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## PRINCIPLES OF COMPARATIVE FOREIGN POLICY

The article analyzes the principles of the comparative foreign policy of the state. The foreign policy strategies of states depend on such characteristics as size, geographical location, history, culture, form of government, etc. The author examines whether all major states behave the same way when forming and conducting foreign policy. Do all small states behave in the same way in foreign policy? Do the foreign policies of maritime states differ from the foreign policy strategies of landlocked states? These and all related issues of foreign policy development and implementation constitute the essence of the comparative foreign policy.

When thinking about foreign policy, it is useful to consider it as a direction of diplomatic actions, which can be analyzed as proactive or reactive.

In the history of international relations and global politics, many techniques and methods have been developed that are based on systematic studies of current events. The best foreign policy concepts have been used in the practice of states for many decades. Modern political analysis uses concepts rooted in ancient political practice. From their history, the author of the article identifies nine concepts, on the basis of which he conducts a comparative analysis of the principles of foreign policy strategies of states.

Using three levels of analysis, the author concentrates on a detailed examination of a specific cross-section from the life of the state. Like biologists who adjust the resolution of a microscope, an international analyst can switch the focus from level to level in order to understand the phenomenon of foreign policy events.

The author also notes that the type of research conducted depends on its purpose. The goals can be organized according to the range of types of research: instrumental, descriptive, analytical, etc.

The author also gives examples of classical thinkers about foreign policy.

**Key words:** foreign policy, international relations, political analysis.

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### Салыстырмалы сыртқы саясаттың қағидаттары

Мақалада мемлекеттің салыстырмалы сыртқы саясатының қағидаттарының сараптамасы жасалынған. Мемлекеттердің сыртқы саяси стратегиялары оның көлемі, географиялық орналасуы, тарихы, мәдениеті, басқару түрі және т.б. сипаттамаларға байланысты. Мақаланың авторы барлық ірі мемлекеттер сыртқы саясаттарын қалыптастыру мен жүргізуде бірдей әрекет жасайды ма деген сұрақ қояды. Кіші мемлекеттердің барлығы сыртқы саясатта бірдей әрекет жасайды ма? Теңізге тікелей шыға алатын мемлекеттердің сыртқы саясаты теңізге тікелей шыға алмайтын мемлекеттердің сыртқы саясаттарынан өзгешелігі бар ма? Осы және олармен байланысты сыртқы саясатты жасау мен жүргізудің сұрақтары салыстырмалы сыртқы саясат саласының негізгі түйіні болып табылады.

Сыртқы саясат туралы ойлаған кезде оны проактивті және реактивті ретінде сараптамалауға келетін дипломатиялық іс-әрекеттің бағыты деп қарастырған пайдалы болады.

Халықаралық қатынастар мен жаһандық саясат тарихында қазіргі кезеңдегі оқиғаларды жүйелік зерттеуге негізделген көптеген әдістер мен тәсілдер ойлап табылған. Сыртқы саясаттың ең жақсы концепциялары көптеген онжылдықтар көлемінде мемлекеттердің тәжірибесінде қолданылып келеді. Қазіргі заманғы саяси сараптамада ежелгі саяси тәжірибеден келе жатқан концепциялар қолданылады. Осылардың тарихынан автор тоғыз концепцияға ерекше мән береді. Олардың негізінде автор мемлекеттердің сыртқы саяси стратегиялары қағидаттарының салыстырмалы сараптамасын жүргізеді.

Сараптаманың үш деңгейін пайдалана отыра, автор мемлекет өмірінің нақты бір мысалын қарастыруға көңіл бөледі. Микроскоптың ажыратымдылығын реттейтін биолог секілді

халықаралық қатынастар саласындағы сарапшы сыртқы саяси оқиғалардың мәнін түсіну үшін назарды бір деңгейден екінші деңгейге ауыстыра алады.

Сонымен бірге автор зерттеудің түрі оның мақсатына байланысты екендігін атап өтеді. Мақсаттар зерттеу түрлерінің әр алуандығына қатысты ұйымдастырылуы мүмкін: әдістемелік, сипаттамалық, сараптамалық және т.б.

Сондай-ақ автор классикалық ойшылдардың сыртқы саясат туралы мысалдарын келтіреді.

