

## Decision-making in foreign policy

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### Abstract

Decision made by the governments are dynamics underlies their external and external attitudes.

Therefore care should be taken when taking such decision because hasty decision might lead to confusion if they were taken arbitrarily, and this would affect negatively its relationship with other countries.

Most countries now a days take care of such decision that reflect their philosophy, ideology and political targets of the dominant political system through alternatives and giving priority to them so that can be finally applied according to local and international rules.

Region, political, international, region of successive changes Globalization, and technological revolution caused the third world countries to adopt democracy.

As the USA has become the main dominant power after the fall of USSR, put the world at the turn of 20<sup>th</sup> century, into dilemma after the invasion of Iraq and Afghanistan.

This exposed the vulnerability exposed to foreign invasion so their decision do not meet their needs.

Democratization process, is negatively affected so that decision making is badly affected because the national acuity and then opened the door for sects, schism, racial and tribal decimation which badly affect the process of decision making

**Key Words** : Foreign policy, Interests of the state supreme, Political crisis, National security

The emergence of new member states in the international system to change the International political equation, and these units new political have the influence apparent in the decisions taken within the international system, the Major countries doesn't be isolate which govern the fields of international political movement.

The dependence of these countries helped it in its ability on decision making, after the Major countries isolated with this right. And appeared in this century of international organizations, as new members of the international community.

In contrast happened a big development within the country itself, and this development influence public opinion on the formation of foreign policy, so that public opinion has become an important target for foreign policy decision-makers.

And these emergences of different ideology given decision makers in foreign political with a tool which in it can explain the reality in their perspectives, and with their ethics and principles, and endeavor to access to authority to achieve these principles and evaluations, through decision which taken in the name of system.

According to what proceed this research will be a process of decision making of foreign policy. Divided it into two chapters; First: dealing with a study of self changeability of decision maker an Second: dealing with a study of design political decisions then conclude research a conclusion of the subject.

### **The importance of research:**

The successive developments in the contemporary international system considers of most things that reflection on political systems that lead to complexity of the decision making process especially in foreign policy because of various parties associated in it and many effective changeability and this lead to develop the concept of analyses and the purposes of political system and its crises especially that related with political decision, from these the study came to know the effective changes in decision making in foreign policy, especially if we know that any decision taken with measures in the philosophy of the political system and the method and the nature of the society in which generate decision and the extent of the interaction of the crisis.

### **Hypotheses:**

Identify research hypotheses the following:

1. Under the current international circumstances did not make there any hope for small or poor countries to retain a minimum of free and independence in national decisions as it was last time.
2. Loss of political decision-maker margin of maneuver and the estimated true in the process of taking political decisions, and that the loss of real power and process, and has existed constitutionally and legally in the state constitution, to some circumstances and influences objectivity, even if possessed these countries substantial resources physical human.
3. Decision-making in foreign policy and in particular in the developing countries are not taken through formal institutions established by the Constitution of that State, but are outside of these institutions.
4. Entrance the world in new crises as discourse crises, and administrate of international conflicts and appear what we call war globalization and the usage of power in isolate pole type.

### **Research objectives:**

1. This research comes as an attempt to monitor and analyze political changes among a group of changes within the limits of the data and by the stability of the decision concept of political nature and explore the main entrances and the prevailing models in the making and analysis. Hence the search to be a quality addition to identify the affecting factors and changing the formulation of policy decisions and foreign.
2. Identify the current political of boundaries, limitations and obstacles that occur during the decision-making process through the study of these controversial changes that prevent the independence of political decision within the political systems, especially in the Third World. The researcher also benefited from the behavioral approach which contributes to study the actual behavior of the powers of political and analyzed in political roles and functions more of its attention to the content of constitutional rules or ideological patterns.

- Holsna defined the concept of foreign policy as decisions that determine the Country's objectives externally from act and actions taken to implement the decisions.<sup>126</sup>
- But Wotrlaman knew foreign policy it work to find a balance between external obligations to a country and the force that would be needed to implement this commitment.<sup>127</sup>

## Chapter I

### Theoretical framework for political decision

#### First section:

#### Foreign Policy

Foreign policy arise for most countries to meet the requirements of the national interest in parallel with no prejudice to the rules of international public governing relations between states and derive role than it provided by the the internal structure<sup>(128)</sup>.

