

Prospect of South Korea's Foreign Policy in Strengthening the US-ROK Alliance

During the Presidency of Yoon Suk-yeol



THESIS

*Submitted as one of the requirements for obtaining a bachelor's degree at the
Department of International Relations*

Written by:

Andi Muhammad Adil Rifqi Anwar (E061191043)

FACULTY OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

HASANUDDIN UNIVERSITY

MAKASSAR

2024



TITLE PAGE

THESIS

**PROSPECT OF SOUTH KOREA'S FOREIGN POLICY IN
STRENGTHENING THE US-ROK ALLIANCE DURING THE PRESIDENCY
OF YOON SUK-YEOL**

Written and Arranged by:

ANDI MUHAMMAD ADIL RIFQI ANWAR

E061191043

*Submitted as one of the requirements for obtaining a bachelor's degree at the
Department of International Relations, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences*

**DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
FACULTY OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCES**

HASANUDDIN UNIVERSITY

MAKASSAR

2024



HALAMAN PENGESAHAN

JUDUL : PROSPECT OF SOUTH KOREA'S FOREIGN POLICY IN STRENGTHENING THE US-ROK ALLIANCE DURING THE PRESIDENCY OF YOON SUK-YEOL

NAMA : ANDI MUHAMMAD ADIL RIFQI ANWAR

NIM : E061191043

DEPARTEMEN : ILMU HUBUNGAN INTERNASIONAL

FAKULTAS : ILMU SOSIAL DAN ILMU POLITIK

Makassar, 18 Juli 2024



Mengetahui :

Pembimbing I,

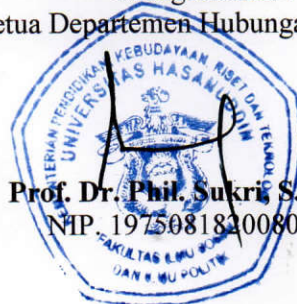
Prof. H. Darwis, MA, Ph.D.
NIP. 196201021990021003

Pembimbing II

Aswin Baharuddin, S.IP, MA.
NIP. 198607032014041002

Mengesahkan :

Plt. Ketua Departemen Hubungan Internasional,



Prof. Dr. Phil. Sukri, S.IP, M.Si
NIP. 197508182008011008



HALAMAN PENERIMAAN TIM EVALUASI

JUDUL : PROSPECT OF SOUTH KOREA'S FOREIGN POLICY IN STRENGTHENING THE US-ROK ALLIANCE DURING THE PRESIDENCY OF YOON SUK-YEOL

N A M A : ANDI MUHAMMAD ADIL RIFQI ANWAR

N I M : E061191043

DEPARTEMEN : ILMU HUBUNGAN INTERNASIONAL

FAKULTAS : ILMU SOSIAL DAN ILMU POLITIK

Telah diterima oleh Tim Evaluasi Sarjana Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik Universitas Hasanuddin Makassar untuk memenuhi syarat-syarat guna memperoleh gelar sarjana pada Departemen Ilmu Hubungan Internasional pada hari Selasa, 2 Juli 2024.

TIMEVALUASI

Ketua : Prof. H. Darwis, MA, Ph.D

Sekretaris : Mashita Dewi Tidore, S.IP, MA.

Anggota : 1. Drs. Munjin Syafik Asy'ari, M.Si.

2. Aswin Baharuddin, S.IP, MA

3. Nurjannah Abdullah, S.IP, MA



ORIGINALITY STATEMENT PAGE

The undersigned below:

Name : Andi Muhammad Adil Rifqi Anwar

NIM : E061191043

Study Program : International Relations

Level : S1

Hereby declare that my written work entitled:

**“PROSPECT OF SOUTH KOREA’S FOREIGN POLICY IN
STRENGTHENING THE US-ROK ALLIANCE DURING THE PRESIDENCY
OF YOON SUK-YEOL”**

is the result of my own written work, not a takeover of other people's writing or thoughts. If in the future it is proven that part or all of this thesis is the work of someone else, then I am willing to accept sanctions for this action.

Makassar, 23 July 2024



Andi Muhammad Adil Rifqi Anwar



FOREWORD

Alhamdulillah, we give praise and gratitude to Allah Subhanahu Wata'ala. The One who we only asks Him for help. Thank God for all His help, grace and love so that the author can complete his thesis entitled "Prospect of South Korea's Foreign Policy in Strengthening the US-ROK Alliance during the Presidency of Yoon Suk-yeol". Shalawat and greetings to Rasulullah Shallallahu Alaihi Wasallam who has always been a source of inspiration and the best example for mankind.

The author is aware of the many parties who provided support and assistance during the completion of this study and final assignment. Therefore, it is appropriate for the author to respectfully express his thanks and pray that Allah will give them the best reward:

1. My parents, Andi Anwar Thamrin & Andi Evarniwaty, who patiently and tirelessly supporting the writer that he is able to regain his motivation. Along with the writer's brothers, Andi Muhammad Aqil Anwar and Andi Muhammad Arif Nauval Anwar who are also supportive to the writer. To his family, the writer expresses his deepest love, gratitude, and appreciation for their support.
2. Rector of Universitas Hasanuddin and the Dean of Faculty of Social and Political Sciences and their staff.
3. Supervising lecturers, to Prof. H. Darwis, M.A., Ph.D, and Aswin Baharuddin,

IP., M.A., who helped the writer with their advices and insights that the writer as able to finish this thesis. The writer would also like to express his



appreciation to Nurjannah Abdullah, S.IP., M.A., who helped guide the writer during his time as university student as academic counsellor.

4. Lecturers of the International Relations Department, Drs. Patrice Lumumba, M.A., Alm. Drs. Aspiannor Masrie, M.Si., Drs. Husain Abdullah, M.Si., Drs. H. M. Imran Hanafi, M.A., M.Ec., Ishaq Rahman S.IP., M.Si., Seniwati, S.Sos, M.Hum., Ph.D, Pusparida Syahdan, S.Sos., M.Si., Burhanuddin, S.IP., M.Si., Muhammad Nasir Badu, Ph.D., Drs. Munjin Syafik Asy'ari, M.Si, Dr. Adi Suryadi Culla, M.A., Ashry Sallatu, S.IP., M.Si., Aswin Baharuddin, S.IP., M.A., Bama Andika Putra, S.IP., M.A., Abdul Razak Z. Cangara, S.IP., MIR., Biondi Sanda Sima, S.IP., M.Sc., L.LM., Atika Puspita Marzaman, S.IP., M.A., and Mashita Dewi Tidore, S.IP., M.A. The writer expresses many thanks for all the knowledge that has been given.
5. Fellow students, brothers -and sisters- in arms in the International Class of International Relations 2019, “Hamtaro”, Dipa, Indra, Lala, Nandiv, Ochang, Tami, Ube, Daffa, Ifan, Iqlha, Nado, and Ryan. While it may sound untrue and that he never shows it, the writer loves you with all his heart and wishes you all the best in your future endeavour.
6. Lastly, fellow students of International Relations, class of 2019, Historia.



