CHAPTER TWO

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION, PUBLIC POLICY AND FOREIGN POLICY

2.1.   Introduction

This chapter will advance arguments that seek to prove that because foreign policy is also public policy it can justifiably and effectively be subjected to public policy analysis. The approach will be to distinguish between *public administration* (the function) and *Public Administration* (the scientific discipline) and to show that attendance to the functional needs of society (the role of public administration; and a primary function of public policy) includes attendance to the foreign policy needs of society.

It will be argued that not all public policy needs to be made public although it should certainly be for the public good; and should be formulated and implemented within the *milieu* of public institutions. It will be shown that public policy formulation and implementation in its most basic form is a systemic series of inputs and outputs that includes feedback and monitoring; and that such public policy includes foreign policy. It will also be shown that individuals, whether acting individually or in concert, are the makers of foreign policy and that the institutional *milieu* in which they operate, as well as personal characteristics and perceptions, and the *world view* perspective of the domestic environment in which they function, will determine the nature of their public policy decisions, including decisions about foreign policy. Finally, it will be shown that without factual knowledge about key issues, effective decisions about public policies cannot be taken; and policies cannot be implemented effectively.

2.2.   Policy analysis

As a number of writers (*vide* Cloete and Wissink. 2000: 5; Weimer and Vining.1989: 7) have stated, Public Administration includes policy analysis among its professional

activities. This is recognition of the distinction between the "old" Public Administration that insisted that administrative questions are not political questions and the "new" Public Administration that has abandoned this notion (Weimer and Vining. 1989: 7; Coetzee. 1991: 39-40).

Not surprisingly, much of the available literature about policy analysis, emanating from researchers and writers in the Public Administration field, tends to concentrate on the analysis of public policy within the domestic environment of the international system. Quade (1989: 374), Dunn (1981: 48), Cloete (1994: 92) and Hanekom (1992: 85) are among those writers and researchers. Nonetheless, Cloete (1994: 58), in describing "functions performed in an administrative executive institution" has included "foreign affairs" as an example of a "line function" or "...functional activity... ." Dye (1995: 2) also includes foreign affairs within the scope of public policy. The focus, though, is usually on questions about domestic policy as opposed to questions about foreign policy (MacRae and Wilde 1985: 3), the latter being left almost exclusively to the attention of those who specialise in the Political Science field. In this regard, Richard L. Merritt (1975: 1-11) and Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff (1971: 312-344) have provided several examples of the decision making theories of social scientists, drawn from a variety of disciplines, who have conducted research in various aspects of foreign policy analysis. Yet, as Dunn (1981: 36) has argued,

> ... these disciplines (economics, sociology, political science and
> psychology) are often limited in several ways: Complex policy
> problems do not recognise traditional disciplinary boundaries;
> general theories are seldom applicable to specific policy contexts;
> and such theories frequently fail to provide information that permits
> policy makers to control or manipulate policy processes. ... Policy
> analysis goes beyond traditional disciplinary concerns with the
> explanation of empirical regularities by seeking not only to combine
> and transform the substance and methods of several disciplines, but
> also to produce policy-relevant information that may be utilised to
> resolve problems in specific policy settings. Moreover, the aims of

policy analysis extend beyond the production of 'facts'; policy analysts seek also to produce information about values and preferable courses of action. Policy analysis therefore includes policy evaluation as well as policy advocacy.

Consequently, there are good reasons why an analysis of *foreign policy*, which is also public policy, should be conducted according to some of the analytic procedures and practices that are now well established in the field of Public Administration; a field of study which encompasses the study of both public policy making and public policy analysis (Roux *et al.* 1997: 144-152; Williams. 1971: xi). A few researchers, such as MacCrae and Wilde (1985: 21), have utilised examples from the foreign policy domain in order to facilitate understanding of public policy issues within the domestic environment. Others, like Robin Lee (Cloete, Schlemmer and van Vuuren. 1991: 8; *vide* Dye. 1995: 2), have made specific references to "foreign policy" when writing about public policy and the political process, when their primary focus was on domestic policy. Therefore, if the relevant policy analysis can benefit thereby, there is every reason why a foreign policy (public policy) analysis may be conducted within the ambit of Public Administration, even when some of the analytic practices and procedures that are utilised, are drawn from the Political Science field (Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff. 1971: 382-383). In this regard, Ripley (1985: 5) states that "…political scientists, *among others*, can be good policy analysts precisely because they can enrich their analysis with the insights, theories, and techniques of their home discipline…"

In regard to an analysis of foreign policy and its development, which is a primary objective of this thesis, it will be argued that it is essential to explore the basis of all foreign policy actions and aspirations of individual states (in this case, South Africa and the PRC) and how they perceive themselves within the international system, and as part of the international environment (Merritt. 1975: 3), in order to be able to effectively analyse and understand their respective foreign policies toward each other. If this assertion is accepted, it follows that an accurate understanding of a state's *world view* should constitute a crucial element of foreign policy analysis; if not as

part of a decision making or systems model, or other model, of public policy (including foreign policy) formulation, then certainly as part of a framework for further research in this direction.

It is also essential to be able to understand the relationship and distinction between Public Administration as a discipline, public administration and public policy, and the relationship and distinction between domestic and foreign policy.

2.3. Public Administration

Coetzee (1991: 42) has distinguished between Public Administration as an academic pursuit and public administration as a profession. Consequently, whereas *Public Administration* (with capital letters) refers to the discipline or branch of instruction in regard to *public administration* (with lower case letters), the latter is the process or function normally assigned to the public administrator, civil servant or public official. One teaches *Public Administration* but one performs or carries out *public administration.* According to Botes and Roux (Botes *et al.* 1997: 257),

> *Public Administration is concerned with the study of all the*
> *scientific disciplines that have a bearing on the contemporary*
> *administrative and managerial practices in the public sector.*
> *... Administrative and managerial practices that are presently*
> *to be found in public institutions comprise a comprehensive*
> *series of activities that require knowledge of virtually all*
> *sciences. The subject in which the intrinsic and interdependent*
> *aspects of the state institutions are studied exclusively is called*
> *Public Administration.*

Clearly, Public Administration is a science that has produced, and continues to produce, knowledge that can be analysed and applied universally in the context of enhancing theories, knowledge and understanding of public administration in the practical and theoretical sense. Botes and Roux (Botes, *et al.* 1997: 260; *vide* Pfiffner

and Presthus. 1967: 4-6; *vide* Cloete. 1967: 35-40) have identified four essential qualities that firmly establish the qualifications of Public Administration as a discipline in its own right.

> (a) *Public Administration is a science because there exists a corpus of knowledge which has repeatedly been proven to be valid, can be analysed systematically and contains aspects of universal applicability*
>
> (b) *Public Administration is an academic discipline which can be dissected in systematic steps of study and research*
>
> (c) *Public Administration is a university subject which enjoys universal acknowledgement*
>
> (d) *Public Administration finds a field of application in the public administration.*
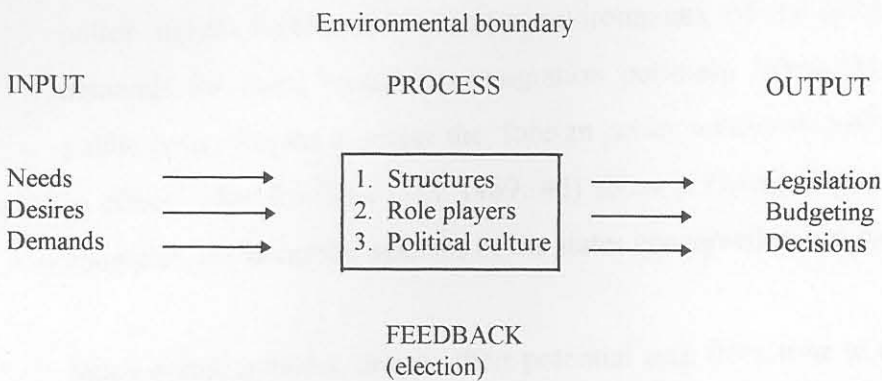
Coetzee also identifies similar aspects or "relevant areas" (1991: 96-98), including Public Administration as an academic discipline, an activity, a subject for teaching at university level, an applied science to be taught at academic level, and an opportunity to educate and train civil servants.