Foreign policy is defined as a plan that draws foreign relations with other countries<sup>(129)</sup>.Also known as behavioral state towards the outer surroundings, towards countries in the surrounding outside of the international non-state such as international organizations and liberation movements or about a particular issue<sup>(130)</sup>.However, these definitions focused on the State solely in the definition, there are more comprehensive definition only a definition of Dr. Ali Eddin Hilal, the fact that foreign policy over the activity and behavior of international actors in the outer domain<sup>(131)</sup>.

Through these definitions seems to us the importance of political decision-making process, which is the political foundation that spins the concept of politics around and then talk about the concept of foreign policy, the intended reactions related to the decision-making process or external converter overall objective of the state to a specific decision.

The political outside decision-making process vary from one country to another according to the composition of the political system of the state.It could be argued that the decision process is the selection of a particular alternative from a range of alternatives in order to achieve certain purposes by those in power in the

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<sup>126</sup> K.J.Holsti. International polices: A frame work for Analysis (New Jersey: Prentice-hall, 1977). P.21

<sup>127</sup> Bin Hareb, Abdulrahman: foreign policy of the United Arab Emirates, Alexandria, the modern university office 199, p 20

<sup>128</sup> Cevic - American Empire: (facts and consequences of U.S. diplomacy) - Arab Scientific Publishers. Beirut - Lebanon 2002

<sup>129</sup> Nassif Youssef, international relations theory., Beirut, Arab Book House, 1985, p 175

<sup>130</sup> Ali Eddin Hilal, America and Arab Unity 1945-1982, i 1, Beirut Center for Arab Unity Studies, 1989, p 23

<sup>131</sup> Algabri Abdullah, economic disparities of political science \ Journal of Social Sciences \ folder 25 Number 4 Winter 1997

institutions of society<sup>(132)</sup>. So is the political decision of the most important processes that characterize the political process.

In summary, the decision-making process means the set of rules and methods used by the participants in the decision-making structure for a particular choice or preference choices certain to solve a particular problem<sup>(133)</sup>

However, we must recognize that the decision-making process begins there is a problem or an incentive makes decision-makers considering the adoption of resolution to this problem, because they see that this problem pose a threat to the foreign policy goals of the state, however, it can limit the political objectives of the country's generally, limited overall in (national security, support regional entity, seeking to increase national power, then economic goals and ideology) When feels the decision-maker that there obstacle blocking their way to the goal, it pays to make a decision to surpassed and it is not necessary and there is a problem with a condition to make a decision there may be a positive circumstance sees the decision-maker in foreign policy exploited take a series of decisions to enable the speed of achieving the goal.

### **Second section:**

#### **Analytical framework for the political decision-making process**

Decision making is generally understood to reach a reasonable working version of between several competing alternatives and all decisions aimed at achieving specific goals, or avoid undesirable results<sup>134</sup>

#### **Definition of the decision-making process:**

The set of rules and methods used by the participants in the decision-making structure for a particular choice or preference choices to solve a particular problem<sup>135</sup>

#### **Stages of the political decision-making**

Before talking about the stages of decision-making should be noted that the decision-making process begins there is a problem or an incentive, make decision-makers think a decision to this problem, because they see that this problem pose a threat to the foreign policy goals of the state. Here we mention that the foreign policy goals differ from one country to another, but there are things that are concentrated foreign policy objectives, can be identified in the (national security, support regional entity, seeking to increase national power, then economic and ideological objectives)<sup>136</sup>

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<sup>132 3</sup> Jamal Mujahid, opinion and measured, Cairo House University Press, 2008, p 125

<sup>134</sup> D. Ismail Sabri Moukld, theories of international politics, Comparative Analytical Study, Kuwait: Kuwait University, 1985 pp. 148

<sup>135</sup> D. Mohammad Salim Alseid, foreign policy analysis, Beirut: House al-generation 2001, p 325

<sup>136</sup> D. Ismail Sabri Moukld, report making decisions in foreign policy, international politics magazine No. (14), p 114

When decision-makers feel that there is an obstacle on their way to their goals, this leads them to make a decision to pass it.

It is not necessary to have a problem as a condition to make a decision, there may be a positive circumstance sees foreign policy decision-makers to exploit, make a series of decisions that will enable them to speed to achieve the goal.

After the presence of a motivation that creates a attitude to make a decision, begin the decision-making process following stages:

**First: Awareness of the decision maker of the problem:**

Awareness of the decision maker is a phenomenon that is contributed to see the decision-maker for this motivation, to achieve its objectives or is not? <sup>137</sup>

The process of awareness, according to the decision maker through information obtained from all of the different information sources. Was aware of the decision maker in a false position, as a result of information which resorted to because of many factors, including its faith, and personal characteristics, or because of the movement of information at different stages until you reach it. This differs awareness of decision-makers for the situation, for the reality of the situation as it is.