ABSTRAK

Yoon Suk-yeol dari Partai Kekuatan Rakyat (PPP) dipilih oleh warga Korea Selatan sebagai presiden baru Korea Selatan. Presiden Yoon dikenal sebagai tokoh konservatif di kancah politik Korea Selatan. Sikap konservatif tersebut ditunjukkan dalam arah kebijakan luar negerinya yang membuat Korea Selatan bertindak lebih tegas serta memperkuat aliansi US-ROK. Penelitian ini akan membahas prospek dan tantangan yang akan dihadapi oleh Korea Selatan melalui analisa kebijakan luar negeri tersebut. Teori yang akan digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah teori Analisis Kebijakan Luar Negeri oleh John T. Rourke. Penelitian ini melakukan studi kepustakaan dalam teknik pengumpulan data, yaitu dengan mengumpulkan, mencatat, menganalisa, dan mengolah data yang bersumber dari berbagai sumber. Hasil dari penelitian ini menunjukkan adanya tiga macam hal yang mempengaruhi pengambilan kebijakan luar negeri Korea Selatan yaitu dari pengaruh individu Yoon Suk-yeol sebagai kepala negara, pengaruh politik dalam negeri Korea Selatan, dan pengaruh politik luar negeri yang terjadi antara aktor-aktor yang berpengaruh di kawasan Semenanjung Korea (Korea Selatan, Korea Utara, Amerika Serikat). Prospek dari kebijakan luar negeri ini adalah penguatan kemampuan militer Korea Selatan dan memperbaiki citra Korea Selatan sebagai negara yang mampu menghadapi ancaman militer Korea Utara dengan lebih tegas. Selain itu, tantangan yang akan dihadapi dalam implementasi kebijakan luar negeri ini adalah tidak mendapatkan dukungan penuh dari legislatif Korea Selatan serta adanya kemungkinan terjadinya *arms-race* yang akan membuat konflik tidak dapat diselesaikan dengan cepat.

Kata Kunci: Yoon Suk-yeol, Aliansi US-ROK



ABSTRACT

Yoon Suk-yeol from the People Power Party (PPP) was elected by South Korean citizens as the new president of South Korea. President Yoon is known as a conservative figure in South Korean politics. This conservative attitude is shown in the direction of his foreign policy which makes South Korea act more assertively and strengthen the US-ROK alliance. This study will discuss the prospects and challenges that will be faced by South Korea through the analysis of this foreign policy. The theory that will be used in this study is the Foreign Policy Analysis theory by John T. Rourke. This study conducts a literature study in data collection techniques, namely by collecting, recording, analyzing, and processing data from various sources. The results of this study indicate that there are three kinds of things that influence South Korea's foreign policy making, namely the influence of the individual Yoon Suk-yeol as head of state, the influence of South Korea's domestic politics, and the influence of foreign policy that occurs between influential actors in the Korean Peninsula region (South Korea, North Korea, United States). The prospect of this foreign policy is to strengthen South Korea's military capabilities and improve South Korea's image as a country that is able to face North Korea's military threats more firmly. In addition, the challenges that will be faced in implementing this foreign policy are not getting full support from the South Korean legislature and the possibility of an arms race that will make the conflict unable to be resolved quickly.

Keywords: Yoon Suk-yeol, US-ROK Alliance



TABLE OF CONTENTS

<i>TITLE PAGE</i>	<i>ii</i>
<i>ORIGINALITY STATEMENT PAGE</i>	<i>v</i>
<i>FOREWORD</i>	<i>vi</i>
<i>ABSTRAK</i>	<i>viii</i>
<i>ABSTRACT</i>	<i>ix</i>
<i>TABLE OF CONTENTS</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>CHAPTER I</i>	<i>1</i>
A. Background	1
B. Limitation and Formulation of Problem	10
C. Research Purposes	10
D. Conceptual Framework	11
E. Research Methodology	18
1. Research Type	18
2. Data Collection Technique	19
3. Data Analysis Technique	19
4. Writing Method	20
<i>CHAPTER II</i>	<i>21</i>
A. The Concept of Foreign Policy Analysis	21
B. Individual-Level Analysis	28
C. State-Level Analysis	40
D. System-Level Analysis	57
<i>CHAPTER III</i>	<i>68</i>
A. Yoon Suk-yeol Profile	68
B. Domestic Political Dynamics of South Korea in Foreign Policymaking ..	76
C. Security Situation and Interests in the Korean Peninsula	80
<i>CHAPTER IV</i>	<i>86</i>
A. Individual-Level Analysis	86
B. State-Level Analysis	100
C. System-Level Analysis	104
D. Prospect and Challenge	106



CHAPTER V 109

A. Conclusions 109

B. Suggestions 111

BIBLIOGRAPHY..... 112



CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

After the separation of South and North Korea as an aftermath of the Korean War in 1950s, both countries have been engaged in an everlasting tension to this day. Numerous actions have been taken by South Korea under the purpose of unifying both countries thus ending the conflict, generally characterized as a passive and hostile. However, there are periods when the actions taken were characterized as liberal and less hostile. The most recent example for this approach was during Moon Jae-in's presidential period (Mosler, 2022).

During Moon Jae-in's term, South Korea's administration was known as liberal. It is supported by his different view with the conservatives in policy making. His three pursued visions through this policy are "peace first", "mutual respect", and "open policy". This priority sets South Korea's course in its interaction with North Korea at the time, in putting peace and prosperity up front and avoiding conflicts (Mosler, 2022).



After the end of Moon Jae-in's presidential term, many doubts the success of the policy. This was due to the lack of significant breakthrough that happened in the Inter-Korean peace talks. Not only Moon Jae-in failed in implementing its economic projects and social programs, but he also failed in establishing a goodwill with North Korea due to the unsuccessful attempt of acquiring sanctions exemption for North Korea (Mosler, 2022).

On May 10, 2022, former chief prosecutor, Yoon Suk-yeol of the conservative People's Power Party (PPP), had won South Korea's presidential election becoming its 20th president. He won the election by a narrow margin of merely 0.73 percent from his opposition, Lee Jae-myung of the Democratic Party of Korea (DPK) (The Korea Times, 2022). His success in the election marked the end of the Democratic Party of Korea's rule under the former president Moon Jae-in (Sang-hun, 2022).

Yoon Suk-yeol, born December 18, 1960, is known as a man of fierce independent and principle. This was shown by his firm and assertive character he vested throughout his career as a prosecutor (Office of the President, 2022). Throughout his career, Yoon had gained popularity among the citizens for dealing with numerous cases of South Korea's higher ups political scandals. The most famous case that he had worked on was when he helped in bringing

former president of South Korea and the CEO of Samsung into justice under the accusation of corruption (Sang-hun, 2022).



During his presidential campaign, Yoon promised several things towards the citizens of South Korea. The most prominent issue that will be focused on, however, is his approach towards South Korea's foreign policy. In his campaign, Yoon proposed a firmer stand against North Korea, stating their nuclear weapon as a threat to the national security (The Korea Times, 2022).