**Түйін сөздер:** сыртқы саясат, халықаралық қатынастар, саяси сараптама.

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### Принципы сравнительной внешней политики

В статье сделан анализ принципов сравнительной внешней политики государства. Внешне-политические стратегии государств зависят от таких характеристик, как размер, географическое положение, история, культура, форма правления и др. Автор статьи задается вопросом о том, все ли крупные государства одинаково ведут себя при формировании и проведении внешней политики? Все ли малые государства одинаково ведут себя во внешней политике? Отличается ли внешняя политика морских государств от внешнеполитических стратегий государств, не имеющих выхода к морю? Эти и все связанные с ними вопросы разработки и проведения внешней политики составляют суть области сравнительной внешней политики.

Размышляя о внешней политике, полезно рассматривать ее как направление дипломатических действий, которое может быть проанализировано как проактивное или реактивное.

В истории международных отношений и глобальной политики было разработано множество техник и методов, которые основаны на систематических исследованиях текущих событий. Лучшие концепции внешней политики используются в практике государств на протяжении многих десятилетий. В современном политическом анализе используются концепции, уходящие корнями в древнюю политическую практику. Из их истории автор статьи выделяет девять концепций, на основе которых проводит сравнительный анализ принципов внешнеполитических стратегий государств.

Используя три уровня анализа, автор концентрируется на подробном рассмотрении конкретного среза из жизни государства. Подобно биологам, которые регулируют разрешение микроскопа, аналитик-международник может переключать фокус с уровня на уровень, чтобы понять феномен внешнеполитических событий.

Автор также отмечает, что тип проводимого исследования зависит от его цели. Цели могут быть организованы по спектру видов исследований: инструментальный, описательный, аналитический и др.

Автор также приводит примеры классических мыслителей о внешней политике.

**Ключевые слова:** внешняя политика, международные отношения, политический анализ.

*“That which you can measure, you can manage.”*

### Introduction

Activity a state conducts relevant to all affairs outside the state’s borders is referred to as *foreign policy*. All states conduct foreign policy of some form. But states are quite different with respect to key characteristics. This raises a natural question. Do states have distinctly different policy based on their differences with respect to their size, position, history, culture, form of government, or other distinguishing characteristics? Are there systematic similarities in the foreign policies pursued by states that have similar characteristics? For instance, do all large states behave in the same way in their formulation and conduct of foreign policy? Do all

small states behave in the same way with respect to foreign policy? Are states with marine borders different with respect to foreign policy in systematic ways from states that are landlocked? These and all related questions of the formulation and conduct of foreign policy are the substance of the field of comparative foreign policy.

One of the principal challenges of diplomats is to be prepared to understand the foreign policy of other states as objectively as possible. Only armed with the accurate assessment of the foreign policy intentions and capabilities of other states can a diplomat maximally achieve the goal of diplomacy. The goal may sound simple and straightforward. The diplomat’s task is to proceed to the very greatest extent of power of the state without ever going beyond that point. Although it sounds simple, the

achievement of this goal requires great art and craft. This is the essence of diplomacy. Every diplomat should begin with an understanding of comparative foreign policy.

Foreign policy is a sphere of politics, but it differs in important ways from domestic politics. Domestic policies are focused on a state's internal dimensions and may be influenced by foreign factors such as trade or security concerns. But the focus of domestic policy remains on the state's internal conditions. In contrast, foreign policy tends to be responsive to outside circumstances. In all states, in all times, in all circumstances foreign policy tends to be outward-looking. Foreign policy is keyed to the conditions and circumstances of the outside world. The attention of those involved in formulating and conducting foreign policy is for the most part oriented outward, focusing on the intentions and capabilities of neighbors, partners, and adversaries located beyond the border.

In thinking about foreign policy, it is useful to regard policy as a line of diplomatic action that can be analyzed as either *proactive* or *reactive*. Proactive policy implies the pursuit of objectives, leaning out in front of the actions of other parties and sometimes even sometimes coming into conflict with the policies of other parties, possibly before those parties have taken any steps at all. Reactive implies a response to a situation that has derived from an action taken by other parties or an action assumed to be at some point taken by other parties. A reactive policy may be either in furtherment of another party's action or it may be in opposition to another party's action. The distinction between proactive and reactive is usually apparent merely from the sequence of actions, with proactive steps being first in time. However, sometimes an action which appears to be first in time may be considered reactive because it is taken in expectation that some other party's action is imminent or is in the process of being planned or prepared. In other words, a preemptive action may be taken first in time so as to precede an anticipated action, but because it is a preemptive reaction, it is still essentially reactive.