It is important that after the realization of the decision maker for the position, and the conviction that a challenge to the goal of moving to the second phase, a phase of definition of the situation.

**Second: the stage definition of situation:**

Intended the definition of the situation is to study the problem and analysis of all dimensions and determine its impact on the interests of the state, and this is done by interpreting the information, which are contained it, and here also play personal characteristics prominent role, as they are interpreting the information by depicting decision self-position, and recognizing it <sup>138</sup>.

Definition decision when "David Waston" are the outputs of the political system in whatever form, which is made through the distribution of authoritarian values in society, whether these values are internal or external<sup>139</sup>.

It defined the decision-making process as a conscious choice between several alternatives available and not without any element of doubt and then the basis of the decision-making process is the decision-making by the choice between available alternatives <sup>140</sup>.

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<sup>137</sup> D. Mohammad Salim Alseid, foreign policy analysis, previous reference p. 347

<sup>138</sup> D.Hani alalHadithi, in the process of political decision-making foreign Baghdad: Rasheed Publishing House, p 64

<sup>139</sup> David Eston, A framimwork for political Analysis (Englewood Cliffs, N.J. prenticetlall 1969 ), p. 50

<sup>140</sup> James E.Dougheaty& pfaltzgraff, Contending Theories of international Relation (Lippin cott, Philadelphia, 1971) p 12-313

### **Third: the process of identifying alternatives and making decision:**

After you define the situation begins selection phase to suitable alternatives by considering the alternatives available to the decision-maker, because there are alternatives unforeseen it, and this is due to many things affect the search process at all alternatives, such as tenuous situation, due to lack of sufficient information, as well as the beliefs and characteristics personal, that will make it focuses on a limited number of alternatives, or lack of time and the element of surprise.<sup>141</sup>

After analyzing alternatives or more of the alternatives are compared the consequences of each of them, then choose what is perceived decision maker, the best <sup>142</sup>.and must be taken into account that this process extremely difficult and complex, they must note processor other parties that will be affected indirectly results of the decision, as well as the likelihood of success and failure in view of the ability to implementation or not, and here it is difficult to determine Cognitive consequences of the decision, which is not subject only after the implementation of the decision, and this is the next phase.

### **Stage of the implementation of the decision:**

This is the stage the process of transferring decision from theory status to its practical and it is determined the political behavior of State for the decision-maker, and is the implementation of resolution through various means, including diplomatic, economic instruments or use of military force, or tools propaganda <sup>143</sup>.

### **Fifth: feedback:**

This phase is intended flow of information to the decision-making body in foreign policy, about the results of the first done so used to rationalize his subsequent actions, a subsequent reaction of the first act, and it may be a positive reaction, and may be negative. Be positive when the frequency of the original act, and be negative when it is different at least in some way from the original act, and this is due to the degree of success of the original act in achieving the goals of the state.<sup>144</sup>

## **The third section**

### **Decision-making bodies in foreign policy**

Differ decision-making bodies generally from country to country, and the Country constitution that determines who is the body responsible for foreign policy decision-making <sup>145</sup>.

The authorizing Constitution body certain decision-making authority in foreign policy but it is not exercised

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<sup>141</sup> D.Ismail Sabri Moukld, international political relations, op p 254

<sup>142</sup>D.Hani alalHadithi, in the process of political decision-making foreign, op p 106

<sup>143</sup>D.Ismail Sabri Moukled, International political relation, theory and reality, cairo, 1991, p 362

<sup>144</sup> D.Boutros-Ghali Boutros, d.khair Issa, entrance in political science, Cairo, Egyptian Anglo Library, 1984, p 357

<sup>145</sup>D.Hani alalHadithi, in the process of foreign political decision-making, op p 106

this authority in fact, it exercised another device else, for example, what happened in the Soviet Union when authorized Constitution of the presidium of Supreme Soviet, and the Council of Ministers making authority of foreign policy, but in fact we find that the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of the Soviet, is the one who exercises this authority <sup>146</sup>.

There are also several sub bodies within the state involved in the decision-making process in foreign policy, such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Defense, parties and pressure universities and organizations legislative authority.<sup>147</sup>

The decision comes as aggregate reaction to these subsystems. And stop Share these systems or any of them on the nature of the political system, on one hand and the emerging nature of the situation on the other hand.