Although Yoon also mentioned to still be opening a chance to talk with North Korea if they decided to comply with denuclearization program, even promising aid to support the economy of North Korea (The Korea Times, 2022). In addition to his stand, Yoon wanted to strengthen the relationship between South Korea and the United States (US). This is done in order to bolster South Korea's military capabilities as a preventive measure against the North's activity (Reuters, 2022).

Following his evaluation towards the former president, Moon Jae-in, in what he called as a "failure" for failing in South-North peace talk. Yoon then intends to rebuild the US-ROK alliance to make a more conservative approach towards North Korea (The Korea Times, 2022). Not only that, but he also wanted to increase its partnership level with the US and Japan in their trilateral alliance, and to join talks with US, Japan, Australia, and India's "Quad" (Reuters, 2022).



The US-ROK alliance is not a new agenda set by two respective countries. This bilateral relationship has been long introduced since 1953 with the signing of the Mutual Defense Treaty in 1953 and the Agreed Minutes in 1954 (Kim, 2022). However, both countries have been supportive for one another even before the signing of the agreement. During the Cold War, for example, South Korea have been in close contact with the US since they are in a great tension with North Korea, considering the mutual interest that both countries have in driving out its ideological opponents. The alliance that both committed to even became the foundation of South Korea's national security policy (Busse, 2016).

After the fall of the Soviet Union, which marks the end of the Cold War, South Korea and the US is still maintaining their mutual relationship. This is due to the threat that North Korea is still imposing up until now. Thus, the Mutual Defense Treaty is signed by South Korea and the US in 1953. This treaty binds both countries into commitment to help each other whenever one's under attack (Busse, 2016).

The US-ROK alliance is beneficial for both parties. For South Korea, it is one of their main tools for keeping North Korea at bay and to put political pressure in their effort to denuclearize the North. For the US, it will help in their mission of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, one that is owned many by North Korea. Another benefit that they could take advantage of is the permittance given by the South Korean government to deploy the US' soldiers



in the Asia Pacific. By doing so, the US hoped that it could balance out the upcoming threat posed by China (Busse, 2016).

The US-ROK alliance, as other country alliances, have its own internal friction. This alliance almost breaks up due to the different perspective given by President Bush of the United States' and President Kim of South Korea. While President Kim wanted to have a peaceful relation with North Korea, even succeeding in the inter-Korean dialogue, President Bush saw this as a useless attempt as he evaluates that Kim Jong-il as the leader of North Korea can't be trusted. The alliance became more separated when 9/11 occurs. President Bush even made his shout out to North Korea, stating them as one of the "axis of evil" (Busse, 2016).

It led to an anti-American sentiment growing in the hearts of Korean citizen. Demonstration by Koreans happened during President Bush's visit to Seoul. The situation became more dire when two teenagers died being run overed by military vehicle owned by the US. President Roh Moo-hyun, elected in 2002, also wanted to change the course of the alliance of the two countries. By saying that South Korea needed more independence and sovereignty from the US in his presidential campaign. Demanding the US to treat South Korea on an equal level (Busse, 2016).



Former condition of the alliance is starting to be restored when President Lee Myung-bak rose to power. The approach taken by President Lee is quite different than his predecessor. While Kim and Roh had taken a progressive approach towards North Korea, President Lee decided that it is time to resume the engagement with the North. It was given a good respond by the US led by Barack Obama, evaluating that the approach that is taken is mutual for both countries. Both leaders then set a meeting agenda in 2009 which successfully reunites the alliance (Busse, 2016).

The result of this alliance started to realization in 2010, when the incidents of Cheonan and Yeonpyeong occurred when North Korea sunk South Korea's navy ship "Cheonan" and bombards the Yeonpyeong Island. South Korea and the US then respond swiftly, starting the Joint Civilian-Military Investigation Group (JIG) to investigate this incident, finding out North Korea as the one who holds responsibility. The US then increased its support for South Korea by deprecating North Korea's action and increasing joint naval exercises with South Korea (Busse, 2016).

The relationship between South Korea and the US is still increasing during the presidency period of President Park Geun-he. In addition, the relationship between South Korea and China is becoming better than before. This is due to

Park's hybrid approach, that is to deepen its relationship with the US while also trying to befriend China. He is continuing engagement towards North Korea,



but unlike Lee, he is also including the carrot and stick approach whenever North Korea agreed to cooperate with them (Busse, 2016).

Another approach, as stated in the beginning, was taken during the presidential period of Moon Jae-in, right before President Yoon took the baton of power. Considering Moon's background as a member of Democratic Party of Korea (DPK), he prioritized peace talks with the North rather than taking a harsher method, the same as President Kim. This led some skepticism to rise about the direction the alliance was going to take during Moon's presidency (Lee & Botto, 2018).

This is caused by the other side of the alliance, the US is being led by President Donald Trump. Seeing the difference in their political background, people would think that there will be another clash in the leaders' view for taking actions. Surprisingly, Trump has had the same view with Moon, that is about trying to have a dialogue with the North for peace treaty and denuclearization (Lee & Botto, 2018).

However, this skepticism then appears to be realized. Moon's main aim was to change the stalemate position happening between South Korea and North Korea. He went through numerous efforts to make his idea into reality. He managed to make Donald Trump of the US and Kim Jong-un of North Korea to sit down and talk about potential courses that the three countries could take. The result of this effort, however, was far from what everybody has hoped as the stalemate position stands firm (Kelly, 2022).



There are several reasons stated by experts for this unfortunate results. One reason stated that North Korea is waiting for a better offer from what they have been offered for the time being by the US. North Korea was known to able to defend itself, or even to avoid, international consequences given by other countries for not cooperating. Thus, it is not impossible to stand its ground for one more (Kelly, 2022).

Another reason is the political circumstances happening in South Korea itself. It is widely known that in South Korea, similar with the US, two opposing political parties are fighting for power, between liberals and conservatives. As the alliance are heavily favored by the conservatives, Moon is being slowed by its opposition for not letting him make an independent move to approach North Korea without the US. This led to him having to adjust his negotiation to be in favor with the US (Kelly, 2022).

Another reason is the complicated scenario that Moon must play in order to ensure the negotiation to be successful. Moon had hoped the sanctions imposed by the United Nations toward North Korea to be slightly eased. To do this, Moon must first convince to the US that North Korea is approachable and can be dealt with without the need of using force. Had Moon successfully do this, the inter-Korean talk would be much smoother, US-North Korea negotiation can be accelerated, and Moon's domestic opponents can be reduced (Kelly, 2022).



While Trump was said to have the same view with Moon in the beginning of the argument. He then proved to be one of the reasons why Moon's effort failed. Experts evaluate that Trump's attention seeking, poor planning, abandoning details, and just overall lazy characteristics is what made the trilateral negotiation to fail. It is even stated that Trump's reason behind him "agreeing" with Moon to open talk with North Korea was to gain fame and reputational value, proven by his uncommitted follow up efforts to support Moon (Kelly, 2022).