One of the core concepts of comparative foreign policy is the idea of "strategic choice." This concept differs from what may be called "simple choice". A simple choice resembles a single act of selecting from a menu as a choice of action representing an actor's preference. In contrast, a strategic choice involves a situation where a path of action is not selected on the basis of preferences of the actor alone, but on calculations of how the preferences of other actors will affect their behavior. Apprehending the

intentions of other and anticipating their choices is the key to successful strategic choice. Strategy is often defined as the process of bringing ends into line with means. Skilled military diplomats devote their attention to both sides of equations, sometimes shaping attainable ends, at other times seeking to enhance or magnify the means available to them.

### Thought and Action in International Affairs

Systematic thinkers about international relations and global politics have developed many techniques and methods which are based upon systematic studies of the contemporary affairs. But it would be a mistake to think that people today are essentially different from our forebearers. Many of the best concepts of the modern world were discerned long ago and were handed down from generation to generation. There are many concepts in contemporary political analysis that have their roots in ancient political practice. A great many concepts can be derived from the history of conflict and conquest, but here are nine concepts that stand out in ancient practice before the dawn of the modern period after the Peace of Westphalia (1648).

#### Foreign Policy Doctrines

*Strategic competition* (Sun Tsu)

*Security dilemma* (Thucydides)

*Conundrum of mistrust* (Chanakya)

*Syncretism* (Alexander the Great)

*Divide et impera* (Caesar Augustus)

*Permanent war* (Charlemagne)

*Tactics as strategy* (Genghis Khan)

*Strategic reach* (Amir Temur)

*Effective strategy* (Machiavelli)

*Strategic competition* is a concept expressly articulated as a guiding principle by the Chinese strategist Sun Tsu (544–496 BC). The *Art of War* is an ancient Chinese military treatise dating from the Late Spring and Autumn Period (roughly 5th century BC). Sun Tsu was a thinker who maintained that you must know yourself but you must also know the other. Sun Tzu said, "What is of supreme importance in war is to attack the enemy's strategy" (Sun Tzu).

The *security dilemma* is a concept that was expressly articulated by the ancient Greek general and historian, Thucydides (460 B.C. to 400 B.C.). Thucydides a strategist and a historian who posed the question, why did the Greek city-states of Athens and Sparta become involved in a competition which brought the downfall of both civilizations when they could have simply combined their energies in one camp. Thucydides explained the two great alli-

ances in the Peloponnesian wars were driven toward a mutually disastrous conflict because “the growth of Athenian power and the fear which that caused in Sparta made war inevitable.” The growth of the power and influence of one party becomes locked in a challenge to another and the cycle of escalating competition brings both sides to a security dilemma (Thucydides).

The *syncretic doctrines* which Alexander the Great (356-323 BC) championed were designed to combine rather than compete, combining of different beliefs, while blending practices of various schools of thought. Syncretism involves the merging or assimilation of several originally discrete traditions, especially in the theology and mythology of religion, thus asserting an underlying unity and allowing for an inclusive approach to other faiths. Syncretism also occurs commonly in expressions of arts and culture (known as eclecticism) as well as politics (syncretic politics) (Oldfather, 1989).

The *conundrum of mistrust* is one of the concepts attributed to the ancient Indian strategist Chanakya (also known as Kautilus) (371-283 BC) who stressed the importance of calculating the reliance of allies and adversaries. Chanakya observed that as trust between parties fails or is undermined, the conundrum of mistrust makes it increasingly difficult for adversaries to adjust and pursue cooperative interactions. For Chanakya, the state of nature was not a state of peace, but a state of contention. Chanakya argued there are six forms of state policy: peace, war, neutrality, marching, alliance and making peace with one while waging war with another. The strategist’s goal was to find a way to reach the goals by maneuvering among these six forms of policy (Kautilya).