In contrast to Public Administration (the discipline), public administration (the activity) refers to the activities of public officials, also known as civil servants or public servants, on behalf of the public. According to Nicolas Henry (Fox and Meyer. 1995: 105), public administration has three cornerstones: "organisational behaviour and the behaviour of people in organisations; the technology of management; and the public interest concerning individual ethical choices and public affairs." In more simple terms, public administration is essentially a series of actions carried out by people in public institutions on behalf of other people (*vide* Rosenbloom *et al.* 1994: 7; Botes *et al.* 1997: 257). It is essentially an activity inspired by the need to apply the policies and deliver the services and outputs of those policies as determined by the executive and approved by the legislature; or, one might argue, as directed by the

supreme authority of the state. Where South Africa is concerned the supreme authority is the Constitution ({4} SA. 1996. *Preamble*).

Drawing on the work of David Easton (Easton. 1957; Easton. 1965), Botes and Roux (Botes, *et al*.1997: 261; *vide* Anderson. 1997: 26-27; Fesler. 1980: 31) have illustrated the place of public administration within the domestic environment of the international system (the state) by means of a simplified systems model, as replicated below:

Figure 2/1   Simplified Systems Model

Environmental boundary

INPUT   PROCESS   OUTPUT

Needs $\longrightarrow$ 1. Structures $\longrightarrow$ Legislation
Desires $\longrightarrow$ 2. Role players $\longrightarrow$ Budgeting
Demands $\longrightarrow$ 3. Political culture $\longrightarrow$ Decisions

FEEDBACK
(election)

Source: Botes PS and NL Roux (in Botes PS, PA Brynard, DJ Fourie and NLRoux. *Public Administration and Management*, 2nd ed. 1996, Pretoria: Kagiso Tertiary, p. 261)

Aristotle said (Strong. 1970:17) that the State existed not merely to make life possible but to make life good. This notion was also shared by the founders of the American republic (Rossiter. 1961: 231) who referred to *the public good*. In terms of this model (figure 2/1, *supra*), the needs, desires and demands of society (the people) are *inputs* which will make life good if these needs, desires and demands are translated into efficient, effective and just *outputs* in the form of decisions, budgets and laws that will create the prerequisite conditions to "make life good" (*vide* Dye. 1995: 38-39; Hanekom *et al*. 1986: 91).

Examples of needs, desires and demands provided by Botes and Roux (Botes, *et al*. 1997: 262), and referred to by writers such as Weimer and Vining (1989: 4-5), are taken from the domestic environment and not the international or external

environment. Therefore, they focus on issues such as the need to fight crime, plan urban development, provide water and electricity, replace gravel roads with asphalt roads and improve traffic control and pest control. However, in the context of foreign policy, the need for the defence and advancement of perceived national interests, the desire for regional stability and world peace, and the demand for greater and more equitable access to world markets, are among the inputs that might need to be translated into outputs in the form of bilateral and multilateral agreements, and other diplomatic arrangements, intended to make life good for the people of a particular state or particular states. In this regard it should be noted that, in some states, for example totalitarian and other non-democratic states, outputs may reflect the dominant inputs (needs, desires and demands) of the leadership (*vide* Pye in Shambaugh. 1995: 4) as opposed to the inputs of the citizenry. This situation would be likely to prevail in both the context of domestic policy and foreign policy, where such states are concerned. For example, the advocacy of "group rights" by South Africa's *apartheid* government was seen by many black South Africans (Mandela. 1997: 664) as a ruse to preserve white domination.

Although all public policies of a particular state are derived from the inputs which originate in the domestic environment of that state and are expressed in the form of outputs within the domestic environment of that state, such inputs may be a response to the foreign policy outputs of other sovereign states (e.g. a state may institute a policy to develop its navy or coast guard service in response to another state's policy to enlarge its fishing fleet). Similarly, the domestic policy outputs of a state (e.g. a policy aimed at down-sizing its state institutions) can result in responsive domestic policy inputs within the domestic environments of its neighbouring states (e.g. demands for more stringent immigration policies). When this happens, domestic public policy begins to affect the foreign policy relationship of the states concerned. In effect, what Rosenau ({2} 1969: 45) terms a *linkage* between systems (in these examples, the domestic systems of the states concerned) takes place.

Many public policies, despite their potential and, from time to time, actual influence on a state's foreign policy relationships, are mainly active in that state's domestic

environment. Nevertheless, many government ministries and departments, and their equivalents at provincial and local levels of government, are active in the international environment (Cloete. 1994: 122-123; *vide* Anderson. 1997: 13). Where South Africa is concerned, they include foreign affairs, playing the leading role; defence, customs, immigration and trade, playing mainly supporting roles; and tourism, finance, science and technology, transport, agriculture, security, justice, culture and sport, among other state institutions, playing supporting roles from time to time. However, in the case of powerful states with wide-ranging global interests, other categories of public policy, for example military policy (Dye. 1995: 221-222), are likely to be closely merged with foreign policy (Anderson. 1997: 64). In this regard, the PRC Minister of Defence has specifically referred (*Chi Haotien. Beijing Review*. 26 January-1 February 1998: 7) to the role of the People's Liberation Army (PLA) in the PRC's international diplomacy.

In terms of the above model (figure 2/1) the process whereby inputs are converted into outputs is dependent upon the actions and activities of role players or actors, and the influence and impact of existing structures and the (prevailing) political culture (*vide* Scott. 1998: 86-87). As Botes and Roux elucidate (Botes *et al*. 1997: 263; *vide* Hanekom *et al*. 1986: 158-159):

> *Although public servants (or civil servants) are not the servants*
> *of the political party in office, they must execute the prevailing*
> *political culture. In the event of a change of government, the*
> *officials must follow the new direction of the succeeding party*
> *in office. ... When the role players (public servants, ministers*
> *and Parliamentarians) turn their attention to satisfying needs,*
> *desires and demands, the political culture will determine the*
> *nature of the ultimate legislation, budget and decisions. ... In*
> *this way the principle actions of public servants are channelled*
> *and directed by the political processes of the state.*

Where organisational structures are concerned, government institutions must process the needs, desires and demands (inputs) of society or a particular community into practical solutions or actions that will result in the required policy and service outputs (Fesler. 1980: 30-31). Similarly, Lynn (1980:10) views the output of the (institutional) policy making system, comprising "...*actors* ... and their *interests*, and *the rules and practices* governing the...relationships among actors," as policy. These institutions might include government departments such as the Department of Water Affairs and the Department of Agriculture or their equivalent institutions. By implication, the Department of Foreign Affairs, as an institution of government, would also be part of this processing mechanism (*vide* Cloete. 1994: 122-123). However, institutions in themselves merely provide the organisational and operational framework for the processing of policy inputs into policy outputs. The actual work is carried out by officials (Hanekom. 1986: 83-84), role players or actors (*vide* Lynn.1980: 10-11).