And can be concentrated decision-making process in foreign policy in the main decision-maker (President of State), as is the case in most developing countries, with the help of some advisers around him. And increasing the role of a political leader in cases where supervision preferred foreign policy, without relying on specific destination.

In general, the process of making foreign policy decisions, are within a specific unit consists of a small group of individuals.

## Chapter II

### The affecting of main elements on decision-making

#### First section: the internal environment:

It means all the factors and components of the internal environment which affecting directly or indirectly in the decision-making process.

#### 1- Political and economic system:

The decision-making process in foreign policy associated with the nature of the political system of the state political system in terms of being a democratic, non-democratic, affect the decision-making process, and in terms of the body that made the decision, and the Share more than one party in this process and in terms of the stages decision-making, in democratic systems this process is subject to procedures and long consultations and discussions with many parties, and need to be implemented more than one approval, and these measures lead to delay decision-making and implementation, decision which loses its effectiveness <sup>148</sup>

And also increase the level of participation in the decision-making process in these systems, lead to loss of

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<sup>146</sup> D.Hani Al-Hadithi, foreign policy analysis, former reference, p 227

<sup>147</sup> Entrance in political science - d.Boutros-Ghali, Dr. khair Issa p. 356

<sup>148</sup> D.Hani Ismail Moukld \ policy theories Ataho comparative Thalilay studies Kuwait, Kuwait University, 1980, p 1511

confidentiality, and the possibility to know external parties, the details of this decision before made <sup>149</sup>

The situation is different in non-democratic regimes, the decision-making process takes place in a narrow range, and does not participate in the decision-making only elements is limited, as well as decision-making process here are fast in the face of external situations, because the decision maker does not need to review the other institutions in the state in order to earn this decision legitimacy, as is the case in democratic systems <sup>150</sup>

And we must mention here that this decision is linked to the interests of the system associated with the character of the decision maker, unlike the case in democratic systems, the decision maker must appropriate process between the interests of category or the party to which he belongs, and the public interest.

Also affect the economic system in the decision-making process in many ways, the state has a strong economic system, and has a wealth of natural and relatively large production capacities, to have more freedom when choosing alternatives proposed it, as and their economic capacity These help them to achieve their goals they seek from behind these decisions, and we must remember that the presence of these economic resources of the state, is not enough sometimes to the success of its foreign policy, but must have another condition, which the system's ability to invest these resources and capabilities and employ correctly, to serve the foreign policy of the state <sup>151</sup>

There are those who attributed the success of the political foreign decisions in the developed countries to the political elites which are the product of the interaction of economic forces in these countries, so that these elites reflected the interests of those forces which serve the objectives as well as having systems developed democracy where it contributes to these democratic institutions to keep makers policy officials in the face of economic shifts, any application of the principle of the economy first and politics second. While the researcher saw that the correlation between in developing countries, we find mostly that it is different, where we find the dominance of economic decision, sovereignty and the absence of economic decision-making institutions found helpless in front of international conditions and changes around them and their industry in the time of corruption and personal interests.

<sup>152</sup>

The researcher believes that it must link the political decision in a flexible decision economic state can achieve political gains as well as economic gains Examples include the insistence of European countries for a long period to isolate the political issues of the Arab Dialogue - EU, and the Palace of the dialogue on economic issues and the insistence of some Arab countries the interdependence of subjects after a long period, which was born a conviction among European countries to agree, fearing for their economic interests, which provides conclusive evidence of the importance of linking economic policy gain international public opinion in the foreign political relations.

In short, the fragility and weakness of the political decisions taken in most of the countries of the Third World is very

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<sup>149</sup> Hani Al-Hadithi, in the foreign political decision-making process - Baghdad Rashid Dar, 1985, p 29

<sup>150</sup> op, p 37

<sup>151</sup> Hani Al-Hadithi, foreign policy analysis, Beirut: Dar al-generation 2001 p 218

<sup>152</sup> Hamada, Bassiouni, the role and means of communication in the political decision-making, Beirut Center for the studies of Arab Unity, 1993



linked to international pressure and forces example is the adoption of countries such as Egypt, Iraq, and some East Asian countries on U.S. assistance, some of the reports assure that Egypt stocks of grain not enough for more than two days, while we mention that the decision in countries as resolution in Venezuela and Syria somewhat liberal international pressure for several of the most important considerations seek to rely on itself, especially in the area of food security and economic.