This was seen as an opportunity by President Yoon who steps up and declare Moon's effort as a "failure", using this event as a steppingstone to realize his foreign policy, that is to resume South Korea's aggressive engagement toward North Korea. This statement was stated by Yoon during presidential campaign period. Now, it hasn't been long since Yoon Suk-yeol became the president of South Korea (approximately five months, when this paper is started to be written).

It is interesting to analyze the prospects that could happen in President Yoon's mission to strengthening the US-ROK alliance. Furthermore, what implication this alliance might bring that affects South Korea, the United States, and North Korea. Therefore, through this thesis, the author will try to analyze

the prospects and challenges of Yoon Suk-yeol's policy in strengthening the US-ROK alliance to change its approach towards North Korea.



B. Limitation and Formulation of Problem

The research conducted for this thesis will be focused on analyzing the prospects of South Korea's foreign policy in strengthening the US-ROK alliance during the period of Yoon Suk-yeol's presidency. The author will be analyzing what benefit and challenges may occur to South Korea when such approach is proposed by its new leader towards the alliance. Based on the premises above, the formulation of problems of this thesis will consist of the following list:

1. How are the prospects for South Korea's foreign policy in strengthening the US-ROK alliance during Yoon Suk-yeol's presidency?
2. How are the challenges for South Korea's foreign policy in strengthening the US-ROK alliance during Yoon Suk-yeol's presidency?

C. Research Purposes

Given the formulation of problems stated above, the purpose and benefit that the author hoped would occur from this thesis will consist of the following

st:



1. To find out the prospects of South Korea's foreign policy in strengthening the US-ROK alliance during Yoon Suk-yeol's presidency.
2. To find out the challenges of South Korea's foreign policy in strengthening the US-ROK alliance during Yoon Suk-yeol's presidency.

D. Conceptual Framework

For this research, the author is going to use the concept of foreign policy analysis (FPA) by John T. Rourke. The theory of foreign policy analysis will be used to understand the process and influential factors of foreign policymaking in general. Furthermore, the related concept will be elaborated to understand deeper the three levels of analysis (individual-level, state-level, and system-level) to finally analyze the prospects and challenges of South Korea's foreign policy in strengthening the US-ROK Alliance during the presidency of Yoon Suk-yeol.

According to Christopher Hill, the field of foreign policy analysis aims to understand the motives and sources of behavior of international actors, particularly states, by examining decision-making processes. Some approaches in FPA sought to establish it as a scientific discipline, focusing on generating

empirical correlations (Hill, 2016).

Hill acknowledges the perpetual challenges of change in international relations, including the rise of new actors and the blurring of boundaries



between domestic and foreign environments. Hill also discusses the role of agency in international relations and the relationship between external relations and foreign policy. He raised normative issue, including the ethical dimensions of foreign policy and its accountability to citizens and addressed practical questions, including the expectations of policymakers and the need for transparency in foreign policy-making processes (Hill, 2016).

Hill acknowledges the diversity of states and actors in the international system and emphasizes the importance of understanding their specific contexts and constraints. Overall, foreign policy analysis aims to shed light on the complexities of decision-making and its impact on foreign policy outcomes (Hill, 2016).

John T. Rourke is one of many experts who elaborate the systemic process of analysis when analyzing foreign policy. In his book entitled “International Politics on the World Stage”, first published in 1986, he classified foreign policy analysis into three level of analysis. Each level can be used to analyze a country’s foreign policy accordingly. The three levels are individual-level, state-level, and system-level (Rourke, 2008).

Rourke categorizes the human decision-making process into three sub-topics. Decisions made by human can be understood in their decision-making a species, in groups, and idiosyncratically. By understanding the three sub-topics, it is possible to analyze the process of human’s decision-making of reign policy (Rourke, 2008).



The decision-making of a human as a species links back to their nature as a human being. A human being is not a fully rational species, but a mix of both rationale and emotionally-driven. Thus developed a series of factors that influences human's ability to decide which is cognitive factors, emotional factors, psychological factors, biological factors, and perceptions (Rourke, 2008).

Humans, when presenting themselves as member of a group may have different decision in contrast to when they are alone. This is due to their ability in decision-making is affected by not only their thinking but how other group members perceives them when delivering their decision. This situation is then illustrated by Rourke with two concepts, the role behavior and group decision-making behavior (Rourke, 2008).

John T. Rourke gives a clear explanation on which factors that should be analyzed in the idiosyncratic analysis of state leader. According to Rourke, five personal traits of a leader can be analyzed namely the personality, physical and mental health, ego and ambition, political history and personal experiences, and perceptions and operational reality (Rourke, 2008).

While individual-level analysis emphasizes on the individual traits of a country's leader, system-level analysis highlights state characteristics and how they formulate and carry out foreign policy decisions (Hudson, 2005; Bueno de Mesquita, 2002). What is crucial from this standpoint is the influence of a country's political framework, as well as the political entities and regional actors



within the country, on its government's decision-making process regarding the adoption of a specific foreign policy (Chittick & Pingel, 2002).

In the state-level analysis, there are three types of variable that needs to be analyzed, such as the type of government, situation, and policy of a country. Each country in the world has a different type of government from one another. From an absolute authoritarian to democratic, each type has its influence on a country's foreign policy (Rourke, 2008).

In the case of an absolute authoritarian country, the foreign policy will be centered towards a small fragments of the governments, even to the country leader. On the other hand, a democratic country is more open towards the influence of other institution than the government itself such as legislators, media, public, and even opposition parties (Rourke, 2008).

Each country also face different type of situation from one another, therefore the foreign policymaking will be different for each of them as well. The foreign policy that is going to be implemented during times of crisis is different from when a country is in a noncrisis situation. Because of the emergency nature of a crisis situation, it is usually handled by a small part of decision maker in the government. On the other hand, in a noncrisis situation, domestic actors are more involved (Rourke, 2008).

The involved area when a foreign policy is going to be implemented also needs to be considered by the policymakers. According to Rourke, there are two



types of foreign policy, pure foreign policy and intermestic policy. A foreign policy that have little impact towards the country's citizen is called pure foreign policy. Whereas foreign policy that have an immediate impact towards the domestic affairs of a country is called intermestic policy (Rourke, 2008).

A country's political culture also influences its foreign policy. The policymakers often tends to pass policies that are compatible with the citizen's societal culture, due to them also being part of it. Even when policymakers do not share the same sentiment, they tends to avoid having controversies among the people (Rourke, 2008).

Policymaking is an activity that endorses clashes of ideas and political power between its actors. As explained above, a foreign policy is made not only by the country leader alone, but with the help of its other subordinates. Henry Kissinger states that in foreign policymaking, the political executives, bureaucracies, legislatures, political opponents, interest groups, and the people itself are combatants that fights to determine the country's foreign policy (Rourke, 2008).

In analyzing foreign policy through the system-level analysis, a structural characteristics of the international environment can be identified. It is in relevance with two elements, which are the organization of authority and the scope and level of interactions between all the actors in the system.

