SPD module

Policy& Strategy Bibliography

Interconnected world:

Major challenge that the global security has to contend with is the concept of security and the security complex.

Concept of security: Security concerns are deeply interconnected to the point that one state’s security needs cannot be realistically considered without taking into consideration the security needs of other states (Mcsweeny).

Security complex: Breeds rivalry among states. Remedy for such rivalry lies in cooperation. Solving the competition with peaceful terms. Minor and major competition. Logical process of reasoning, choices, actions. Dpends on the interest of the state.

Long term interest of the Soviet Union: access to the med. Through the black sea.

How foreign policy decisions made? Link between ukraine war.

Relationship between strategy and polcy? Not just one dimension of security. Economic, food etc.

Policy sits above. Strategy then tries to translate that policy. Builds a bridge between where the state is today and where it intends to arrive in the realization of policy.

On War, Clausewitz

War is inevitable part of this competition.

* War does not belong in the realm of arts and sciences; rather it is part of man's social existence. (War is an act of human intercourse, p.149)
  + I.Z: He sees war as social phenomena.
* War is a clash between major interests, which is resolved by bloodshed- I.Z: It is that War is merely the continuation of politics by other means. p.87,
* that is the only way in which it differs from other conflicts. (War is an act of human intercourse, p.149)
* War is a social activity between actors with a will of their own and with hostile feelings and intentions and emotions[p.76], the ‘collision of two living forces’[p.77] that are ‘opposed in equal measure to each other’.[p.83]
  + I.Z: Clausewitz defines war as clash of opposing mindsets. Process of this: He relates two wrestlers in a ring. Before ring they are preparing themselves. From this here is organizational development. You cannot just walk to war, you have to develop the capability.
* War in itself has no logical limit to the application of force (p.77).
  + I.Z: War has a tendency to premordial violance, devoid of reason and purpose. It has tendency to escalate beyond any usefulness to policy. Ukraine war: violence that possibly doesn’t need to reach the extremes. That it seems to reach.
* Each side will compel ‘its opponent to follow suit; a reciprocal action that must lead, in theory, to extremes’[p.77] in use of force, exertion of strength and to rendering the enemy powerless.
  + I.Z: One of the purposes of policy serves for us, limiting this process. We impose ourselves limits. Do not use the ultimate force, nuclear weapons. Regulated by laws, geneva conventions. Laws of war, humanitarian law. All of these are created to regulate war not to go these limits.
* Strategy: Principle notions and effects
  + Effects that are likely contribute towards a lot of metrics that you are going to be studying.

Zaidi, Iftikhar.

* Relationship between policy and strategy:
  + I.Z: Policy, intent, strategy, plans are all conceptual undertakings. There is nothing happening on ground. But to put things on ground, you have got to go into action.
  + Journey from production of policy to production of action we transition;
    - from aspiration to an intent,
    - from intent to action,
    - And action we must measure against the aspirations.
* A screenshot of a computer