Whereas some writers (Botes *et al*. 1997: 262) have used examples of role players such as magistrates, passport control officials and state veterinary surgeons it follows that, in regard to foreign policy, role players would include a state's diplomatic and consular representatives serving abroad; its international civil servants, serving in international governmental institutions (Cloete. 1994: 120); its complement of civil servants within the Department or Ministry of Foreign Affairs, particularly those serving in the top and middle management echelon and in the political and consular sections of that department; and role players in other government departments that may have roles to play in matters affecting or determining foreign policy.

The simplified systems model (figure 2/1 *supra*), makes allowance for *feedback*, a cybernetic process whereby outputs are fed back into the system as inputs. Although feedback may take place in the form of elections (Botes *et al*. 1997: 261), which is a legitimate way for democratic societies to express satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the public policies of their respective governments (*vide* Cloete. 1994: 218-219), there are many other ways whereby societies may articulate their views. For example, a revolution or rebellion (*vide* Norbu in Barnett and Akiner. 1994: 188-189) against a perceived unjust and totalitarian regime would also constitute feedback. Public

debate, commissions of inquiry, referenda, letters to newspapers, public demonstrations (*vide* Nathan and Link. 2001: xxxiv) and public opinion polls are further examples of the feedback mechanism.

Until now, the focus has been on the difference between Public Administration and public administration and the contribution of the latter to the facilitation of policy formulation, the processing of policy inputs into policy outputs, and the implementation of policy as output. The next step is to examine the nature of public policy itself.

2.4.   Public policy

What is particularly important to grasp, in the context of the relationship between public administration and public policy, is that public policy is essentially an institutional output and that the relevant institutions concerned are *government* institutions. Government is also able to win or command wide domestic support for its public policies; it is able to ensure that the domestic impact of its public policies apply universally within the domestic environment; and it is able to employ national measures to ensure universal enforcement of its public policies within the domestic environment over which it has jurisdiction. Thomas R. Dye (1981: 20-21) has stated as follows:

> *Political activities generally centre around particular*
> *government institutions. … Public policy is authoritatively*
> *determined, implemented, and enforced by governmental*
> *institutions. … The relationship between public policy and*
> *governmental institutions is very close. Strictly speaking,*
> *a policy does not become a public policy until it is adopted,*
> *implemented, and enforced by some governmental institution.*
> *… (G)overnment lends legitimacy to policies. … (G)overnment*
> *policies involve universality. … Finally, government*
> *monopolises coercion in society.*

Public policy is essentially a guide or plan of action initiated and authorised by government and intended to achieve whatever is necessary *to make life good* (see paragraph 2.3 *supra*). Whereas some writers (*vide* Cloete and Wissink. 2000: 15; Barber. 1983: 59-60; Cloete. 1981: 71-77; Gladden. 1964: 72-74) have identified three levels of public policy (political, executive and administrative), others (Botes *et al.* 1997: 311-313) have identified four practical levels, adding departmental policy to the three categories listed above as well as six characteristics of public policy. The four policy levels comprise political party policy, government policy (executive or cabinet policy), departmental policy and administrative policy. It is at the level of party policy (Cloete and Wissink. 2000: 16) that party ideology, the party's value system, the *world view* of its leadership, and the party's *raison d'etre* first seek to direct discussion and debate and ultimately influence the shape of public policies at all levels (*vide* ANC. 1998: *strategic perspective*).

Where Western democracies are concerned, party political influence is probably most keenly felt shortly before an election (*vide* Mandela. 1997: 736), when voters are interested in knowing what policies they are being asked to support. However, after the government has been elected, party influence will often defer to the influence of government (Cloete. 1994: 94). The government of the day may even find it expedient, sometimes, to avoid discussing key decisions with the party. In fact this situation occurred on 2 February, 1990, when former President F.W. de Klerk rescinded the banning of South Africa's liberation movements. Only the Cabinet was consulted (De Klerk. 1991: 28). In this regard, President de Klerk was subsequently asked: " ...Were the contents of the speech first cleared, so to speak, with other concerns, for example the ANC? ..." De Klerk responded: "... No, it was a government secret. We consulted only within our own ranks. It was not even submitted to the National Party Caucus ..." (De Klerk. 1991: 28).

In totalitarian and non-democratic states, however, party influence can be dominant and practically continuous. Shirk describes the formal relationship between the Communist Party and government in the PRC (Lieberthal and Lampton. 1992: 61), as an "angry relationship" in which the Communist Party is the "principal" and the government is the "agent"... "The party has formal political authority over the

government, which does the actual work of administering the country…" For example, in the People's Republic of China the Chinese Communist Party formulates and modifies party policy during its annual meetings and what the party decides is introduced and accepted as official government thinking. According to Joffe (Schell and Shambaugh. 1999: 143), "… the party effectively makes policy and oversees its implementation…" However, the mechanics of a specific policy would normally be worked out by the relevant government department or ministry, submitted to the responsible minister, discussed in the State Council (the cabinet), possibly presented to other ministries for comment, and ultimately approved at ministerial level.

Generally, irrespective of the system of government, there is close contact between government and party, the main reason being that government, except in the case of military coups, is usually the party in power. However, as Cloete (1967: 72) points out, executive and other government officials cannot make any substantive contribution at this level of policy making as it is effectively beyond their reach. (*vide* Botes *et al*. 1997: 311).

The next level of public policy is government policy or cabinet policy; what Cloete (1994: 96) terms "political implementation policy." This is the policy level where "…political idealism must be transformed into workable realities…" (Botes *et al*. 1997: 311); where party political ideas, the party world view and party ideology will become part of practical expressions of policy as required by the government of the day. Although senior public servants will be involved in developing this level of policy the overriding decisions will invariably be taken at the political, usually ministerial or cabinet, level, often in close consultation with senior public servants (directors-general, permanent under secretaries or their equivalents) in charge of government departments. A feature of the Mbeki administration is that many of these directors-general are *political* rather than professional or career appointments (*vide* Forrest. *Mail & Guardian*. 14-19 December 2001: 6).

Departmental policy is concerned specifically with the implementation of the relevant government policy. For example, in the case of South Africa, the Department of

Foreign Affairs would be required to implement the policy articulated by government in regard to foreign policy. The departmental policy of the Department of Foreign Affairs would need to be harmonised with cabinet policy, as articulated by the President, Deputy President, Minister or Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, and the primary responsibility for ensuring that this is attended to would normally reside with the Director-General (Cloete. 1994: 121) of Foreign Affairs. As Botes and Roux (Botes *et al*. 1997: 311) have explained, the head of a department, usually a director-general,

> ... *would formulate ... policy which is capable of execution, both*
> *functionally and administratively, and embody this in the budget.*
> *The departmental policy should be a proper reflection of the aims*
> *of the department.*

This type of policy is also known as "administrative executive implementation policy" (Cloete. 1994: 96).

Administrative policy (Botes *et al*. 1997: 311) is regarded as the fourth level of public policy. This level of policy, termed "operational policy" by Cloete (1994: 97), falls squarely into the realm of public administration and therefore has more to do with public policy implementation than with public policy making or public policy analysis. According to Botes and Roux (Botes *et al*. 1997:312), administrative policy encompasses five of the seven generically related functions of public administration (policy analysis and policy making are excluded); departmental staff policy, departmental financial policy, departmental organisational policy, departmental procedural policy and departmental control policy (*vide* Cloete. 1967: 2 and 1994: 58-59). Apart from the four levels of policy identified *supra*, public policy exhibits particular characteristics that may serve to distinguish it from being a mere collection of goals and administrative actions. In this sense, public policies are said (Botes *et al*.1997: 312-313) to be authoritative, enforceable, flexible and adaptable, feasible, clear and public.