All systems has its authoritative structure. While a single institution or a country usually have a vertical hierarchy, the international system have a



horizontal hierarchy. This is due to the fact that every single nation in the world has its own sovereignty, meaning it does not answer to any higher authority in the implementation of its international and domestic affairs. This situation makes the international system an anarchical environment where overarching authority can maintain those below it is nonexistent (Rourke, 2008).

This anarchical situation of the international system influences all the country's national policy. The realest case to this statement can be seen in the spending of national budget for defense. Almost every single country in the world have spent huge amount of resources for their defensive capabilities. The reason links back to the anarchical environment a country lives in does not provide safety and guarantee an everlasting peace for the countries (Rourke, 2008).

The scope and level of interactions between the actors in the international system plays part in the making of foreign policy as well. There has been an increase of scope and level of interactions between actors in modern days than what it used to be. For example, nowadays countries need each other to conduct trade, thus creating an economic interdependence. Even for the individuals, international telecommunication and travel has become a common activity in the present day (Rourke, 2008).

Although the international system is placed under an anarchical environment, there is a restrain to countries to act harshly because of power disparity between each one of them. Not all countries have the same level of



power with the other, some are more powerful that it influences the international system through the number of powerful actors and the context of power (Rourke, 2008).

Scholars argue that the number of powerful actors who exist within the international system may determines how the countries will act. There are four power configuration that shows on how many powerful actors existing at the same time, which are unipolar, bipolar, tripolar, and multipolar. Different power configuration have different influence on countries foreign policy (Rourke, 2008).

Although a powerful country may be able to influence others to play by its rules, in some cases it cannot be simply implemented. This was exemplified by the situation that the US is facing against China where it cannot raise its import tariffs, which the US can actually do, due to China's influence on other important issue such as the nuclear weaponries in the Korean Peninsula. Therefore, the context of power these actors have must be taken into consideration (Rourke, 2008).

Economic realities influences country's behavior in the international system as well. Due to the economic interdependence, countries may hesitate to act aggressive towards others when they have a mutual agreement on each other. The same example can be seen in the US' hesitation in imposing tariffs on Chinese imports so that both countries can maintain its prosperity in trade (Rourke, 2008).



Lastly, the international system is usually determined by norms. While it contradicts the statement of how countries live in an anarchical system, values that countries uniformly upheld do exist. The extreme cases of US' usage of nuclear weapons can be used as an example. In the Iraq invasion, the US' have the option of using nuclear weapons, but is hesitant to do so. Thus sending its army to invade is influenced by the norms which countries upheld in the international system, which is the norm against using nuclear weapon (Rourke, 2008).

E. Research Methodology

1. Research Type

This research will be conducted in a qualitative descriptive manner which emphasizes on the explanation or description of the given topic. This type of research is hoped to produce a descriptive data that describes the object being studied. The author will use this type of research to analyze the prospects of South Korea's foreign policy during the presidential period of Yoon Suk-yeol that aims to strengthen its alliance with the United States in terms of their engagement with North Korea. The author argues that this type of research will be relevant in its purpose to explain the given topic to the readers.



2. Data Collection Technique

In conducting this research, the author will be using data acquired through library research using several secondary sources, be it from books, e-books, academic journals, and reliable internet sources to help elaborating its argument. The author would also be using governmental documents or information published online (MoU, speech text, etc.) that is relevant to the topic. Through these kinds of sources, it is hoped that it will provide a more in-depth and accurate explanation on the prospect of South Korea's foreign policy in strengthening the US-ROK alliance.

3. Data Analysis Technique

Data that will be used in this research will be gained through literature study technique. Literature study allowed researchers to establish fundamental grounding for acquiring a theoretical basis, mindset formation, proposing probable conjectures or hypotheses regarding the investigation. It also facilitated grouping allocation and organization of diverse literary works within their fields. This way researchers could attain an extensive comprehension concerning the problem being studied.



4. Writing Method

The writing method used by the writer is deductive method. By using this method, writer will generally describe the issue that is being researched, then describe it into a more detailed writing before reaching a conclusion acquired from processed data.



CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

A. The Concept of Foreign Policy Analysis

According to Bruce Russett and Harvey Starr, the term "policy" is commonly understood to refer to a guideline for an action or set of actions intended to realize an organization's predetermined goals, which involves "choice" or the act of choosing (or making decisions) to achieve those objectives. The term "foreign" refers to territorially sovereign entities located outside of the legal borders of a particular state. In other words, anything outside the legal territorial boundaries or not under the legal authority of the nation in question is foreign. Therefore, "foreign policy" is a set of guidelines for making decisions regarding people, places, or objects that exist outside the borders of the country in question (Russett & Starr, 1996).

There are numerous other definitions of "foreign policy" established by experts in International Relations. According to Thomas Diez et al. (Diez et al., 2011), foreign policy is traditionally defined as a country's policy directed at external actors, particularly other nations. Christopher Hill defines foreign policy as the totality of official external relations conducted by independent actors (typically a nation, but not exclusively) in international relations (Hill, 2016). Ernest Petrič simply adds that foreign policy is a nation's pursuit of its objectives and interests in the international arena (Petrič, 2013).



George Modelski defines foreign policy as "a system of activities developed by a state to change the behavior of another state and adapt the country's own activities to the international environment" (Modelski as cited in Ghost, 2015). Modelski categorized the primary objectives of foreign policy as those that aim to alter the current behavior of states. However, foreign policy incorporates not only the desire for change, but also the maintenance of behavior over time (Modelski as cited in Neack, 2008).

Foreign policy, as demonstrated by Norman Padelford and George Lincoln, comprises of a country's actions to achieve national objectives that extend beyond its own borders. In addition, Padelford and Lincoln stated that a country's foreign policy is "more than just a set of specific policies aimed at a particular country." A country's foreign policy takes into account a variety of factors, such as estimates of its own strengths and capabilities, the principles of behavior it has adopted, the specific national interests it wishes to pursue in international relations, and so on. Foreign policy also consists of strategies, commitments, and tactics employed to achieve the nation's objectives and interests (Padelford & Lincoln, 1957).

According to Padelford and Lincoln, a state's foreign policy encompasses all of its external interactions. It is the comprehensive result of the process by which a state transforms its broad goals and interests into specific actions in order to achieve its objectives and protect its interests (Padelford & Lincoln, 1977).



Two essential functions of foreign policy can be derived from their definitions. Foreign policy serves two purposes: first, to accomplish the state's stated objectives, and second, to protect and advance its national interests (Bojang, 2018).

Hugh Gibson asserts that foreign policy is a comprehensive and well-considered plan that draws on a nation's knowledge and experience to regulate its interactions with the rest of the world. Its purpose is to promote and protect the national interests. This necessitates a firm grasp of the nature of those interests and the extent to which available resources can be utilized. Any foreign policy that does not meet these criteria cannot be regarded genuine (Gibson, 1944).

According to Gibson's insight, an intriguing addition to Padelford and Lincoln's definition is the consideration of how far states are willing to go to achieve their interests using the available means. This raises the question of whether states would resort to force if diplomatic efforts failed to achieve their goals, which is affirmative (Bojang, 2018).