## **2-Political parties:**

The political party of the leading political institutions that contribute to the making of foreign policy, the role of political parties depend on decision making process in foreign political on the environment of of political system which the party live in it, political systems depend on one-party policy, decrease the role of the parties (governing party) in the decision-making process and possibility completely absent. Deprived of participation in governance in any way, and remain in a constant position of the prosecution, by the system, so the governing party has a role in the decision-making process, and the decision makers are affected by the program of the party and its principles <sup>153</sup>

It could be argued that the ruling party in the socialist countries and some developing countries, ruled by one-party impact is often in foreign policy very strong, who plays a prominent role in foreign policy -making in accordance with the belief of political party.

In political systems that allow multiple, highlights the role of political parties in the decision-making process, whether these parties participate in government, or stand in the ranks of the opposition with a different degree of influence in both cases.

## **3- Lobbyists:**

Are organizations with a group of people with common interests, the different types, some of which is political, and some of which is economic and what a professional.... etc.

These groups differ from political parties; they put pressure on decision-makers in power in order to achieve its goals, and do not have access to power, as is the case for political parties.

In America, for example, created the immigration of different nationalities and economic development of many groups that have different outside interests and sometimes conflicting, complicating the process of selecting the decision in U.S. foreign policy, and districting the ability to mobilize American public to support the decision after taken.

And influenced by these different groups on the decision-making process in foreign policy, as they relate to and be affected by these decisions, Economic groups that have goals of interested international nature always remain friendly relations with countries that deal with it, and for this they are trying to pressure the decision-makers, aims to prevent them from taking any decision affecting these relationships.

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<sup>153</sup> D.Hani Al-Hadithi, in the process of political decision-outer, former p 29

Among these examples on economic interest groups and financial companies is national (international) and whose companies world oil such as (Shell) and international banks such as (Bank of America) and (Citibank) These companies and international institutions with interests toward countries where there are either affect positively or negatively on the future of these companies and their economic interests.

The lobbyists political they are often associated with countries external always seeks to maintain the interests of these countries, through pressure on decision-makers in the state, relies on groups in putting pressure on decision makers Foreign several means, including carrot and stick, or attempt to influence public opinion year, and fill it up with ideas for her or encouraging unrest and demonstrations <sup>154</sup>

#### **4 - Public opinion:**

"fluoride Olbert" defined the public opinion, as an expression of large amount of individuals for their opinions in a certain position, but on their own or at the invitation addressed to them an expression in favor of an opponent of the issue or a particular person or a proposal of importance and wide so that number a sufficient proportion to exert influence on a specific action, whether directly or indirectly.

So public opinion is one of the important factors and even participate in the political decision-making process. It is within the known to regulate the relationship between public opinion and decision makers leads to create a natural interaction between the concerns of the public and its resolutions and decisions of the political power, which ensures to maintain political and social stability of the hand and bring about societal changes in a way that sound on the other hand.

It can be said that public opinion is one of the most important factors established by the decision maker in the calculations, whatever form of political system, which controls the reins of power.

It represents public opinion an important constraint on the decision-maker, whether the decision internally or externally, and to be the role of public opinion effectively in the process of decision-making in foreign policy, must be available to the decision maker cultural characteristics and certain economic, and be conversant with sufficient information for many countries Foreign, and the different means of communication that enables him to convey his views through which decision-makers. Therefore, the role of public opinion in this process <sup>155</sup>varies depending on the quality of the political system in the States, under democratic systems, where there is greater freedom of expression, through new media, takes the decision makers in the prestige of public opinion of any decision external, and especially if this decision affects its interests. However, we must be attentive to an important point, a lack of belief that the existence of democracy and associated freedoms of different expression means that the public opinion an active role in decision-making process, under these systems could mislead public opinion, and directed, desired by systems, such as through the dissemination of misleading information systems particular provision, in some countries, or for any particular international move or an international problem.

Bottom line is that public opinion and its role in decision-making in foreign policy in the light of the

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<sup>154</sup> D. Ismail Sabri Moukld, international political relations - theory and reality

<sup>155</sup> D. Ibrahim Saad Eddin, how to make a decision in the Arab world, former reference, p 25

changes numerous and successive occurred in the arena of regional or international Under mechanisms of globalization and the most important sites "Internet" became a great fear of molding public opinion to become a real force during use sometimes in favor of the opposition forces or to issue or configuration data sites "influential affect" the decision-makers in various countries around the world, especially the developing countries.