According to Botes and Roux (Botes *et al.*1997: 312), for a policy to be authoritative it must be,

> *determined by an authorised government institution or*
> *representative such as a head of department. Speculations*
> *and opinions are not regarded as being policies, which*
> *means that a policy must be defined explicitly and all*
> *interested parties must be informed in writing*

Although this characteristic is easily identifiable with public policy in the domestic environment, such as a housing or educational policy, it may require qualification in the case of foreign or military policy, or any kind of public policy requiring a degree of security or secrecy. In fact, in terms of the definition of public policy advanced by Hanekom (1992: 8), public policy needs to be "…decided upon and *made publicly known* by the legislator…" (my emphasis). Coetzee (1991: 17) has sought to clarify the essential nature of *public* policy, in part by contrasting it with *private* policy, and concludes that it "…affects…people at large…is open to all, not secret or concealed, and is … the opposite to private…" There is, nonetheless, much ambiguity (Rosenbloom *et al.* 1994: 465) in the word "public" when used in the context of public policy and it is therefore important to define its meaning in the interests of the objective of this research.

Should "public policy" refer to publicised policy? If so, should it refer *only* to publicised policy? Should "public policy" not mean policy on behalf of or in the interest of the public? Alternatively, should policy not simply refer to the policies of public institutions? Perhaps the best way to resolve the ambiguity is to accept that public policy is *always made by public institutions*, that it is *usually made public* (*vide* Anderson. 1997: 237) and that it is policy that is *always made on behalf of the public or the state*. This definition would make allowance for all policies that are made by public institutions (e.g. Department of Foreign Affairs), public policies that are not made public (e.g. secret alliances); public policies that are made in the public interest (i.e. the general population); and public policies that are harmful to the public

but considered advantageous to the lawgivers or a select segment of the population (e.g. *apartheid* legislation). From the foregoing, if it is accepted that public policy does not have to be publicised (Anderson. 1997: 236) and that interested parties can, therefore, sometimes be excluded from knowledge about the details of specific policies, then it can be accepted that foreign policies also exhibit the authoritative characteristic.

The second characteristic of public policy, identified by Botes and Roux (Botes *et al.*1997: 312), is that it is enforceable. In other words, those responsible for implementing such public policy would need to be made specifically aware of their responsibility by means of a clear policy directive. Failure to comply could then result in possible charges of misconduct (Cloete. 1994: 232), the implication being that the implementers of the relevant policy, and not the clients or service recipients, should be subject to penalties in the event of non-implementation. In the case of foreign policy this would mean that one's own public officials and diplomats could be compelled to implement specific foreign policy directives. On the other hand, foreign governments and foreign diplomats, obviously, cannot be compelled to serve or observe the same directives. Nevertheless, it can be accepted that foreign policies also exhibit the enforceable characteristic, as elucidated *supra*.

The third characteristic of public policy, is that it is flexible and adaptable (Botes *et al.* 1997: 313). In view of the many variable influences that may affect a state's foreign policy, this characteristic appears particularly suited to the concept of an ideal foreign policy. Botes and Roux (Botes *et al.* 1997: 313) have stated that,

> *... the aim must be regarded as fixed, while the policy (the route*
> *adopted to achieve an aim) must still allow for change as*
> *circumstances vary. The rigid and inexorable implementation*
> *of an unsuitable or obsolete policy is worse than applying no*
> *policy at all.*

The characteristic of flexibility and adaptability is what makes policy analysis possible because this characteristic implies the need to be able to consider alternative policy options when required. The nature of foreign policy is such that it undoubtedly shares, with other public policies, the characteristic of being both flexible and adaptable. Even when foreign policies appear to be inflexible it is axiomatic that, in the long term, some changes will always occur. As William H. Overholt and Marylin Chou remind us (Merritt. 1975: 150),

> ... all enduring (foreign policy) doctrines are subject to serious
> reinterpretation and variation of emphasis as domestic and
> foreign exigencies change.

It has been argued (Botes et al.1997: 313) that the fourth characteristic of public policy is that it is feasible. Simply put, this means that public policy must be "…capable of being done, effected or accomplished … ." (Hanks. 1971: 584). As Botes and Roux (Botes et al.1997: 313) have elaborated, "…policy makers must continuously take the realities of the environment into consideration when they formulate policy… ." It is precisely this characteristic which precludes some crucial aspects of foreign policy from being made public because the very act of publication can make a sensitive policy decision unworkable or unfeasible in practice. On the other hand, if a policy decision is not made known to all those who are expected to implement the relevant policy, then effective implementation would be impossible (it is not necessary to know why a policy is being implemented but it is essential to know what the policy entails). The policy would then also be unfeasible.

The fifth essential characteristic of public policy is that it is clear. If the syntax and semantics of policy directives, instructions, rules, regulations and legislation are unclear or ambiguous, then the policy itself will be unclear or ambiguous. Consequently, the policy concerned may also lack feasibility and enforceability. In the case of foreign policy, or military policy, a lack of clarity (Karnow. 1983: 15-17) could be disastrous and might even precipitate war or defeat in war.

Finally, according to Botes and Roux (Botes *et al.* 1997: 313), public policy is public. As has already been pointed out, the term "public" can be ambiguous (Rosenbloom *et al.* 1994: 465; Anderson. 1997: 97) in the context of public policy if there is no certainty as to whether it refers to the publication (making it known to the public) of policy, public society (whom the policy is intended to affect), or the public sector (the public or governmental *milieu*, as opposed to the private sector, in which public policy is formulated). Botes and Roux (Botes *et al.* 1997: 313) appear to expand slightly on Hanekom's narrower interpretation of the term "public" when they state as follows:

> *When a policy concerns the public, it must be publicised*
> *as clearly as possible. Most government departments function*
> *through a network of district offices situated throughout the*
> *country, which ensures that policy **be made known as widely***
> ***as possible** (my emphasis).*

Nonetheless, the interpretation appears restrictive, particularly in view of the assertion by some writers (Dye. 1981: 20) that (authoritative) public policy must have its origin in a public institution in order to be termed public policy. In this regard it is useful to keep in mind that departments of defence, national security and foreign affairs are all public institutions but their policies are not necessarily always made public (Anderson. 1997: 237). In this regard Reedy (Wilcox and Frank. 1976: 65), writing about American foreign policy, has suggested that, "the ultimate question … is not secrecy but the extent to which foreign policy should be isolated from public policy issues …" Of course, the occasional need for secrecy has been acknowledged by Botes and Roux (Botes *et al.* 1997: 313). However, their clear focus on making public policy *public* as opposed to emphasising the public institutional *milieu* in which it originates, tends to create artificial divisions between those public policies that remain largely confined to the domestic environment and those public policies that deliberately extend into the external, or foreign, environment of the state. Authoritative foreign policy does always originate in the public institutional *milieu*, but (Wilcox and Frank. 1976: 23) it is not always made public.