Joseph Frankel argues that foreign policy encompasses decisions and actions that involve significant interactions between one state and others (Frankel, 1968). Foreign policy in this context entails a series of initiatives

conducted within a state's borders with the intent of influencing factors beyond its borders. It entails the formulation and implementation of a set of principles



that govern how states interact with one another in an effort to protect and advance their respective national interests (Bojang, 2018).

Deborah Gerner defines foreign policy as the intentions, statements, and actions of an actor, typically a state, directed toward the external world, as well as the responses of other actors to these intentions, statements, and actions. However, Laura Neack has criticized the emphasis on states in this definition (Bojang 2018).

Neack argues that other actors, such as international cause organizations, businesses, and religions, also establish guidelines and objectives that govern their interactions with other international actors. Neack employs a more inclusive definition of foreign policy that includes both declarations and actions. She emphasizes that analysis of foreign policy should not be limited to what states declare as their objectives and how they pursue them. Instead, it should investigate the origins of particular objectives and the underlying causes of specific behaviors (Bojang, 2018).

The three components of foreign policy are the "end," the "ways," and the "means." When engaging with another state or actor, "end" refers to a vision or intended outcome, in addition to a set of interests. The "ways" comprise the strategies and ideas employed to pursue these desired interests, such as diplomatic tactics or coercion. Finally, "means" refers to the economic and military resources accessible to a state. Therefore, foreign policy encompasses vision of desired outcomes and interests when interacting with other states or



actors, the strategies and ideas employed to accomplish these goals, and the state's available resources to guide its interactions with other states. (Bojang, 2018).

According to Bakry, the study of foreign policy objectives is never isolated from the subject of foreign policy. It is generally understood that a country's policy objectives are one of the goals it attempts to pursue in its interactions with other states. There is almost no consensus regarding the objectives of foreign policy and the most effective means of achieving those objectives. Moreover, foreign policy objectives continue to evolve and vary from nation to nation (Bakry, 2017).

While the objective of foreign policy may change over time, there are four fundamental goals that countries strive to achieve through their foreign policy: national security, economic development, increasing national power, and international prestige (Padelford & Lincoln, 1957). In addition, Kevin Holsti identifies security, self-sufficiency, prosperity in the broadest sense, and status and prestige as the objectives that a country seeks to attain through its foreign policy (Holsti, 1995).

Bakry suggested that foreign policy objectives can be divided into three categories: short-term, medium-term, and long-term. Short-term objectives are typically imperative in nature. He provided an illustration of Indonesia's response to China's territorial violations in Natuna waters. In the case of Indonesia's response to heightened US-China competition, medium-term



objectives are typically strategic goals. Long-term objectives are typically broad and ideal, and nearly all nations tend to be optimistic and nearly identical. In an endeavor to maintain world peace, Indonesia, the United States, and China share similar long-term objectives, as evidenced by their shared similarities (Bakry, 2017).

According to Hill, both domestic and international politics influence foreign policy. Foreign policy is a point of convergence between domestic and international politics, according to most academics. Consequently, we can assert that any state's foreign policy is predominantly influenced by two factors: international or external factors and domestic or internal factors. These factors are acknowledged as influential in influencing foreign policy (Bojang, 2018).

However, the relationship between international and domestic determinants has been the subject of extensive debate in international relations and Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA) for many years. Others contend that foreign policy and domestic politics are interdependent and can overlap. While some argue that domestic politics and foreign policy are distinct and autonomous realms, others contend that they are interdependent and can overlap (Bojang 2018).

There is no doubt that the international context influences the formulation of a state's foreign policy significantly. Given that foreign policy centers around state's interaction with others, this interaction primarily occurs at the international level and cannot be ignored when analyzing any state's foreign policy (Bojang, 2018).



Scholars who acknowledge the relevance of both international and domestic factors argue that international factors are more influential in determining a nation's foreign policy. External factors that significantly influence a state's foreign policy include, but are not limited to, the international system or power structure, international law, international organizations, alliances, and military power or arms race (Bojang, 2018).

Scholars are in complete agreement that the internal dynamics of a state also impact its foreign policy's essence and trajectory. Size, socioeconomic development, and political systems vary between nations. They have unique political institutions, societal structures, military and economic capacities, and strategic cultures. Similarly, public opinion, conceptions of national role, decision-making processes, and the personality traits of political leaders vary by state (Bojang, 2018).

Taner asserts that these disparities have a direct impact on both the foreign policy decision-making process and the foreign policy decisions themselves. Thus, the substance of foreign policy arises not only from international relations considerations but also from domestic political issues. Laura Neack contends further that the significance of the domestic structure cannot be overlooked in any historical period. Kissinger emphasized that it influences the extent to which societal resources can be devoted to foreign policy objectives (Bojang,

2018).



Multiple approaches can be utilized to comprehend the policymaking procedure. Conducting in-depth case studies is one approach to researching the policymaking process. The objective is to analyze the particulars of a historical case in depth and draw conclusions about the policymaking process. Comparative case study designs may also be used to monitor the decision-making process across multiple cases and to make comparisons (George & McKeown, 1985).

B. Individual-Level Analysis

In regards of the levels of analysis in analyzing an international relations related issue, there are three levels that are highlighted by John T. Rourke. Those levels are individual level, state level, and system level of analysis. According to Rourke, individual level of analysis a foreign policy, when analyzed using the individual level of analysis, is mostly influenced by the individual traits of the decision maker itself. Which is why the most prominent question asked by the concept of idiosyncratic is as stated by Rourke, “How the personal traits of a leader affect their decisions” (Rourke, 2008).

Rourke explains that a foreign policy can be influenced by the understanding of the human who is authorized to make one. In this sense, the understanding of the head of state as the highest authority in foreign policymaking, is influential with the making, even outcome, of foreign policy.



In making decision, human's decision-making is categorized into three categories, decision taken by human as a species, decision taken by human as a group, and decision taken by human by his idiosyncrasy (Rourke, 2008).

The decision taken by human as a species tracks back human's natural trait when making a decision. In reality, human isn't always a rational being. Humans are often time driven by its emotion. Rourke gave an example of how in deciding which university to go, human take into consideration emotional factors, such as how far will it be from its loved ones (Rourke, 2008).

The same consideration goes for foreign policy as well. While it may be reassuring for people to expect that the foreign policy made by their leaders goes through the most rational evaluation, it is not. This links back to the leader's basic traits as a mere human being, who calculate not only with its rational mind, but is also influenced by its emotion (Rourke, 2008).

According to Rourke, when making a decision, five factors may influence human's decision as a species. Those five traits are cognitive, emotional, psychological, biological, and rational calculations (Rourke, 2008). Below is the explanations of the factors.



1. Cognitive Factors

The reason why humans are not capable in making a fully rationalized decision, is because its inability to access all necessary information needed to make one. This inability is caused by uncontrollable external and internal boundaries. External boundaries refers to the unknowable information (Rourke, 2008).

