and institutions, in relations with the outside world; whose job it is to make decisions about international relations, decision makers must go through,

in some ways, the same processes that anyone goes through, for example, choosing to go to a university or deciding to host a dinner party.

Decision-making is a management process in which adjustments are made as a result of feedback from the outside world. Decisions are implemented through actions taken to change reality, (the existing state), while the information obtained from reality is then studied to evaluate the consequences of actions. These assessments, along with information about other independent changes in the environment, feed into other decision-making processes. (See: figure 1).

This leadership process with external feedback relies on the decision maker's goals or what she/he is trying to achieve. Along the way to reach these goals, decision makers set objectives, which are careful steps to be taken. As we will note in the following chapters of this book, the objectives vary within a space that includes both the essential long-term objectives, but also numerous short-term, medium-term and practical objectives.

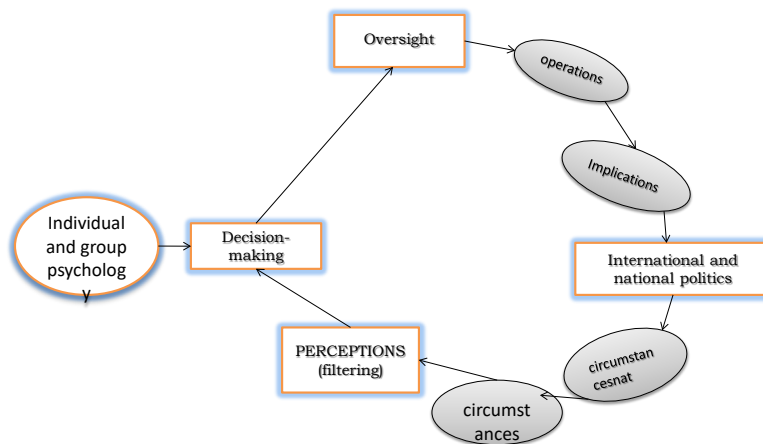


Figure 1. Decision-making as direction. (feedback)

Decision-making models in international relations: A common starting point for the study of the decision-making process is the **rational model**. (Goldstein J. J., International Relations, 2003) In this process model, decision makers carefully calculate the cost and benefits of each possible course of action, and then choose the one that has the most benefit and the lowest cost. This is done through a series of steps:

1. Clarify the goals in the given circumstances.
2. Make a list of alternatives that are possible for achieving the goals.
3. Research the consequences (probable and possible outcomes) of these alternatives.
4. Choose the course of action that will yield the best outcome (in terms of achieving one's goals).

The choice can be complicated by uncertainty about the costs and benefits of different actions. In such cases, decision makers need to predict probabilities for each of the possible outcomes of an action. Some decision makers accept the risk; others don't like risk. For example, Saddam Hussein's decision to attack Kuwait indicated a high degree of risk acceptance. The potential benefits were great (getting the wealth of Kuwait to solve Iraq's economic problems), and of course Saddam was willing to try failure against the possibility of benefits.

The reasonable model may imply that decision-making is simpler than it actually is. A decision maker may simultaneously have several goals, which are (or may be) in conflict with each other. The goals of different people involved in the decision-making process may not coincide with each other, as may the goals of different government agencies. For example, a leader's decision to use military force could be taken as a means of achieving his re-election, not in any national interest. *The rational decision-making model is, therefore, somewhat complicated by the uncertainty and multiple goals of decision-makers.*

- An alternative to the rational decision-making model is the organizational process model. In this model, decision makers generally exclude the painstaking process of determining alternative goals and, instead, rely on standardized responses or standard ways of acting. Let's take an example again, from the Cold War period. During this period, the Foreign Ministry of the Soviet Union (but also of other countries of the communist bloc, members of the Warsaw Pact) did not need to go through a decision-making process for every circumstance, because it had a party line that led him; any use of force by the United States, Britain or France, for example, was opposed as imperialist aggression. The US State Department receives more than a thousand telegrams each day with reports or investigations from its ambassadors around the world, and sent many more telegrams to embassies with instructions and answers. The vast majority of these telegrams are never seen by high-level state decision-makers (the secretary of state or the president); instead of dealing with this, they are directed by lower-level decision-makers who apply general principles, or just try to make decisions with as few contradictions as possible, as standardized as possible,

such that they do not create concerns with superiors. These low-level decision-making may not even reflect high-level policies, which are implemented by senior leaders, but have somewhat of a life of their own. The organizing process model implies that a large part of foreign policy is derived from "caregiving by walking in a mess."