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  + We go around this outer circle of this prism.
  + Where does aspiration comes from? How does it produce intent?
    - Aspiration-intent plane, anology of white light striking prism, white light is public pulse, the elective,
    - Abstract questions: What the public&people wants? What do the people that are aligned towards their common purpose that constitutes the nation state?
    - The purpose of the leadership&politicians is to translate this into policy. They do this in three steps:
      * What is national purpose? What are national aims and objectives? Maybe not written. Just in heart. Embodied in collective rather than individual.
      * This pulse is what the politicians must work with. From this pulse they produce policy. That is converting aspirations into intent. And the first level of expression of intent is policy.
      * Who makes policy? Made by people. Turn up to Clausewitz, war is a social undertaking. You can take it to any policy. It is people who make choices. Inclinations, perceptions of others is important in how they process information. Decisions they arrive.
  + Labor and conservative parties: National purpose, aim and objectives are the same. They lead same people. Objective is maximizing the potentials of its citizens. Thats why governments exists for. Provide an environment for citizens to achieve their maximum potentialty.
  + Political particularism: Different policies, Conservatives policy may be different, prism is replaced, they view through all these by their prism, others with other prism.
  + As a result of particular prism being placed, dealing with the same national purpose, aim and objectives, the intent will alter, as a result of this intent, the emerging grand strategy, strategy, operational and tactics will also alter.
  + It is a political undertaking with a political outcome. Because it is political it is subject to change. As government change, the whole prism may be replaced. Personality in parties change, the focus changed. That will have an impact on the outcome out of prism.
  + Strategy is always subservient to policy. And must recognize that a limitation that it has to serve policy. And policy is not something that is fixed.
  + Policy can be defined generically as a course of principle of action adopted or proposed by an organization or individual.
  + Policy only works if there is a credible strategy to deliver it.
  + Strategy demands an achievable policy and state. Policy cannot ambitiously demand something of strategy that it cannot resource.
  + Strategy must have clear liberties within that policy framework iot be able to act and deliver.
  + Good policy should ordain the end and indicate the broad parameters of the means, but not necessarily the ways. So strategy, similarly, whet it translates into lower levels of action must in turn do the same.
* Grand Strategy: So policy dominates the strategy by its articulation of the end state and and its guidance regarding resources, limitations on actions. While Grand strategy: Intellectual architecture that gives form and structure to strategy, operations, and tactics.
  + Grand strategy can be seen at its most fundemental level as a foreign policy, and all those contributing policies which, although pointing inwards, make the state competitive.
  + Foreign policy, by extention, grand strategy is a political process. It nonetheless stems from a aspirations that represents the sum of ideas, hopes, visions of the constituency. That’s the light we are talking about. If this is not represented, there will be disconnect. This is where clausewitzian idea of again applying it to war. Golden trinity, all tied up: The people, the military, and the government.
  + Political leaders not reacting events when they craft policy. They create meaning and understanding to enable grand strategy. A purposeful and coherent set of ideas about what nation seek to accomplish and how it should go about doing so.
  + Grand strategy require clear understanding of what is happening in the international environment. A countries highest goal and interest within the environment.It is a rational understaking. Balancing aspirations with means. Means in national level are national power, or elemnts of power. DIME~material + Cultural or social power~non-material. Culture is power denominator, soft power that provides impetus to government.
* What is security?
  + The preservation of the norms, rules, institutions and values of society. Samuel Makinda, 1998
    - I.Z: Centext free definition. Thats why it is good. It links it back to social undertaking that Clausewitz alludes to. It is about preserving something we have created. And anything that threatens those, we would like to prevent. And that is security.
  + “..security is therefore a powerful political tool in claiming attention for priority items in the competition for government attention” (Paul D. Williams, 1998)
    - IZ: This introduces slighly different component. He is talking about politicians using security as an instrument to draw attention towards what is important to them. Sometimes creating security issues iot further their own agenda.
    - War is continuation of politics not policy. This is echoed in this definition.
  + Concept of security, Giovanni Muntah, 2002:
    - Security equation as being a relationship between an asset, a threat and protector.
    - If there is an asset and there is no threat, then there is no need for security. You have something nobody wants it. Therefore there is no threat.
    - But if there is a threat and there is no protector than the asset is good as gone. The threat will subsume the asset.
    - Iot create security equation you need all three. Asset needs to have a protector so it can deal with threat. How the protector deals with the threat, how the protector resourced and what strategy emerged is process of policy and strategy.

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McSweeny, Bill. Security, Identity and Interests, Cambridge University Press, 1999.

National Interests, National Power, Interstate Competition, Dr Gemma Collantes Celador, Guest Lecture