## 2.4.1. Public policy *milieu*

In order to fully understand why public policy, such as foreign policy or military policy, can claim the status of public policy, even when it is not made public, it may be helpful to also think of such policy as comprising a series of decisions taken and choices made, within a public institution, for and on behalf of the perceived public good (see paragraph 2.3 *supra*), or community, or national interest. Dunn (1981: 61; *vide* Rose. 1976: 9-10), has defined public policy as a, "… long series of more or less related choices, including decisions not to act, made by government bodies and officials." According to Dunn (1981: 46; *vide* Dye. 1995: 7), public policies are made within an "institutional pattern" that he terms a "policy system" which comprises "policy stakeholders" (e.g. policy analysts, citizen's groups, parties), "public policies" (e.g. law enforcement, economic, welfare) and a "policy environment" (e.g. crime, inflation, unemployment).

The *milieu* in which public policy takes place is a systemic *milieu*, encompassing societal inputs and imperatives, public institutions, decision makers, public policy outputs and feedback mechanisms (*vide* Anderson. 1997: 301-303). In terms of the proposed environmental-relationships-imperatives linkage model for the analysis of foreign policy the main decision making components of the systemic public policy *milieu* would always be located in the domestic environment because it is in this environment that virtually all public policy decision making ultimately takes place. However, when public policy is also foreign policy, relevant decision making is likely to take place in both the domestic environment and the various external environments of the states concerned.

Societal inputs and imperatives might include the demands of the business community (e.g. reciprocal market access for traders); the main public institution, in the case of foreign policy, would probably be the Ministry or Department of Foreign Affairs, or equivalent institutions; the main decision makers would be likely to come from the state's top echelon of political power (e.g. the President, Prime Minister or Foreign Minister); policy output would be the relevant public policy itself; and

feedback would be the impact of the policy concerned and the impact of such feedback on successive policy inputs. The systemic public policy *milieu* (which also includes foreign policy), in terms of the environmental-relationships-imperatives linkage model of foreign policy analysis, can ideally be illustrated as follows:
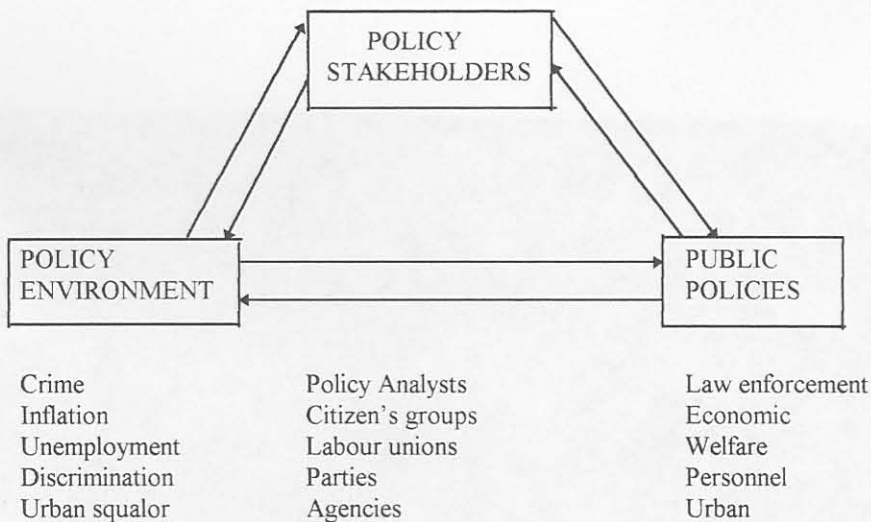
Figure 2/2   Systemic public policy *milieu*
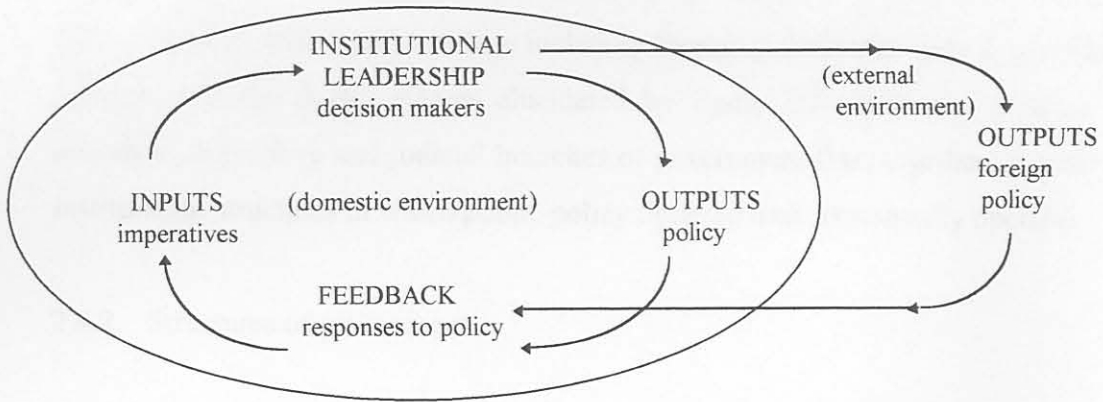
Source: Original concept based upon ideas advanced by David Easton (Easton. 1957)

Dunn (1994: 71) has illustrated his concept of a policy system by means of the following model which he has adapted from Thomas R. Dye (1978: 9):

Figure 2/3   Three elements of a policy system

Crime	Policy Analysts	Law enforcement
Inflation	Citizen's groups	Economic
Unemployment	Labour unions	Welfare
Discrimination	Parties	Personnel
Urban squalor	Agencies	Urban

Source: Dunn, William N. *Public Policy Analysis*, 2nd ed. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1978, p. 9.

Although Dunn's model (figure 2/3 *supra*) utilises examples drawn from domestic public policy, as opposed to foreign policy, the concept of a policy system is equally applicable to foreign policy, which is also public policy (see figure 2/2 *supra*). In regard to foreign policy, stakeholders might include policy analysts, parties, arms manufacturers, business groups and human rights groups; the policy environment might constitute foreign policy issues of a domestic (i.e. internal departmental policies), bilateral, regional, or multilateral nature; and public policy would be likely to fall squarely in the realm of foreign policy, under the operational, policy-formulating and policy-implementing jurisdiction of the Department of Foreign Affairs in the case of South Africa, and the equivalent governmental institution where other states are concerned.

In terms of the policy system concept illustrated by figure 2/3 *supra*, there is a continual interaction between policy stakeholders, governmental departments and officials responsible for formulating and implementing public policy, and those members of society who are directly affected by, and sometimes responsible for, the policy issue concerned. The three components of this model, the stakeholders, policy environment (policy *milieu*) and public policies, continually affect, shape and influence one another (Dunn.1981: 47).

The systemic public policy *milieu*, illustrated by figure 2/2 *supra*, is therefore the environment in which public policy, including foreign policy, takes place. It is largely equivalent to the policy system elucidated by figure 2/3 *supra* and includes the executive, legislative and judicial branches of government that, together, provide the institutional structures in which public policy decision makers normally operate.

2.4.2. Structures of government

At a time when the American and French revolutions were yet to take place, Montesquieu (1751: 185) wrote that,

> *in every government there are three sorts of power: the*

legislative; the executive, in respect of things dependent on
the law of nations; and the executive, in regard to things
that depend on the civil law. By virtue of the first, the
prince or magistrate enacts temporary or perpetual laws,
and amends or abrogates those that have already been
enacted. By the second, he makes peace or war, sends or
receives embassies, establishes the public security, and
provides against invasions. By the third he punishes crimes,
or determines the disputes that arise between individuals.
The latter we shall call the judiciary power, and the other
simply the executive power of the state.