*Divide et impera* was one of the concepts that guided Octavian in his relations with the far-flung Roman empire (Gibbon, 1776). The reign of Octavian (63 BC – 14 AD), who adopted the title of *Princeps* (“first citizen”) and some years later was awarded the title of *Augustus* (“revered”), initiated an era of relative peace known as the *Pax Romana*. The Roman world was largely free from large-scale internal conflict for more than two centuries, despite continuous military action of imperial expansion. Augustus divided and then conquered contiguous regions, securing the Empire with buffer regions of client states and enlarging the Roman Empire, by annexing Egypt, Dalmatia, Pannonia, Noricum, and Raetia, and Hispania and ports on the north of Africa.

The idea of *permanent war* was illustrated by Charlemagne (742 – 814 AD). Under Charlemagne’s

rule the majority of western and central Europe became united in one monarchical empire, surrounded with allied vassal states. Charlemagne reached the height of his power in 800 when he was crowned “Emperor of the Romans.” Charlemagne established a hierarchical monarchy of a unitary state. Charlemagne’s military success was due to siege tactics and logistics. Charlemagne was engaged in almost constant warfare throughout the 46 years of his reign.

Using *tactics as strategy* was the also the cornerstone of Genghis Khan’s (1162-127) military success. Genghis Khan’s Mongol Horde championed the use of the stirrup simplifying fighting on horseback and pioneered the use of speed, surprise attacks, feigned flight, hostage taking, using human shields and various forms of psychological warfare. Mongol raiders attacked with little warning and offered protection to those willing to yield them tribute. Genghis Khan’s empire became the largest contiguous land empire in history, but it was a heterogeneous empire which did not always impose culture and language but drew revenue from the possessions under its control, with marauding armies sent in every direction.

*Strategic reach* was one of the most pronounced features of Amir Temur (1336 – 1405) use of military tactics in a strategic context. Amir Temur’s Turco-Mongol Persianate empire grew from its origins in the valleys and oases of Central Asia, eventually extending throughout Central and South Asia and then on to Middle East and later including to parts of India. Amir Temur followed the syncretic policies of Alexander the Great. Amir Temur expanded his forces by incorporating those who would join his forces even if they were previously his adversaries. Amir Temur relied upon Genghis Khan’s tactics of mobility, speed and surprise but in a strategic context. Amir Temur relied upon principles of diplomacy and intelligence in every campaign (Markham). Strategic reach was Amir Temur’s great advantage, providing him with the ability to see into his adversaries’ camps. When Amir Temur needed an ally, he would study who the enemies of his enemies were, always ready to aid them for his purposes.

*Effective strategy* was the advice of Niccolò Machiavelli (1469 – 1527) who became one of the proponents of a dispassionate, calculating and amoral form of realism as the guiding principle of both tactics and strategy (Machiavelli). Machiavelli dismissed concepts of natural law in favor of an ethical framework structured by the concepts of necessity and usefulness. Effective strategy is what achieves goals rather than meet standards or comply with

laws, whether natural or human (Evans, 2014). In many respects, Machiavelli, unlike the other strategists in this list is more a modern thinker than his predecessors even though his thinking was published prior to the Treaty of Westphalia.

These doctrines illustrate classical approaches to a rationale for action in international affairs. In the modern world great strategic thinkers such as Napoleon Bonaparte (1769 – 1821), Carl von Clausewitz (1780 – 1831) and others developed systematic thinking which we will take into consideration in the section on comparative foreign policy.

### Methods of Foreign Policy Analysis

A heuristic is a concept devised to model the situational logic of a phenomenon it purports to explain. Schemas, graphic representations, pictures, metaphors, parables, stories, and so on often serve as heuristic devices which can give insight into something taking place. A rule-of-thumb, procedure, or sometimes a proverb or adage, may serve as a heuristic device. Sometimes a heuristic is a problem solving reduction of complexity, essentially a short-cut that is generally considered sufficiently accurate for the purposes at hand.

This segment summarizes methods and models drawn from broad areas of decision theory including:

- psychological theory, organizational theory and bureaucratic theory;
- statistical theory, utility theory and mean variation; including Monte Carlo models;
- game theory heuristics, including the prisoner's dilemma heuristics, Nash equilibrium;
- queuing theory, including cyclical and counter-cyclical theory, 'random walk';
- non-linear models such as swarm theory; fractal theory and self-similarity;
- channel conflict and network externalities;
- cybernetic theory and information processing; and
- collective action theories, such as alliance theories and span-of-control approaches including 'Tragedy of the Commons' and common pool resources.