* National Interest
  + Definition
    - Thoughts: Aspirations for future, Goals and objectives, Aspirations and objectives above politics commonly agree among society
    - Includes what (like territorial integrity)?
      * Anything that threatens the survival or well-being is in it.
      * It has to be related with the basic existence of the state.
      * Something thriving or the prosperity of the states could be considerd in it.
    - GCC: These things are omnipresent but poorly defined.
    - “Slippery concept” (Nye 1999: 22) – description and prescription in relation to the aspirations of sovereign entities in the international arena (Nuechterlein 1976: 246).
      * GCC:
        + It prescribes what aspirations should be like how state wants to be and wants other to see it in 2025.
        + It also describes what the aspirations is. Reality of how state understand it like sensitivity of territorial integrity.
        + Should and is playing here.
        + 1976-1999 not managed to solve yet.
    - “It carries an assumption that is it possible to define the national as a melding and cohering of all interests, including business, sectoral, regional, and religious, within a country.” (Deighton 2017: online source).
      * GCC: Melding together all other forms of it reflects the plurality of society. Is above politcs and relies on consensus. National interest also need to fulfill the needs of the society.
    - “It is a term deployed to allude to grand ideas and strategies and to conjure up an image of national power, rather than to illuminate what is actually going on in the foreign policy process, or routine political activity” (Deighton 2017: online source)
      * GCC: National interest is very closed with foreign policy but it goes beyond it through security policy. National interest is extremely important to conceptualize the concept of security.
    - GCC: There is no agreed definition but;
      * It has to be above politics and daily discussion (Deighton),
      * Supposed to be based on consensus, amalgamation of other forms of interest (Deighton)
      * Different level of discussion, value of topic is high.
      * Since there is no agreed def, it is sometimes abused, provide legitimacy to specific issues.
      * Different types of it (enduring, contexual etc) also contributes variety of definition.
    - “The national interest is the perceived needs and desires of one sovereign state in relation to other sovereign states comprising the external environment” (Nuechterlein 1976: 246).
      * GCC:
        + Nothing to do within the state.It makes sense to apply Nuec’s definition to Realist theory of IR where the focus is on how states interact with each other. Less attention to within the state.
        + Aspiration way is more close to think it domestically where interest comes from internal dynamics.
        + What factors feed into how states determine interest? Internal or external. And how they balance.
    - The national interest/s as entailing:
      * What a state aspires to become – for example, a developed country, a regional or global power, the promoter of ideological preferences and so forth.
      * What it needs to meet that aspiration – security, economic well-being, and so forth.
    - Attitude represents a disposition to manifest specific behavior regarding some goal and need. Interest, then, is the power of the attitude based on a need. Exhausted from studying, I want to watch television. “situation” is I am tired, the "want" is to watch television, and the "goal" is to relax without mental effort. Watching TV depends on my interest, the power of my need at that time. If the interest is low and there are no good programs, I may instead read a magazine or go to sleep early. (Rummel, 1975)
  + Rationality vs morality:
    - “Pursuing the national interest is, for any government, a practically unavoidable goal, and that adopting ends incompatible with it is, therefore, irrational” (Oppenheim 1987: 369).
    - “In a democracy, the national interest is simply the set of shared priorities regarding relations with the rest of the world. It is broader than strategic interests, though they are part of it. It can include values such as human rights and democracy, if the public feels that those values are so important to its identity that it is willing to pay a price to promote them […] A democratic definition of the national interest does not accept the distinction between a morality-based and an interest-based foreign policy. Moral values are simply intangible interests. Leaders and experts may point out the costs of indulging these values. But if an informed public disagrees, experts cannot deny the legitimacy of public opinion. Polls show that the American people are neither isolationist nor eager to serve as the world’s police. But finding a middle course is proving difficult and complex” (Nye 1999: 23-24)
      * GCC:
        + Definition is made after US intervention in Kosovo while trying to define what is US interest.
        + If public feels.. Inward looking. Public expectations feed into notion of national interest.
        + Alludes to public and national identity. Implicitly engaging the notion of national identity.
        + Nye implicitly emphasizes increasing connection between core values of states and societies with the definition of security. In this view security is conceptualized as protection of core values that embedded in identities.
        + Moral or interest based foreign policy:

This differantiation depends on the context.

Oppenheim’s definition is made during cold war, where countries cannot afford to take decisions on a morality based. Because rational choice requires any action should be fulfilling the national interest and needs of state. Therefore there is no role for morality.

Inward (protection of core values) or outward (it might be national interest to adhere the rules of UN which are morality based) looking.

It is difficult to disaggregate those.