Whatever the case, the role of public opinion in the decision-making process outside highlights clearly in crisis and unusual circumstances, which feels the political system threatened the outside, in this case highlights public opinion as a stressful on your decision-making, which become circle options has weak and limited <sup>156</sup>

#### **Information collection devices:**

Became the process of gathering information in the contemporary world of the most complex and difficult operations that it is imperative to the decision maker relied upon in the performance of his governmental duties, and return the difficulty of the task into two main variables:

**First:** the magnitude and diversity of information.

**Second:** that the political decision-maker needs all kinds of information related to the wisdom and knowledge of what is going on and they are many and different.

That the information revolution has affected in fact has a direct impact in the media, has surprised the process of information revolution bipolar world to drop, when one of the two camps collapsed, namely the Soviet Union was dismantled limb as a result of a bug that revealed the information revolution.

So one could say that access to sovereignty knowledge is the basis in control in terms of both deterrence strategies and knowledge of the intentions of the other party.

So dependent information which supplied to the decision-making devices on first basis for foreign policy decisions, hence the importance of collecting information and the more information and basic document, whenever helped the success of making the right decision <sup>157</sup>

This confirms the human experience for all ages that the absence of information or lack of it or inaccuracy was always co-worker and the main decisions improperly lead to failure and defeat when managing any of the conflicts and the loss of rights in any process of negotiation or failure to implement any project of projects.

Who make the decision often deriving information on the many formal or informal, including embassies, and the intelligence services, and hardware and various media, and research and study centers, international and regional conferences, centers and networks of information (such as the internet U.S. used by millions of PC users on 24h) and private sources and should be the relationship between decision-making bodies, and these devices objective, and

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<sup>156</sup> Badis Kdadrh, public opinion and original stand, Al-Shorouk newspaper, February 5, 2009 AD

<sup>157</sup> Consider, defense magazine, the role of information in the management of crises, Riyadh, No. 121 11 \ 1 \ 200 m.

based on mutual respect and interaction, and realize the importance and responsibility towards each other.

It must be recognized that some felt that the information had led to the trading of international relations more comprehensively, as it provided the opportunity of direct communication between political leaders, for example, the former U.S. President George W. Bush assemble the international coalition in the Gulf War II using the which doesn't used before in international diplomacy.

## Second section

### Foreign Environment

It means all the foreign factors influencing in the political decision-making process, which can be identified in the physical and geographical surrounding. It could be argued as a general rule that the more pressure from the foreign environment decreased an opportunity potential to act and diminished opportunities.

#### 1- International public system:

decisions are operating on the major countries in general consider the dynamic spirit and interactive which governing through the process of life at home or in the relations of these countries with the outside world, so seriousness and important of making that decision be great to have caused by the chaos in the event of not based on scientific and practical bases which be strong, and there has to be emphasis on the need to take care of the decision before its release, therefore highlights interest in decision making by most countries in the world for its great importance.

Therefore, the change in the form and nature of international public system, affect the decision-making process in the foreign policy of the state, as a unit of the constituent units of this system, states under the regime of multi polarity, available with greater freedom of movement, and decision-making also becomes to small States greater capacity for foreign maneuverability by waving to join alliance particular, or to withdraw from the alliance belonging to <sup>158</sup>

It has become the structure of the international system to take an important role in influencing the decision and the extent of its implementation and appeared this importance in the contemporary stage as a result of the presence of new data, including the following:

1. The presence of international organizations and the most important; the United Nations, and human rights organizations and civil society organizations.
2. The legal relations between states according to international law, they often took political decisions international character through their influence in the outside world as a result of the positive and negative relations between states.

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<sup>158</sup> D. Hani al-Hadithi in the foreign political decision-making process, former p 140

3. Establishment economic clusters and military influence in decision-making within the Member States in these clusters to the importance of the decision to keep up with the objectives of the bloc and its methods and ideas.

Under solid bipolarity. Imposed restrictions on the movement of foreign circulation transactions for members of any of the pacts, but in light of fragile bipolar system, the non-member countries of the alliance, enjoying greater freedom and movement, they are not bound by the choices imposed by the bipolar system existing.