Although all states may exhibit differences in the functional practices and institutional structures of these three organs of government, some major and some minor, this generic trinity remains true of most constitutional states (Roux *et al.* 1997: 269), whether they have unicameral or bicameral legislatures; whether they are unions, federations or confederations; whether they are monarchies, autocracies or democracies; whether they are capitalist, socialist or communist-led states; and whether they are predominantly Protestant, Catholic, Islamic, Jewish, Buddhist or atheistic states. This is true for the following reasons:

All states have political leaders who are required to guide the people of their respective countries toward specific goals and objectives in the interest of the perceived greater good, as identified by Aristotle (Botes, *et al.* 1997: 261; Strong. 1970:17). The identification and implementation of these goals and objectives is usually carried out by the executive branch of government, normally comprising, in its most basic manifestation, the executive authority (head of state), political leadership (head of government and government ministers) and public service.

According to Botes *et al* (1997: 109; *vide* {4}SA. 1996. *Constitution*: Chap. 5, paragraphs 84 and 85) the powers of the executive branch of government can generally be categorised as *diplomatic, administrative, military, judicial* and *quasi-*

legislative. Two of these, the diplomatic and military powers of the executive, have specific relevancy to foreign policy because, as Botes *et al.* (1997: 109) point out, *diplomatic powers* comprise "…the authority of the government to enter into any foreign relations and to enter into agreements with international institutions…" and *military powers* refer to "…the powers vested in the head of state as part of the executive to declare war and to enter into peace agreements… ."

In South Africa, the *Cabinet*, as part of the executive branch, is the institution of government which acts as a link between the legislative and executive branches of government (Cloete. 1994: 50) and is composed of *ministers* selected by the head of government (*vide* {4}SA. 1996. *Constitution*: paragraph 91), usually from elected members of the legislature belonging to his own party. In the People's Republic of China the equivalent of the Cabinet is the State Council (Brahm. 1998: 114).

Botes *et al* (1997: 121) argue:

> *As liaison mechanisms between the legislative and executive*
> *authorities, … (ministers) … can interpret the will and wishes*
> *of the community and launch correct administrative actions.*
> *All initiatives on policy making, financing, provision of*
> *personnel, organising, procedure planning, control and*
> *management originate (in theory) from the ministers. In*
> *practice, the ministers are continuously assisted by heads*
> *of departments and institutions.*

The various departments of state over which ministers exercise responsibility are also an extension of the executive branch of government. The relevant department of state that has the function of administering a state's foreign policy is, in the case of South Africa, the Department of Foreign Affairs and, in the case of the People's Republic of China, the *Waijiao bu* (Lu. 1997: 20) or Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

All states have legislatures which are required to make those laws that are perceived to be necessary for the creation of the kind of peaceful and stable domestic environment that will enable the state concerned to achieve the goals and objectives established by the executive branch of government. As Botes and Roux (Botes *et al.* 1997: 261) have suggested, "… all goals such as the creation of order, prosperity and welfare services, are actually the instruments for achieving a higher goal …" All states also have judiciaries which are required to implement and enforce the laws identified, developed and promulgated by the legislative branch of government.

The policy *milieu* in which domestic policies come into being is essentially no different from the policy *milieu* in which foreign policy comes into existence (see figure 2/2 *supra*). The major distinction that can be made between the two types of public *policy*, in this regard, is that foreign policy does not rely, as much, on the legislative and judicial branches of government; it takes place mainly as a result of deliberations and implementation by the executive branch, usually by the head of government, minister of foreign affairs, diplomatic corps and civil service. These deliberations may include the "…more or less related choices (including decisions not to act) made by governmental bodies and officials, .." referred to by Dunn (1981: 47).

This does not mean that the legislature and the judiciary can be excluded from foreign policy formulation and implementation. On the contrary, when bilateral or multilateral agreements are negotiated and signed they often need to be subsequently ratified by the legislatures of some of the signatory states, the National Assembly and National Council of Provinces ({4} SA. 1996: *Constitution*. Paragraph 231) in the case of South Africa and the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress ({4}PRC. 1998: 6) in the case of the PRC. The judiciary also usually has a potential role to play. This is because, in most democratic countries subject to the rule of law, legislation is subject to review by the courts. This, in turn, means that any aspect of public domestic policy, likely to affect foreign policy and which has been cast in law, has a possibility of being challenged, particularly if it is thought to contravene the constitution of the state concerned. In the PRC this situation would not arise as the judiciary ({4}PRC.1998: 6) falls under the supervision of the legislature.

Consequently, where most international agreements are concerned subsequent transactional disputes would need to be dealt with bilaterally; and the national judiciary, *where applicable*, would only be involved in an advisory capacity. Therefore, neither the legislature nor the judiciary are normally as involved in foreign policy formulation and implementation as is the executive branch of government. In this regard, Botes *et al* (1997: 75) have observed that, "…society can depend on the legislature to make laws and to approve the annual budget in order to enable the executive organs to pursue the political goals of society."

2.5.   Foreign policy as public policy

Foreign policy, as already alluded to, is also an example of public policy. It is policy that can be made public, albeit more restrictively than in the case of public policies active mainly in the domestic environment. It is also policy that emanates from the public institutions of government. In this respect, Plano and Olton (1969: 127) have clarified the institutional origins of foreign policy as follows:

> *The foreign office of any state (… an executive agency*
> *charged with the formulation and implementation of*
> *foreign policy…) is the vehicle through which the bulk of*
> *relations with other countries is conducted. Other names*
> *for the foreign office include foreign ministry, ministry of*
> *foreign affairs, and department of state.*

A major focus of the activity of foreign policy is directed at preserving the security and sovereignty of the state by peaceful means through the practice of diplomacy (Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff. 1971: 79-80) . While noting that states may have different foreign policy objectives, Plano and Olton (1969: 127) have pointed out that some common foreign policy objectives

> *…tend to involve such abstract goals as self-preservation,*
> *security, national well-being, national prestige, the*

protection and advancement of ideology, and the pursuit

of power.

Consequently, foreign policy is policy that can also be assumed to be always motivated by public interest considerations, often defined as national interest. Legg and Morrison (1971: 143) have stated as follows:

> *The most fundamental source of foreign policy objectives is*
> *perhaps the universally shared desire to insure the survival*
> *and territorial integrity of the community and state.*

This would be equally true of the pre-world war two foreign policies of Germany and Japan, and the later foreign policy of *apartheid* South Africa, because foreign policy, like all public policy, is motivated by perceived objective considerations interpreted subjectively by the government of the day; subjectively interpreted objective considerations that also determine national interest. In the case of Germany and Japan, foreign policy failed because it was overwhelmed by military policy, war ensued, and both states were subsequently occupied by victor states. In the case of South Africa, foreign policy succeeded in preserving national sovereignty and national security, and assisted in making a negotiated, peaceful, legally-based transition to democracy possible (*vide* Mandela. 1997: 742-745).