* + - GCC:
      * The context and evolution in our thinking is very important to decide rational or moral view. National interest in Cold War era will be different today. Different variables operate in different context.
      * Complex questions to be asked about morality and rationality embedded in the national interest.
      * Delicate balance to bringing forward both rationality and morality in exercising national interest.
    - Gordon Browns Global Ethic vs. National Interest Speech at TED
      * He is calling for global ethic. It is about global citizenship and recognizing responsibilities to others. It is obvious to build a better world to better met the challenges. It will make people talk each other across continents. That requires to create institutions that make that global society work. Massive changes of technology make possible to link the people accross the world. How to combine patriotism with it? National identity remains important. But it is not at the expense of people accepting their global responsibilites.
        + Recession is caused by people become more protectionist. Looking inward at the expense of other nations. Motor of world economy canno move forward unless there is trade between nations. Any problem can be solved by nation.
        + Public persuation on long term interest of state is proper engagement with the world.
        + It is enlightened self-interest for us to work with other countries. National and global interest come together in the long run in tackling the poverty and climate change.
    - GCC: National interest based on Rational choice or values, ethics which pushes us beyond our comfort zone.
      * Overlap in core values of identity and protecting it is in national interest and the values at regional and international level. Complemetary
      * Difficult to maintain balance between them when implementing national interest. There are different things put together in an equilibrium.
* National Power
  + Definition
    - “The ability of a country to shape world politics in line with its interests” (Beckley, 2018: 7)
      * GCC: Power is the ability to influence the behaviour of others so they would behave in the way that you want them to behave.
      * This is basic definition. To into deeper we may look it from security perspective.
    - Hans Morgenthau – power for different purposes, with different meanings. “Power is always both that which explains and that which is explained”.
      * GCC: Morgenthau is one of classical realist. Father of security thinking. Key thinker of notion of power.
      * Power is explained ~ object of explanation, Power explains ~ What we use to explain something.
      * Multifaceted aspect to power. It is *mean* to fulfill national interest but it is also *end* as object of national interest like gain more power.
    - Guzzini argues there are three understanding of power under classical realist thought.
      * Political Theory or ontology – “a trait of human nature, constant throughout time, the *animus dominandi*, that is, the potentially insatiable will for power over others”
        + GCC: State behaviour in this case would be pursuance of more power. That would be the end.
      * Explanatory Theory (GCC: when applied to power)
        + Interest maximisation
        + Definition of national interest in terms of power. GCC: Or how can power enable fulfillment of national interest.
        + Power as a relation (the importance of reputation) but also as that which causally affects a relation. Power as cause and influence. GCC: Tangible like economic, military.
        + 3 forms of action: maintaining, expanding, demonstrating power.
      * Foreign Policy Strategy – behavioural ideal – still related to the national interest. (Guzzini 2018: 29-30)
        + GCC: Power is a capacity of a nation to shape the behaviour of others.
    - The purposes of his power threefold. Guzzini 2014: 5
      * First, power serves to define the specific logic of politics in the social world, hereby providing the ontological anchoring of Morgenthau’s approach.
      * Second, power is the second explanatory factor in a utillitarian theory where states seek either the preservation, expansion or demonstration of power.
        + GSS: States may try to preserve the status quo. Expansion, revision of current system to accumulate more power. Demonstration of power: stop others taking power away.
      * Finally, Morgenthau looks for an ethical usage of power in a foreign policy strategy, a praxeology of the lesser evil.
      * Although his own way of tying this package of ontological, explanatory and practical-normative purposes may be unique, those purposes are intrinsically connected to the reasons for which we use the concept of power – even though many of those purposes and meanings will be temporarily lost during the next decades of IR.
    - Power is the capability to produce effects. Rummel 1976: chapter 26, Social power is an intentionally directed capability to produce effects through another person. Rummel 1976: chapter 27. Social power has six forms: coercive, bargaining, intellectual, authoritative, altruistic, and manipulative. Rummel 1977: chapter 2
    - Conflict in Rummel’s conceptualization. Reality comprises potentialities, dispositions, and power. What aspect become manifest depends on confrontation between reality and perspective, which is a power, an outward directed vector. What we perceive is the result of the conflict between this vector and reality’s inward bearing vector of power. So conflict is a balancing of vectors of powers to produce effects. Rummel 1976: chapter 26
  + Sources
    - Power draws from the following:
      * Territory
      * Population
      * Political stability
      * Economy
      * Military
      * Anything else? GCC: Culture
    - Instruments of National Power: **DIME**
      * **D**IPLOMATIC – Persuasion, Reputation, Communication, Integrity, Ability to use force = ‘coercive diplomacy’.
        + Embasies&ambassadors, Recognition, Negotiations, Treaties, Policies, International forums.
      * **I**NFORMATIONAL/INTELLIGENCE – instrument in its own right (increasingly) but also informs, influences, underpins the application of other instruments of national power.
        + Military information, public diplomacy, public affairs, communication resources, international forums, spokepersons, timing, media and venues for announcements.
        + GCC: Some sees that as independent instrument, some other see as an instrument that feeds into the other. Need for information& intelligence for diplomatic, military or economic. So this may be seen as integrated into ability of using other instruments.
      * **M**ILITARY – Defence, Offense, Deter, Coerce
        + Military operations, engagement, security cooperation, deterrence, show of force, military technology, size, composition of force.
      * **E**CONOMIC – Influence decisions and affect behaviour
        + Trade policies, fiscal and monetary policies, embargoes, tariffs, assistance.
    - How do we measure ‘national power? Resources vs. Outcomes (Beckley 2018)
      * GCC: When instrument puts into practice how it measured?
      * Number of methods depend on how national power defined.
      * Much easier to measure in terms of resources (DIME) than realizing the outcome.
    - How these instruments of power put into practice?
      * GCC: One example is Fusion Doctrine, UK National Security Capability Review, 2018. This is how UK conceptualizes of its instruments of national power and where the sources of these instrumets are and how they can be brought together to reach national objectives.