As under the current circumstances and the end of the Cold War era and the absence of global authority representing a specific important role in foreign policy, and liquidity obvious now in international relations, and the tendency of some major countries, especially the United States to activate the role of the United Nations make it loose part of its credibility and was most countries affected by the activation through decisions that allowed the United Nations to intervene in the internal affairs of these countries, which is at the heart of the internal matters of the State itself examples include:

- A. Oversight functions and supervision of human rights, democracy and the problems of refugees which witnessed a struggle and fighting and example of this (former Yugoslavia) or intervention to monitor the elections in Angola, Venezuela, El Salvador, Iraq, and also monitor military activities as is the case in Mozambique.
- B. Disarmament, which means mass destruction and disposal solving the armed forces of the state and not to maintain any power except the necessary ,and also added a new task for the United Nations was the disarmament of groups fighting within a single country and during the Civil War and then will allow these conflicts intervention by the United Nations under the pretext disarmament in the internal affairs of the State examples Somalia, East Timor, Sudan's Darfur region when Darfur rebels refused to disarm and restore their fighters to barracks only a political solution to the problem of coping.
- C. Institution-building and reconstruction and this new task involving the United Nations and this in turn entail humanly and financially efforts and needs the cooperation and understanding between the state target, the United Nations Examples include Somalia, El Salvador, Haiti, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Iraq, Lebanon and most recently the reconstruction of the territory of Gaza (Palestine).
- D. Bypass security prevention mentality and try to produce a new culture.

It can thus be said that current conditions require to say that the world lives in the case of loss of a large part of his political and sovereign powers and the United Nations want to run the world through the tyrannical state, which itself commissioned to marginalize the institutions of international legitimacy. This led to the creation secretions and the legal and political changes which had a noticeable impact on international politics and public international law, and the work of the United Nations in accordance with its charter, leaving the United Nations policy the legally impact to cast a shadow on the mechanism of decision-making, according to an international mechanism and not according to the Charter, through the clear influence for the sole pole in foreign policy made by any state takes into account all of these things in the case of drafting.

## **2- International political crises:**

Definition of the political crisis: it is caused by the interaction of confrontation and conflict between the

interests and beliefs, programs and other entities conflicting <sup>159</sup>

The definition of the political crisis as a political stance suddenly a political threat to the objectives of the national with a limited period of time to make the decision, that there are three elements characterized crisis (surprise, threat, and short time) and crisis requires quick decisions <sup>160</sup>

There is no doubt that personal decision maker play a prominent role in the decision-making process due to time constraints, which is not allowed by Return to the political institutions all, leading to the reduction of the number of participants in the decision-making process, and may require the formation of a total to discuss the crisis in particular and make decisions related. And the greater the crisis, the need for more to rounded the gap between decision makers <sup>161</sup>

witnessed the Cold War era serious international crises almost led giant of the Soviet Union and the United States of America at the time to direct military confrontations and almost rocking global stability, such as "the Cuba crisis, the Cuban missile crisis, the Berlin crisis, What characterized it that stage easily in crisis management because they came a product of the conflict between East and West and enable the parties cordoned off part of a policy of mutual deterrence and negotiations, and the absence of competition and effective international powers, and as a result of the paralysis of the United Nations in general and the Security Council in particular because of the frequent use of the right objection.

However, it could be argued that the crisis have sometimes a negative impact on cognitive and skills abilities for decision-makers. The crisis may create an attitude of stress leads to the deterioration of the ability to pay attention to and understand information to identify the attitude, negative influence the ability of the decision maker in the search for information and alternatives and relying more heavily on the doctrinal system, and previous experience of the position, and this would lead to faulty analysis.

So is leadership prowess in the perception of the possibility of converting the crisis and the risks it carries into an opportunity to launch a creative capacity that invests the crisis as an opportunity to reformulate as circumstances and time constraints increases the psychological pressure, which affects the ability of the decision maker in the selection of a suitable alternative <sup>162</sup>

The most important thing sought by the decision maker is seeking to exert pressure in a flexible and wise according to the requirements of situation-seeking coexistence and compatibility of without incurring their countries cost or loss, and then be the decision-maker has achieved greater goals and protect their vital interests through use management toolscrises such as diplomatic means good offices negotiations, conciliation, disputes on international and regional organizations, or use legal means such as international arbitration or most recently resorting to the use

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<sup>159</sup> Osman, Osman: *Confronting the Crisis*, Cairo, Egypt for publication and distribution, Edition 1995, p 14

<sup>160</sup> D. Mohammed Salim, *foreign policy analysis*, former reference, p 272.

<sup>161</sup> James Dworta, *conflicting theories in international relations*, translation by Walid Abdulhai, Kuwait, Kazma Publishing, 1985, p 226.

<sup>162</sup> D. Mohammed Salim, *foreign policy analysis*, former reference, p 354.

of violent means.