- Another alternative to the rational model is the government bargaining model (or bureaucratic politics), in which foreign policy decisions are derived from a process of bargaining among various government agencies that have somewhat different interests in the outcome. , where it will be reached. For example, in 1992, the Japanese government had to decide whether or not to allow the importation of processed sushi rice into California, which constituted a weakening of Japan's traditional ban on rice imports (to maintain its staple food self-sufficiency). Japan's Ministry of Agriculture, which had an interest in the welfare of Japanese farmers, opposed the imports. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which had an interest in having good relations with the US, wanted imports to be allowed. The final decision to allow the importation of sushi came from competition between the two ministries. Thus, according to the government bargaining model, foreign policy decisions reflect a mix of interests of state agencies.

Although the rational model is the usual starting point for thinking about foreign policy decision-making, there are many reasons to question whether the decisions made can be viewed as reasonable or not, beyond the effects of organizational inertia and governmental attempts at agreement.

Individual decision makers

Individuals are the only and true actors in MN. Every international event, negotiation or agreement is the intended or unintended result of decisions made by individuals. International relations do not just happen. For example, President Harry Truman, who made the decision to drop the nuclear bomb on two Japanese cities in 1945, was clear about this. He had a note on his desk: "*Responsibility remains here*". (Goldstein J. J., International Relations, 2003) As the leader of the world's greatest power, emerging from the Second World War, he had no one to relieve him of responsibility. If he chose to use the bomb (as he did), more than 100,000 citizens would die. If he chose not to use it, the war could continue for several months and cause tens of thousands of casualties for the USA. Truman had to choose. However, for better or worse, Truman, as a unique

human being, had to decide and take responsibility for the consequences. Similarly, the decisions of individual citizens, when taken individually, create very large forces in world history.

The study of individual people's decision-making is related to the question of rationality. To what extent are the leaders of the states (but also the citizens) able to make reasonable decisions in the interest of their country or the international and regional situation. The rationality of particular people is not the same as the rationality of the state. States can filter out the irrational decisions of individual people in order to arrive at rational choices. On the other hand, states can distort the reasonable decisions of individual people, ending up in unreasonable state decisions. However, in relation to this process, realists tend to presuppose that both individuals and states are rational and that the goals or interests of states align with those of leaders. This conjecture partly reflects the role of strong individuals, such as the kings and dictators of many states, where the rationality and interests of the leader determine those of the state.

The most simplistic models of rational actors go so far as to assume that interests are the same from one actor to another. If that were the case, individuals could replace each other in different roles without changing the story much. Even states would all act similarly to each other (more precisely, differences between them would reflect differences in geographic resources and similar features, but not differences in the nature of national interests). This is, even at best, a gross oversimplification. Indeed, personal decisions reflect the values and beliefs of the decision makers. Individual decision makers have, not only different values and beliefs, but also completely unique personalities, personal experience, intellectual abilities, decision-making styles and judgments.

Beyond the unique way of thinking of particular people during goal-setting or decision-making processes, there are at least three systematic ways in which individual decision-making deviates from the rational model.

First, decision makers suffer from misperceptions and selective perceptions (receiving only certain types of information), when they gather information about the possible consequences of their choices. Information selectors are the subconscious filters (figure 1) through which people pass information that comes to them about the world around them.

For example, in 1990, Kuwait's leaders paid little attention to information that Iraq intended to attack, because such an idea did not match what they thought.

Second, the rationality of one's own cost-benefit calculations is undermined by the emotions that decision makers experience while thinking about the consequences of their actions,

a phenomenon known as *affective bias*. (Berridge, 2011) A decision-maker tries to be so rational in making a decision, calculating what impact a choice will have on his goals, that the decision-making process tends to be influenced by strong feelings about the person or state it addresses. the decision.

Third, cognitive biases are systematic distortions of rational calculations, which do not rely on feelings, but only on the limitations of the human brain to make choices. More important seems to be the attempt to create a cognitive balance or to reduce cognitive dissonance. Cognitive biases are another source of information selection for the information that is received. (Rapaj, 2018)

Something implicit in the cognitive balance is that decision makers value more those goals for which they have put more effort to achieve, which is known as the law of effort. "If I've worked so hard on this, then it must be really important!" This has been proven many times, especially in democracy, where politicians face the judgment of citizens made through polls, who (leaders) do not want to accept failures.

Another way is through wishful thinking, that is, an overestimation of the probability of the realism of a failed outcome. Another manifestation of wishful thinking is to assume that an event with a low probability of happening will certainly not happen. This could be a dangerous way of thinking about such devastating events as accidental nuclear war.