Plano and Olton (1969:127) have referred to foreign policy as, "…a strategy or planned course of action developed by the decision makers of a state *vis a` vis* other states or international entities aimed at achieving specific goals defined in terms of national interest… ." Foreign policy has also been described as public policy comprising a "…long series of more or less related choices, including decisions not to act …" (Dunn. 1981: 61). Foreign policy is intended to articulate, defend and promote a state's national interests (Robinson in {1}Rosenau. 1969: 184-185) and national concerns in the international environment. Consequently, the foreign policy of a state should also be sensitive to the interests and objectives of other government departments and agencies of that state (Legg and Morrison. 1971: 143-147). There

should be close collaboration (Kim. 1998: 38 and 49; Mills. 2000: 298) and consultation between government decision makers, departments and agencies at all levels from national to local government level to ensure that the foreign policy of the state concerned remains consistent, unambiguous and largely predictable. However, this could be a difficult undertaking in view of the fact that not all aspects of foreign policy are made public, particularly where sensitive security issues are concerned (Wilcox and Frank. 1976: 23). It should also be kept in mind that foreign policy is not always written down in the form of diplomatic agreements, legislation or policy speeches. Sometimes, as Dunn (1981: 61) has stated in reference to public policy, foreign policy may simply evolve out of a "…long series of more or less related choices…by governmental bodies and officials… ." Foreign policy may also be made on the spur of the moment by a verbalised high-level political decision, as may have occurred when President Mandela announced South Africa's intention to establish diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China (1996: *Interview*; IDSA. March 1998: 1832).

According to Plano and Olton (1969: 127),

> *foreign policy involves a dynamic process of applying*
> *relatively fixed interpretations of national interest to the highly*
> *fluctuating situational factors of the international environment*
> *to develop a course of action , followed by efforts to achieve*
> *diplomatic implementation of the policy guidelines. Major steps*
> *in the policy process include (1) translating national interest*
> *considerations into specific goals and objectives; (2) determining*
> *the international and domestic situational factors related to the*
> *policy goals; (3) analysing the state's capabilities for achieving*
> *the desired results; (4) developing a plan or strategy for utilising the*
> *state's capabilities to deal with the variables in pursuit of the*
> *goals; (5) undertaking the requisite actions; and (6) periodically*
> *reviewing and evaluating progress made toward the achievement*
> *of the desired results.*

The above steps are not necessarily sequential, logical or chronological. They are part of a foreign policy process that is continuous and which is likely to have grown out of past policies and related events (Millar in {1}Rosenau. 1969: 61) in much the same way as domestic public policies are affected by feedback and new demands, or inputs (Anderson 1997: 26-27), as indicated by figure 5/1 *infra*.

In considering the relationship between foreign policy and public policy it is important to note that although foreign policy is "...often used in a generic sense to encompass all foreign programs carried on by a state, the term 'foreign policy' can be applied more precisely to describe a single situation and the actions of a state to accomplish a limited objective... ." (Plano and Olton. 1969: 129). Consequently agreements between states and strategies toward individual states or groups of states may be components of a state's foreign policy.

2.5.1. Decisions and foreign policy

Brynard (Roux *et al.* 1997: 120) has argued that, "...decision making is no more than a choice made between alternatives... ." and that when a choice is made between two objectives the result is an objective; when a choice is made between policies the result is a policy. This view is also expressed by Hanekom (1992: 13). Of course, this argument can be expanded through analogy to show that individual decisions, like individual logs, when multiplied with a particular goal or objective in mind, can constitute a policy or a log cabin respectively. The result of a choice between policies is indeed a policy but the chosen policy itself may be composed of a series of decisions. Put another way, decision making is an essential component of policy making.

Because public decisions are made by human actors and not by states or institutions, which merely provide the *milieux* or settings in which decisions are made, it is extremely difficult to predict what decisions will be made by individuals under specific circumstances. However, if it is possible to discern the foreign policy concerns and objectives of a particular state it should also be possible to identify

some, and sometimes all, of the alternatives available in the course of alleviating those concerns or pursuing such objectives. It is these decisions, amounting to choices between alternatives, that are crucial components of foreign policy formulation. On the other hand, when a series of decisions over a short period of time, hours, days or weeks rather than months or years, leads to a particular foreign policy development, particularly one that has negative results, it is helpful to be able to examine, in the context of policy analysis, the individual decisions that resulted in the relevant policy.

The decision makers who normally make foreign policy are drawn from all quarters of the foreign policy institutional *milieu*. According to Plano and Olton (1969: 126), foreign policy decision makers are,

> *those individuals in each state who exercise the powers for*
> *making and implementing foreign policy decisions. Official*
> *decision makers may be influenced - sometimes decisively - by*
> *private individuals and groups that serve as consultants or function*
> *as unofficial members of the nation's 'establishment.' Opinion*
> *elites and the general public may also affect foreign policy actions*
> *by setting limits on the decision makers through support for*
> *some policies and rejection of others. In most states, the chief*
> *of government - whether his title is president, prime minister,*
> *premier, or chairman - plays the key role in the decision process.*
> *In others, the highest decision maker may be the leader of the*
> *single party that controls power, as in many Communist states,*
> *or the dictator or oligarchs who hold no official position but*
> *control the decision process, as in some Fascist states. Others,*
> *who function as high-ranking decision makers in most states*
> *include the minister of foreign affairs, sometimes called secretary*
> *of state, and the bureaucracy that functions under his direction in*
> *the state's foreign office. Other ministries, particularly defence,*
> *and high military officers contribute to decision making. In many*
> *democratic states, key legislators of the majority party or coalition*

also play a role in making foreign policy decisions, and in some ...

leaders of the opposition party or parties may also participate.

Even when terms such as *national interest* are used to justify or explain foreign policy decision making it should be kept in mind that national interest is a *subjective* consideration of the government of the day. Therefore, it should not be treated as an objective assessment of a state's priority responsibilities and interests even though this may be the perception of the decision makers themselves. All decisions, for that matter, are based on the subjective considerations of the decision maker. In this regard, Harold and Margaret Sprout ({1}Rosenau. 1969: 48-49) remind us that,

> *environmental factors become related to the attitudes and*
> *decisions which comprise a state's foreign policy only by being*
> *perceived and taken into account in the policy forming process.*
> *The statesman's psychological environment (his image, or estimate,*
> *of the situation, setting, or milieu) may or may not correspond to the*
> *operational environment (in which his decisions are executed). But in*
> *policy making ... what matters is how the policy maker imagines the*
> *milieu to be, not how it actually is.*

The problem of subjectivity (that is, being aware of the subjective considerations that may influence or shape particular decisions) may be more difficult for the observer (including the researcher) to overcome when contemplating the decisions of decision makers who have developed in open democratic societies. For example, information about specific decisions and specific decision makers ought to be more accessible in democratic states due to factors such as public discussion and debate and a free press. By contrast, personal information about specific decision makers who have developed in less free states may be more difficult to acquire; and knowledge about specific decisions may be sparse due to official restrictions on public commentary and debate (Nathan and Link. 2001: xiii-xiv). Consequently, decision makers from democratic states could be expected to be influenced by many more factors than their non-democratic counterparts. For example, decision makers in democratic states might

need to respond to the views of special interest groups within their community whereas decision makers in non-democratic states may be fettered by established ideological principles or procedures which compel them to respond accordingly.

Brynard (Roux *et al*. 1997: 129-130) has identified a number of "human factors" in decision making. These include the decision maker's personal value system, perceptions and limitations, the influence of political power and time constraints. Pfiffner and Presthus (1967: 46), while acknowledging the "theoretical" objectivity of public servants, note that they may also hold political opinions which influence their decisions. Although the human factors identified are concerned particularly with decision making at the administrative or policy implementation level, they can also influence decision making at the level where public policy is formulated, including the formulation of foreign policy. In regard to a decision maker's personal value system, Brynard (Roux *et al*. 1997: 129), states that,

> *each decision is influenced by the public manager's (decision maker's) attitude, prejudice and personal point of view. Furthermore it is based on what the community considers to be 'right' and 'wrong', as well as on the interaction between the various minicultures and values. The content of a decision therefore comprises both factual and ethical elements.*

Variations in political culture and even the time orientation of decision makers - their perceptions of the relative importance of past, present and future - can have significant implications for policy formation. As Karl W. Deutsch (Anderson. 1997: 53) has suggested, political cultures that are more oriented toward the past than the present or the future, may be more inclined to the preservation of monuments than the making of future-oriented policy. If time-orientation can play a significant role in policy making it follows that some cultures and their governments may also dwell too much on past injustices or past successes to be able to plan effectively for the future oriented needs of society from a present-day perspective (*vide* Jervis in {1}Rosenau.