### Third section

#### Division and analysis of political decisions

Overwhelmingly secret and mystery to most of the political decisions taken, and it varies with the nature of societies and political systems and the degree of clarity of the mark in the light of the prevailing degree of democratic development could be argued that the evaluation of decisions depends on two key perspectives:

1. Objective perspective: an analysis of the process of decision-making in terms of the substantive aspects surrounding the decision, trying to analyze the decision-making data in the context of the societal conditions accompanying the decision.
2. Perspective of ruling political leadership: It starts from corner of analysis of the psychological environment of the ruling political leadership, and that the person of President and extent to specific elite surrounding it, and it intended to analyze the decision-making process through the analysis to vision the head of state of reality and its own reading of this reality.

For the first and second perspective is similar bureaucratic orientation \ psychological that was called for some Arab intellectuals (1).

Despite criticism of the trend in terms of substantive focus on the personality of the head of state and personal attributes which would be incompatible with the nature of communities and dynamics (2).

The psychological aspect focuses on highlighting the role of personal ruling in decision-making, but without ignoring the objective factors surrounding the decision maker.

Hence, analyzing the environment psychological is framework to understand the dimensions of decision-making and his relationship with success or failure of the decision (3), political decision-making is not just institutions and bureaucracy frameworks and mechanical relations without the humans in charge of this institution and devices passion towards any decision to be made.

In summary there are two approaches to analyze the process of political decision-making:

1. Founder dimension of objective conditions that moving the decision-making institutions and the pioneers of this direction, Snyder, Halbraiv, and Ellison, Lovell, and Robinson and Art<sup>163</sup>
2. The direction in which the dimension of cognitive psychotherapy, which focuses on personal role of the head of state or elite surrounding the pioneers of this direction: Rchr, Holsna, Sprout and Dawsha. <sup>164</sup>

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<sup>163</sup> Janthan M.Roberts, Decision Making during international crises, Macmillan Press,1985

<sup>164</sup> Bahgat Korany and Contributors, How Foreign policy Decision Are made in the Third World, U.S.A. westviw Press Boulder and London, 1988. pp. 48:60

<sup>3</sup>Ibid pp.55-56

### Summary

1. Characterized the Third World countries in the most important shared qualities which are the phenomenon of concentration of power and its centrality in the person of the head of state or specific elements surround the head of state and do not move outside the circle and the absence of the idea of rotation of power between rival elites.
2. Third World countries suffer from political instability and lack of nobility of the political establishment because of the late independence, and because the ruling regimes isn't convinced in real democratic choice and insist on a monopoly of power and the unwillingness of circulation and the monopoly the tools of force (army and police) and used in any political conflict leads to poor participation of citizens or interest in public life with the exception of petroleum countries where it absorbed the new elites and charged with different functions and the distribution of wealth cancels and weakens political participation.
3. Emphasis on the political decision-maker that necessity to be his decision whether political, economic, administration or social up to date the implementation of economic and social comprehensive development which are the essential basic of absorb any effects possibly built from crises and political events whether internal and external.
4. There is a role of lobbies through communication tools or civil public organization to contribute in decision making or at least made the descion maker calculate the important of these organization in although of note that some of these groups seek to protect the community from melting in the stream of globalization and the culture of the West and especially in Eastern and Arab communities in particular.
5. Directing the political parties (especially in third world countries) to work on the preparation of programs and training courses aimed at the development of the public to interact with the political decision-making process, either in support or opposition, and not just criticism and defamation or non-constructive opposition, but offering alternatives.
6. Consolidation saying to doing, especially that seen in conferences, the media and others to a rational plan to remedy, correction and expand the circle of responsibility and listen seriously to projects that seek to research and study centers, civil society organizations and non-wrapping to power enhanced from abroad aimed at cracking or rupture and differences or seeking for the opposition only for the opposition.
7. Work on the development and developing the skills of foreign policy decision-makers in parallel to the rapid developments and changes to the international system, it must provide mature minds and qualified persons for the development and analysis of political phenomena, economic and social, to form neutral without pressure internal or external, in order to give the resolution credible, objective and clear, this is one of the most necessities to keep up with changes in the international accelerated especially in the world that does not believe in ethics political or concepts traditional old.
8. Find real economic alternatives means third world countries in particular for aid and loans for the development of these countries independently .Which can be the decision maker of the formulation of the decision as a type of independence.
9. the last objective of decision making in the last summary is the higher interest fro State and its relation of decision maker with strategy on State, this mean that the decision should pass the last mythological stages which is known in decision making hypotheses.



10. when the decision making is taken we should built security strategy according of view based on State security which consider un integrant part from the security of regional surrounding then globalization and this consider through international acceptance concepts now.

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