The mirror image refers to the case when two parties in a conflict have very similar enemy images of each other: "We are on the defensive, they are attacking us, etc." This happened to both superpowers during the Cold War, and it often happens during various ethnic conflicts today.

Another form of cognitive bias, related to cognitive equilibrium, is the use of **historical examples** to organize thinking about a decision. This can be very helpful or misleading, depending on the appropriateness of the examples and the discourse being used. Every historical circumstance is, in some way, unrepeatable, so when a decision-maker finds a suitable example and uses it as a main argument for justifying a decision, even a reasonable calculation of costs and benefits can be not well thought out.

No one thinks of all the possible consequences of actions when making a decision. Thus, instead of optimism, which means finding the best solution, people usually deal with the problem until they find a "good enough" solution that meets some few criteria; this is called satisfiability (finding a satisfactory solution). The lack of time faced by senior decision-makers in MN, who are

always busy with problems, crises, conflicts and circumstances that constantly require their attention, generally excludes them from finding the best response to a given situation. assigned. These time crunches were described by US Secretary of Defense, former Senator William Cohen, in 1997: *“The relentless flow of information, the need to digest it minute by minute, is quite unlike anything else I've experienced. before... There is little time for comprehensive research; most of this time is action. Every minute is full... I come back ten seconds later, after my phone rings, and I find three or four more books on my desk”*. (Goldstein J. J., *Interantional Relations*, 2003)

Group decision making: We begin with a question: What are the implicit influences of group psychology on foreign policy decision-making?

The most important psychological problem is the tendency that groups have to make decisions without properly evaluating their consequences, since individual members tend to present ideas that they think others support. This is called **Groupthink**. This fundamental and very important phenomenon in the decision-making process of foreign policy and in MN is illustrated through a simple psychological experiment. A group of six is asked to compare the lengths of two lines displayed on a screen. When five of them are secretly instructed to say that line A is longer, although each of them sees that line B is longer, the sixth man is more likely to agree with the group, than to believe his own eyes. (Rapaj, *International Conflict,clasificacions, facts and actors*, 2019)

Unlike individuals, groups tend to be overly pessimistic about the chances of success, and thus, are more willing to take risks. Suspensions of dubious ventures are suppressed by members because each of them seems to think that an idea will be successful. Also, the group removes responsibility from individual people, so no one feels responsible for actions.

The organization of group decision-making: The rules about what is included in this decision-making process, how voting is done, etc., affect the outcome. This is especially true when a group has undefined preferences, since most of its participants have no alternative to appeal to.

A well-known technique is to control the formal rules of group decision-making. These rules include the work issues that the group discusses and the order in which the issues are considered (especially important when the participants are finding a satisfactory solution).

Perhaps, more important is the ability to control the agenda and, through it, to organize the conditions of the discussion.

The organization of decisions also reflects the composition of the decision-making group. Often the group consists of individuals wearing specific roles in the group, for example, one advisor may often play the role of presenting new ideas, while another may play the role of defending the status quo, and another the role of remaining impartial, in order to gain the right to be heard last by the leader.

Heads of state often rely on a small circle of advisers to make foreign policy decisions. The composition and operation of this inner circle varies in different governments and countries. For example, President Lyndon Johnson had "Tuesday lunches" to discuss national security policy with senior national security officials. Some groups also depend heavily on informal counseling in addition to formal meetings. Some leaders create a "kitchen cabinet," which is a trusted group of friends who discuss political issues with the leader, although they have no official government duties. This is how Israel's Golda Meier did it, who held many such discussions in her home, sometimes right in the kitchen. Russian President Boris Yeltsin relied on the advice of his bodyguard, who was a trusted friend.

Conclusions

Foreign policies are the strategies that governments use to guide their actions towards other countries.

The process of foreign policy is the totality of the ways of action and organization that states use to reach foreign policy decisions and their implementation.

In the rational decision-making model, officials choose the action whose consequences best help achieve the stated goals of the state.

On the contrary, in the organized process model, decisions are derived from day-to-day administrative procedures, while in the government effort model for agreement (or civil servant politics), the decision is derived from formal negotiations between government agencies, which have different interests. for the conclusion, where it will be reached.

The actions of individual decision makers are influenced by their personality, values, and beliefs, as well as by common psychological factors that elude rationality. These factors include

misperception, selective perception, biases, which are related to feelings, and cognitive biases (which involve efforts to reduce cognitive dissonance).

Foreign policy decisions are influenced by group psychology, including "groupthink," the decision-making methods used by the participants' roles. During crises, the opportunities for misperceptions and mistakes multiply.

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