Diagram

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* + - * Information power is embedded practically in influence.
      * Mention of soft power. It is not explicitly mentioned in DIME but increasinly playing role. It is basically cultural instruments that contributes to national power.
      * DIME should be expanded to include social&cultural power. Good example of it is 2021 Integrated review of UK. (UK Integrated Review of Security, Defence, Development and Foreign Policy, 2021). In a way we talk about instruments of national power indirectly, we then engage in cultural factors. We need to be careful about this. We’re talking about values represented&upheld and behaviours that associated by state. And how states may be able to use those as new forms of influence others and therefore becomes power. That influence on the basis of prestige, reputation, and integrity so on and so forth. These are not perse the culture, I think we need to move away. It is very different use of the notion of culture. Here is more about values that adhere to and they practice it their behaviour at home and beyond. Integrated review is reflecting that.

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* + - * In this image there is diplomatic, military, economic, information – through cyber powers.
    - GCC: The way we define instruments of power needed to be expanded what is happening in real life especially sof power. That brings us to the notion of Hard&Soft Power
    - DIME is forms of what?
      * GCC: Peacekeeping operations. Use of military for peacekeeping operations fed its diplomatic efforts. It is also form of soft power. Behaviour and image that they convey on the populations is a form of soft power. More space needed to social dimension of values. This is another form of national power.
    - Hierarchy of action in instruments of power (DIME)
      * GCC: This is important for policy development. Reality is a little bit messy. It depends how you understand the threat or challenge. Based on that what is the right combination of instruments of power. A couple of instruments of power maybe exercised simultenaously to maximize the influence.
      * Implicit understanding of hierarchy of action. Threats are disturbing interational peace and security that require response. Chapter 6 of UN Charter, first solve the problem with negotiation, diplomatic means (article 33). Here informational &intelligence power important. If it doesnt work you move to chapter 7, increasing levels of coercion or hard power culminating on military (article 41, 42, 51).
* Interstate Competition
  + GCC: Depends on the level of analysis
    - From IR theories perspective: In realist understanding of security states by default compete. Being state is about accumulating power to better protect themselves. Where they cooperate is a form of attentuating and controlling the dynamics of competition.
    - Level of structure: States could be cooperating within a region but regions may be competing each other.
  + Rand corporation Understanding the Emerging Era of International Competition Report
    - GCC: Rand corporation report mainly deals with how USA should think about interest, interstate competition against the background of increasing allusion to how we enter new period of interstate competition, very much driven by power less so by rules. USA National Security Strategy reflects this.
    - What do we mean by the concept of ‘competition’ when applied to interstate relations?
    - To answer that we need to distiguish what is the difference in meaning between these concepts?
      * Competition
      * Conflict
      * Rivalry
      * Contestation
      * Cooperation
        + GCC: Not the same. There is nuanced differences. Different stages between states.
    - “Competition in the international realm involves the attempt to gain advantage, often relative to others believed to pose a challenge or threat, through the self-interested pursuit of contested goods such as power, security, wealth, influence, and status.” (Mazarr et. al. 2018: 5)
    - Assumption is, this is the nature of competition.