**The Levels of Analysis.** The international community is a large and disparate constellation of forces. With the electronic information revolution of the late twentieth century, the amount of data that we have about people, events, and processes in the international community is literally overwhelming. But a wealth of data and information can often lead to a paucity of ideas and analysis. It is important to be able to put new information and new ideas into

useful perspective. In order to maintain perspective in the midst of this data, it is important to have both *focus* in our analysis and to be clear about the *methods* of analysis. Following the distinction introduced by J. David Singer in 1961, it has become conventional to speak of three of speak of three *levels of analysis*: the system, nation-state, and individual (Singer, 1961).

**System level.** Different types of structure (configuration of the system) have implications for the nature of the system. The *system* level of analysis refers to efforts to comprehend international affairs by concentrating on the way in which the nation-states are arrayed with respect to one another. There are many kinds of nation-states, varying greatly in terms of their resource endowments, capabilities, position, and purposes. These states may be seen in terms of their configuration with respect to one another. For instance, nation-states may be grouped in terms of two large groups, a *bipolar* arrangement, or they may be grouped in terms of many smaller regional, ideological, or cultural blocs, a *multipolar* arrangement.

A bipolar international arrangement is one in which most leading countries are associated with one or another of two competing blocs. While *bipolarism* merely refers to the "shape" of the system, it has implications for the dynamics of the system and the kinds of choices that are available to the nation-states. A bipolar arrangement, for instance, is often associated with an "us versus them" attitude. It is associated with strongly held convictions or ideologies, with a combative attitude to demonstrate to the "other side" the superiority of one's own views, and with pressures for conformity and "hanging together" within the bloc. Multipolarism, by way of contrast, is a many-sided and diverse structure. Multipolarism is associated with free and shifting alliances, with open exchanges and trade-offs among countries, and with international instability.

**Nation-State.** Many of the influences on the international system arise out of the characteristics of the nation-states themselves. How they are organized, how they make decisions, how they mobilize national resources in response to changes in the external arena, all influence international affairs. Events and processes at this level of analysis are referred to those of the national or state level. Efforts to comprehend international affairs which concentrate on how states decide questions internally are those at the national or state level.

The most frequently employed model of behavior of the nation-state is the "rational actor" model.

Nation-states acting as value-maximizing units or as “unitary rational actors,” select among the choices open to them given the resources at their disposal. Rational actors have intentions (or “ends”) and capabilities (or “means”). Using the rational actor model, the nation-state may be seen as an actor following *strategies*. A *strategy* in this sense is the way in which *means*, or the resources as an actor has available, are brought into line with *ends*, or the objectives, goals and purposes the nation-state seeks to achieve.

**Individual** Many events in international affairs bear the mark of particular decisions taken by particular leaders. The characteristics of an individual decision making, the psychology of an individual decision maker, or the particular circumstances of a particular decision are carry great weight in determining the shape of international affairs. This is especially apparent in cases in which a great leader (or even a terrible leader) has a sudden and important impact on world affairs. It is also often true in a time of great crisis

or moments of great decision. This suggests the third level of analysis of international relations, the level of the *individual*.

Using these three levels of analysis we concentrate on seeing a particular slice of life in great detail. Like the biologists who adjusts the resolution on a microscope, the analyst of international affairs may shift focus from level to level to bring the entire phenomenon into comprehension.

The type of research one conducts is dependent upon the purpose of the research. Purposes can be organized along a spectrum ranging from the Spectrum of Research Types:

Instrumental -- the goal of the product is already known

Descriptive -- the goal of the product is to convey information

Analytical -- the goal of the product is to offer explanation as to causes

Replicable -- the goal of the product is to demonstrate a thesis or general principle



Figure 1 – Spectrum of Research Types

### Classical Thinkers on Foreign Policy

**Sun Zi (Sun Tsu)** Sun Tzu was a Chinese author of *The Art of War* an influential ancient Chinese book on military strategy. He is also one of the earliest realists in international relations theory.