Rourke exemplified external boundaries with how President Bush lacks the information whether Iraq does have a chemical or biological weapon in its arsenal during the invasion of Iraq. Furthermore, internal boundaries are exemplified by the human's capacity itself, whether it does not have the mental and health capacity or its intellectual is simply not enough to process the complex information needed to make a rational decision (Rourke, 2008).

When faced by these boundaries, a human will be forced to decide in a "bounded rationality". While this shows the human's limited capacity in making a decision, humans often times are unable to accept this fact, therefore developing a range of mental strategies to cope with its cognitive limitations (Rourke, 2008).

The first mental strategies are that human tends to find cognitive consistency by rejecting new ideas or information that contradicts their own value. When faced by a threat, the information that humans will accept are only what they perceived their adversary as. Therefore, human will only



accept negative information that fits with their own view, rather than combining with positive ones to create a rational decision (Rourke, 2008).

The second mental strategies is how human developed a wishful thinking. This mental strategy allows human to receive a self-justification that convinces them about how their action will succeed. Those who developed this trait will not be able to make a fully rationale decision, as sometimes are being denial with the reality (Rourke, 2008).

Lastly is the usage of heuristic devices. Rourke stated heuristic devise as a mental shortcut that allows the user to skip the effort of gathering related information by relying on (but not limited to) stereotypes and analogies. Human uses stereotype to assess an object based on a oversimplified views when it isn't always true. Human also uses analogies by comparing new situations with its previous experience (Rourke, 2008).

2. Emotional Factors

Human's emotion also influences its decision-making ability. The head of state, while expected to always keep its composure at all kinds of situation, may get emotionally driven during a situation. As a human being, the head of state can also get sad, angry, even depressed during an unfortunate event surrounding him/her. Rourke gives an example how the outraged former US President Jimmy Carter leads to an ill-fated attempt in hostage rescue during the hostage crisis in Tehran, Iran (Rourke, 2008).



3. Psychological Factors

A theory that Rourke relates with human's psychological factor is the frustration-aggression theory. Rourke stated that human tends to become aggressive when they become frustrated during a stressful event. The example of this theory is when former US President Bush gave a wrong evaluation about the Muslims out of frustration following the event of 9/11. He stated that terrorism happens because Muslim hates freedom that the US believes in, when polls shows that the reason behind Muslim hatred is because US' negative behavior towards them (Rourke, 2008).

4. Biological Factors

Rourke gave a disclaimer that biological factors in foreign policymaking is a controversial topic to be assessed. However, biological factor does give an alternative explanation on why human makes an irrational decision. The reason behind it is related biopolitics that examines the "relationship between the physical nature and the political behavior of human". He illustrates biopolitics with two approaches, which is the approach of ethology and gender (Rourke, 2008).



Ethology is the comparison on the behavior of human and animal. It is stated that human and animal have a common characteristic of behaving based on their innate characteristics. Territoriality is one of the easiest things to spot. Because both human and animal have the primal drive to “gain, maintain, and defend the exclusive right to a piece of property...” and this trait have potential to become the foundation of war (Rourke, 2008).

The gender of the policy maker can also influence his/her decision-making. Rourke argues that gender gap opinion does exist between men and women. While all humans, men and women does have the aggressiveness inside them, excessiveness can be found in men. He further explains that territoriality, that could lead to aggression, is a distinct part of manliness (Rourke, 2008).

Whether or not this is true, political experts are divided into two arguments. Francis Fukuyama does believe that men are prone to violence, rather than women. Therefore, stating that the world would better with women leading. However, many other experts states that that is not he case and concluding so is not as easy to be claimed (Rourke, 2008).



5. Perceptions

Rourke argues that all human elements stated above helps in the shaping of human perceptions. He states that there are four common perceptions human have that influence global politics. The first one is how human tend to see a its opponents as more threatening than what it truly is. This is exemplified in how 71% of Americans sees Iran as a threat when surveys conducted in 20 other countries shows only 40% of them believe so (Rourke, 2008).

Human also tend to see the behavior of their opponents as more planned and coordinated then their own. This situation often happens when two countries are in a high-tension situation. Both countries believe that its adversary have a perfectly formulated plan to annihilate them. As the former US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger describes as, “two armed blind men...believing himself in mortal peril from the other whom he assumes to have perfect vision” (Rourke, 2008).

Another assumption is how humans think that it is hard to understand why other dislike, mistrust, and fear them. Like how former US President Bush sees US as the “good” and other countries heavily misunderstand them, while other countries are unlikely to think that way even stating that the US posed a military threat to them (Rourke, 2008).



The last assumption is called the mirror-image perception. It is about how humans have similar images of one another. The same assumption can be placed upon countries as well. Countries saw each other as a threat, causing distrust and suspicion for all (Rourke, 2008).

After the influence of human's basic trait as a species, a foreign policy could also be influenced by the organizational behavior of a human when being part of a group. It is stated that human tends to act differently when they participate in a collective system. This approach is best illustrated with two concepts, which is role behavior and group decision-making behavior (Rourke, 2008).

1. Role Behavior

Human plays a certain behavior depending on their role in a group. For example, a man acts differently when he is acting as a father to his child than when he is with his friends. The same behavior is expected to the president as well. Someone's role is scripted based on how they expect themselves to act and how other expects them to behave. A leader is expected by his adviser, critics, and public opinion to behave in a certain way (Rourke, 2008).



2. Decision-Making Behavior Within Organization

When giving some advice to the group on which decision to make, people will have to consider not only his view of the matter but also how others, especially the leader, will perceive him upon delivering his arguments. This leads to what is called as groupthink, giving pressure to members to have the same opinion with the majority of the group, especially the leader, even when they didn't (Rourke, 2008).

Groupthink needs to be avoided by the head of state, as it could lead to a poor decision-making. Rourke gave an example of how former US General Eric Shinseki was forced to retire as his personal opinion collides with former US Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld's on the number of troops that needs to be deployed in Iraq. In the end, the decision of the latter then criticized by US senator saying that General Shinseki was right all along (Rourke, 2008).

Lastly, in the human-level analysis, the individual traits of a leader can be influential during foreign policymaking. This approach is commonly known as the idiosyncratic analysis. Idiosyncratic analysis is the study of how human's personal characteristic, or in this case the head of state's, influence his/her decision-making (Renshon & Larson, 2002).



According to Rourke, there are at least five personal traits that needs to be considered in analyzing the idiosyncratic of a leader, namely personality, physical and mental health, ego and ambition, political history and personal experiences, and perceptions and operational reality (Rourke, 2008).

1. Personality

A leader's personality can influence their decision-making. It can be examined from his orientations against themselves and others, their behavioral patterns, and attitudes about political concept (Dyson, 2006, as cited in Rourke, 2008). A leader's personality can be categorized into several schemes, the most common scheme to use by scholars is the active-passive and the positive-negative scale (Barber, 1985, as cited in Rourke, 2008).