      * “First, there must be some degree of perceived or measurable contention involved. Two parties who are mutual partners and who share common goals and interests cannot be said to be competing. In this sense, competition always involves some degree of antagonism, but the specific degree - the intensity of antagonism and hostility in competition—can vary significantly.
      * Second, competition is generally viewed as a contest in which each party (or one of the two parties) aims to enhance its power and influence, typically relative to one another.
      * Third, while not all competitive situations are zero-sum or focused on relative gains, generally the term refers to a situation in which there is either (1) scarcity in the object of the competition or (2) significance to getting more of that object than someone else. If three or more countries are interested in something that is widely available - and possessing it conveys no special advantage - the resulting pursuit of gains might not rise to the level of a competition” (Mazarr et. al. 2018: 3-4)
    - Nature vs Character of competition:

1. What is the essential character or nature of the competing nations?

Type of regime, type of leadership, ambitions and grievances, national identity, etc.

1. What do the participants compete for (what are their goals)?

Security, status/standing/prestige, material economic prosperity/power, territorial/sovereignty claims, values and ideologies, rules/norms/institutions of the regional/international system, etc.)

If competing for power, how much power is enough power?

1. How do they compete (what strategies or capabilities do they employ)?

What instruments of national power they utilize to engage in competition.

1. What specific international systemic patterns or structures come to

characterize the competition?

1. To what degree does the competition reflect factors that theory and history suggest determine its intensity? (the material in this slide comes from Mazarr et. al. 2018: 13)

Graphical user interface, text, application

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They tried to map global competition.

A picture containing timeline

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* Main conclusion: If definition lacks, working definition provides base for further discussion.

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United Nations Charter, 1945 - https://www.un.org/en/about-us/un-charter

* Introduction to policy development and analysis
  + GSS: Connection between policy - long term statement of objective - has to be aligned with overall objective of a state (interest). These objectives naturally constrained by power and competition. Explicit wording has implicit implications under.

Source: Fitz-Gerald, Ann.

* + Possible Definitions:

1. Policy is about providing the *strategic vision* for states and their governing institutions.
2. Policy is “the result of efforts made by governments to alter aspects of behaviour—both that of their own agents and of society at large—in order to carry out some end or purpose”. (Howlett & Murherjee, 2014, p. 57)
3. Policy is about “systematically match[ing] ends and means in the attainment of public policy goals” (Howlett & Murherjee, 2014, p. 65)
   * Policy and Strategy relationship
     + What ends (i.e. objectives) do we wish to achieve?~ Policy
     + What **constraints** should be applied to our actions? ~ Policy
     + What means (resources) do we have at our disposal to achieve our ends? ~ Strategy
     + The available ways (i.e. courses of action) to use our means to achieve our ends. ~Strategy
   * Why do we need policy?
     + A key purpose of all policy is **to give guidance** so that:
       - multiple actors behave in a **coherent way**;
       - domestic and international audiences are informed about a government’s intentions and plans – transmitting reassurance and determination.
       - A government may wish **support** for policy:

from service personnel

from taxpayers

from the widest public

Form regional and international allies

There may be legal requirements – e.g. Freedom of Information legislation, media policies, treaty obligations, etc.

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