1969: 249). Therefore, the historical imperative tends to direct the course of the present and the future and not merely contribute to it.

On the question of perception, Brynard (Roux *et al.* 1997: 129) argues that the decision maker's individual perception, which determines qualities such as discernment and discretion in identifying problems and deciding upon appropriate courses of action, is

> *... influenced by his value system, experience and ability to interpret what is occurring in his environment ... each person perceives what he would like to perceive , based on his individual background.*

Human beings, as decision makers, are also often handicapped or limited by inadequate or inaccurate information upon which to base their various decisions. Harold and Margaret Sprout ({1}Rosenau. 1969: 49) have used, among others, the example of the Battle of New Orleans which was fought in 1815 between American and British forces whose governments, unbeknown to the adversaries in the field, had already officially ended hostilities. This was clearly an event in which inadequate information (about the cessation of hostilities) resulted in an incorrect decision (to engage in battle).

In regard to such limitations on information Brynard (Roux *et al.*1997: 130) has pointed out that the decision maker "...gathers from the environment the information he considers to be important, but it remains limited to or bounded by that particular area ... ." He also cautions (Roux *et al.* 1997: 130) that decision makers must invariably rely on information supplied by subordinates and, consequently, that "...since not all information can be checked, the administrator (or decision maker) must make decisions based on filtered information... ." In circumstances where decisions have to be taken quickly time constraints would add to the handicap of inadequate information by denying any opportunity to confirm the limited information that is available. Access to information is therefore crucially important to

the ultimate success of the decision maker's choices among alternatives; an argument that will be taken further in sections of this chapter (*infra*) dealing with the impact of time constraints on access to information and information about the *milieux* in which policy decisions are made.

The influence of political power upon decision making, as identified by Brynard (Roux *et al.* 1997: 130), acknowledges the temptation of political decision makers to abuse or misuse their power, and the pressures exerted on managers to support and implement wrong decisions. Brynard (Roux *et al.* 1997: 130) also points out that decision makers are unlikely to want to take (correct) decisions that might jeopardise their own positions, which "…maybe one reason why many officials are opposed to change… ." If, for example, a political decision maker in a liberal democratic society were to take a policy decision to establish diplomatic relations with a state because that state had agreed to make large financial contributions (Mills. 2000: 274-275) to his political party, he would be taking that decision for the wrong reason. He would, thereby, be putting party interest above the interest of the state. Similarly, if a political decision maker were to take a decision to promote trade with a particular country in a particular field of economic activity, and if the relevant decision maker were to have a personal financial interest in such an enterprise, this too could be an example of an abuse of political power. These examples, of course, also have to do with ethics and therefore are closely related to the decision maker's personal value system, as previously elucidated. In fact, where non-political decision makers abuse or misuse their authority, their actions would obviously be due to failure in the ethical domain and not to abuse of power in the political domain unless they were also responding to a political imperative.

Finally, as has already been alluded to, decision makers often have to take decisions quickly and therefore must use the information available to them at the time without being able to confirm either its accuracy or its continued relevance to the problem concerned. As Brynard (Roux *et al.* 1997: 130) explains, "…decisions are often taken on the grounds of partial information only (*vide* the Sprouts in Pfaltzgraff. 1972: 378). In … most cases, this is the result of the time constraint that is placed on managers."

In the case of foreign policy decision making, time constraints are particularly problematical during crisis situations when decisions have to be taken quickly. For example, when the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade was bombed by NATO warplanes the PRC Government reacted with emotion and hostility against the United States and actively encouraged the Chinese people to do the same. There were obvious short term political benefits for the Chinese leadership in choosing to adopt this course of action but in view of China's quest for membership of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) it would appear that the PRC may have taken a hasty, and potentially self-damaging, decision as a result of inadequate information and constraints imposed by a lack of time in which to formulate and implement the most advantageous response to the bombing of their embassy.

In addition to the human factors in decision making, referred to above, Brynard (Roux *et al.* 1997: 130-131) also notes the importance of the *milieu* of decision making, comprising the governmental superstructure (including the approaches, points of view and preferences of individual ministers), controlling institutions and domestic service departments (which institutions do what, and their relationships with one another and with other departments), and other functional departments and institutions (ways in which institutions may collaborate to achieve mutually beneficial goals).

Although Brynard does not specifically categorise information about the decision making *milieu* as an example of the type of information that limits human ability to make decisions it clearly does fall into this category. In the case of purely domestic public policy it is conceivable that the decision maker would need to have adequate information about the institution of which he is part, or which he represents, as well as the *milieu* in which the impact of his policy decision will be felt. He will need to have information about costs and effects, benefactors, malefactors and interest groups, political and social consequences, and additional information about a range of other related and pertinent factors. In the case of foreign policy, perhaps military, financial and economic policies, or domestic policies with foreign policy implications, decision makers would need access to similar information. However, in some cases, access to still further categories of information would be required.

Foreign policy decision makers, for example, may need to look at the foreign policy *milieux* of other states in order to have access to the kind of pertinent information required for foreign policy decision makers to choose correctly among alternative courses of action. In pursuit of this aim - the acquisition of pertinent information to assist foreign policy decision makers to make the right choices, and therefore the right decisions - an understanding of the respective *world view* perspectives of other states may be an appropriate point of departure.

2.6.   Conclusion

From the foregoing it is clear that Public Administration is a discipline in its own right which has as its primary focus the study of public administration and research associated with public administration, including the use of policy analysis. It has also been shown that all public policy is a product of public institutions but that not all aspects of public policy are publicised.

In addition, all public policies of a state are systemic in nature. They result from inputs in the form of societal demands and needs, which influence policy makers to produce policies in the form of policy outputs which, in turn, produce feedback through public opinion, elections, or even rebellion, which would be the new societal inputs aimed at producing new outputs in the form of subsequent changes to public policy. It is also clear that public policy includes foreign policy. Therefore, not all public policy outputs and public policy feed back are restricted to the domestic policy environment of the initiator of such policy. In the case of foreign policy, or other policies having an effect within the initiating state's external environment, policy outputs may extend beyond that state's domestic environment, with feedback also originating beyond its domestic environment. Finally, it has been shown quite clearly that it is the executive branch of government that includes the most important political foreign policy decision makers as well as the most important foreign policy administrators and secondary bureaucratic decision makers. There is therefore ample justification why this foreign policy analysis can and should be conducted within the field of study of Public Administration in terms of academic research criteria that

could normally be applied to any other public policy analysis of a state's public policy or public policies.

Knowing that foreign policy is, in fact, a form of public policy, it is possible to scientifically analyse the public policies that govern the bilateral (foreign policy) relationship between South Africa and the People's Republic of China. In this regard, a model is employed to both explain the foreign policy making process and render it more easily susceptible to analysis. The following chapter describes and explains this model which is a linkage model for an analysis of foreign policy.