**Thucydides** (between 460 and 455 BC – c. 400 BC) was an ancient Greek historian, and the author of the *History of the Peloponnesian War*, which recounts the 5th century BC war between Sparta and Athens. This is widely considered the first work of scientific history, describing the human world as produced by men acting from ordinary motives, without the intervention of the gods. Read *History of the Peloponnesian Wars*

**Niccolo Machiavelli**, (May 3, 1469 – June 21, 1527). A time of reformation in Europe. Principali-

ties were warring against one another. Italy was not a modern nation stated. He is best known for the *Prince*. It is a contemplation of the nature, use and abuse of power.

Does the *Prince* serve as a manual for the technology of power or is this a satiric commentary on the foolishness of power? Machiavelli is reported to have said “It is better to be feared than loved, more prudent to be cruel than compassionate.”

Isaiah Berlin once reported that the English mathematician and philosopher Bertrand Russell summarized his work as “Machiavelli is a handbook for gangsters.” Read *The Prince*

**Immanuel Kant**. (22 April 1724 – 12 February 1804), was a German philosopher from Königsberg

in East Prussia (now Kaliningrad, Russia). He is regarded as one of the most influential thinkers of modern Europe and the last major philosopher of the Enlightenment. His greatest contribution was in the theory of science and the theory of moral philosophy. He also espoused a theory of politics. Read *On Perpetual Peace*

**Metternich.** Klemens Wenzel Nepomuk Lothar Fürst von **Metternich**-Winneberg-Beilstein (May 15, 1773 – June 11, 1859) (sometimes rendered in English as Prince Klemens Metternich, or in some books, Clement Wenceslaus von Metternich) was an Austrian politician and statesman and perhaps the most important diplomat of his era. He was a conservative who favored the restoration of the old order in Europe after the Napoleonic wars.

*A World Restored: Metternich, Castlereagh and the Problems of Peace 1812-1822* is a book by Henry Kissinger, based on his doctoral dissertation at Harvard University in 1954. *A World Restored* explains the complex chain of Congresses that started before the end of the Napoleonic wars in 1814 with the Congress of Vienna, and extended into the 1820s, as a system expected to give Europe a new order and Peace after the catastrophic struggles of the past quarter century. At the same time, the book introduces the reader to the political biographies of two important characters of the time. The first and main character is Prince Metternich, the Austrian Empire's Chancellor at that time. As the statesman of an old decaying multilingual empire, Metternich deals with the task of organizing the alliance against Napoleon, while at the same time being reluctant ally of France. After Napoleon was defeated, Metternich became organizer of the Congress system, through which he sought to advance the position of Austria.

**Clausewitz.** Carl Philipp Gottfried von **Clausewitz** (June 1, 1780 – November 16, 1831) was a Prussian general and influential military theorist. He is most famous for his military treatise *Vom Kriege*, translated into English as "On War." Clausewitz's famous line that "War is merely a continuation of politics," is the most often cited dictum about war. Read *On War*.

**Mao Zedong (December 26, 1893 – September 9, 1976).** Mao was a Chinese Marxist military and political leader, who led the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) to victory against the Kuomintang (KMT) in the Chinese Civil War, leading to the establishment of the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949 in Beijing. Mao pursued the ideal of a strong, prosperous and socially egalitarian China, endeavoring to build a modern socialist nation. However, the failings of Mao's most significant socio-political programs – including the Anti-Rightist Campaign, the Great Leap Forward, and the Cultural Revolution – have been widely criticized. Maoists around the world look to Mao as a great revolutionary leader whose thought is the highest expression of Marxism in the context of the socio-political conditions of China at the time. Many of Mao's detractors however accuse him of having been a mass-murderer, holding his leadership accountable for the deaths of tens of millions of innocent Chinese. Read *On Guerrilla Warfare*

### Conclusion

This article analyzes various methods and concepts of the state's foreign policy. It is important to emphasize that practically all countries of the world are pursuing a foreign policy in one way or another. The nature of the strategy in this area depends on many factors. First of all, the geopolitical status of the state under discussion is of great importance. Accordingly, each country conducts its foreign policy based on its own power. In this context, this work provides an in-depth analysis of the foreign policy model based on historical examples, where governments act differently in different conditions. At the same time, the views of classical thinkers on the foreign policy aspect are presented. In a sense, this allows us to look at the issue from the point of view of comparative analysis. However, given the complexity of the topic of foreign policy principles under discussion, it was impossible to cover all aspects of the problem in this article. Therefore, in the future, research work on this issue will be continued in scientific journals.

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