Determining a leader's active-passive scales can be seen through the policies that he/she has made. An active leader, Rourke argues, innovates policy, while negative leader tends to wait and react on his surrounding before making a decision. On the other hand, positive leader enjoys a contentious political environment. This type of leader is strong enough to not be swayed by pressure. On the contrary, a negative leader would stress out and feel burdened by political pressure (Rourke, 2008).



2. Physical and Mental Health

The physical and mental health of a leader is influential as well in decision-making. A head of state who is ill or is having a severe mental issue can be incapable in making a rationale decision. Rourke gave the case of former US President Roosevelt's hypertension making historians concluding him being incapable of governing the US (Farrel, 1998, as cited in Rourke, 2008).

3. Ego and Ambition

A leader's desired policy is also influenced by his ego and ambition. Rourke argues that in the case of Saddam Husein's reign in Iraq, his vision of comparing himself with the Great Babylonian King, Nebuchadnezzar and Sultan Saladin is what drives him. Another example is how former US President Bush's not wanting to be seen by the media as a weak figure, influencing his decision in the invasion of Panama (Rourke, 2008).



4. Political History and Personal Experiences

Personal experiences also have effects on decision makers. Once again, Rourke gave the example of former US President Bush in his decision to invade Iraq was influenced by his sentimental value about how his father (also former US President, George H. W. Bush) almost being assassinated in Kuwait. The event which he suspects is orchestrated by Saddam Husein (Rourke, 2008).

5. Perceptions and Operational Reality

As stated in the previous section, a head of state's perception is can be heavily influential in their decision-making as it forms an operational reality. Through operational reality, decision makers tend to decide merely based on their own perception, even when the accuracy of information is debatable (Rourke, 2008).

Having operational reality leads the leader to have his own personalized operational code. Operational code is described by Rourke as, "how any given leader's worldview and 'philosophical propensities for diagnosing' how world politics operates influence the 'leader's...propensities for choosing' rewards, threats, force, and other methods of diplomacy as the best way to be successful" (Walker et al., 1998, as cited in Rourke, 2008).



Rourke uses former US President Bush's operational code, describing himself as a "gut" player who sees the world in only the right-versus-wrong scale. This leads him to make hard driven decisions during his reign. Bush's strong connection with his religion is stated to help shape his crusading desire to create a safe world for democracy (Rourke, 2008).

C. State-Level Analysis

This analytical approach focuses on the attributes of nations and their decision-making and implementation of foreign policies (Hudson, 2005; Bueno de Mesquita, 2002). The crucial aspect from this standpoint is the influence of a nation's political framework, as well as the political entities and subnational players within the nation, on its government's decision-making process regarding the adoption of a specific foreign policy (Chittick & Pingel, 2002).

From the standpoint of state-level analysis, the making of foreign policy is determined by several factors, namely (1) the type of government, situation, and policy, (2) the political culture of a nation, and (3) the policymaking across itself, which are elaborated below.



1. Type of Government, Situation, and Policy

a. Type of Government

In the making of foreign policy, three types of variable are considered important, which are the government, situation, and policy. The foreign policy process can be influenced by the form of governance in a country. These categories span a spectrum that includes absolute totalitarian governments at one extreme and unrestricted democratic governments at the other (Rourke, 2008).

As a government becomes increasingly authoritarian, there is a greater likelihood that foreign policy will be concentrated within a limited sector of the government, potentially under the control of the president or the designated leader (Rourke, 2008).

However, it is crucial to acknowledge that no government is completely subordinate to any individual. Due to their large size and intricate nature, states are not conducive to such a scenario. Consequently, secondary leaders, such as foreign ministers, bureaucrats, interest groups, and other domestic entities, exert influence even in highly authoritarian political systems (Rourke, 2008).

In contrast, foreign policy formulation in democratic countries is characterized by a higher degree of transparency, involving the participation of lawmakers, the media, public sentiment, and opposition parties. Additionally, it includes the involvement of players who have



the ability to influence the foreign policy decisions of authoritarian governments (Rourke, 2008).

b. Type of Situation

The policy-making process also differs among countries. The situation is characterized by a single variable. Policy formulation varies between crisis and noncrisis scenarios. A crisis situation arises when decision makers are caught off guard by an incident, perceive a threat (particularly of a military nature), and believe they have limited time to respond (Brecher & Wilkenfeld, 1997). The greater the intensity of each of the three variables, the more pronounced the sensation of crisis becomes (Rourke, 2008).

In contrast to noncrisis conditions, where various domestic actors are typically involved in shaping policy, crisis policy making is typically controlled by the political leader and a select group of advisers. One factor contributing to this phenomenon is the rally effect. This refers to the inclination of the general population and other political actors inside the country to back the leader in times of crisis (Rourke, 2008).



c. Type of Policy

The determination of foreign policy also differs depending on the specific character of the subject area at hand. Issues that have minimal immediate or apparent influence on Americans can be classified as pure foreign policy. Typically, a small group of decision makers in the executive branch takes these decisions with minimal or no dissent or attention from within the country (Rourke, 2008).

Conversely, foreign policy that directly and clearly affects Americans domestically is referred to as intermestic policy. This approach is likely to encourage significant engagement from legislators, interest groups, and other actors involved in foreign policy-making, thus reducing the executive leaders' ability to shape policy according to their preferences. Foreign trade is a prime illustration of an intermestic matter as it impacts both international relations and the domestic economy in terms of employment, prices, and other relevant elements (Rourke, 2008).

2. Political Culture

The foreign policy of each country typically mirrors its political culture. This idea refers to the prevailing conventional beliefs and core traditions of a culture that are resistant to change (Paquette, 2003; Jung, 2002). Leaders typically develop policies that align with the political culture of their society as they generally share the same beliefs (Rourke, 2008).



In addition, leaders are motivated to prevent the negative consequences that may arise from implementing policies that go against the prevailing political culture, even if they themselves do not personally endorse those values. In order to examine the political culture of any nation, one must consider factors such as the collective sentiment of its citizens towards their own country, their perception of other nations, their expectations for their country's global position, and their understanding of ethical conduct (Rourke, 2008).

Examine the attitudes of Americans and Chinese towards their own identities and their inclination to promote their beliefs to others, using specific instances. Both Americans and Chinese firmly believe that their own civilizations are superior. For America, it is called American exceptionalism. It refers to the belief held by Americans that their country possesses unique qualities and ideals. Americans agreed that the dissemination of their principles will have a beneficial impact on other regions of the world (Rourke, 2008).

For the Chinese, it is called Sinocentrism. It refers to the Chinese people's shared belief in their own superiority. The Chinese exhibit a proclivity to perceive themselves as the political and cultural epicenter of the world, which is manifested, among various means, in their designation for their nation: "Zhong Guo," denoting "middle place," embodies the Chinese self-conception (Rourke, 2008).



3. Policymaking Actors

Foreign policy making is a complex and dynamic process that is not characterized by calmness or logical thinking. Instead, it represents a confrontation of ideologies and a trial of political influence and expertise to ascertain who among numerous policy suggestions would emerge victorious. Kissinger's analysis focuses on the participants involved in foreign policy-making, which encompass political executives, bureaucracy, legislators, interest groups, and the people itself (Rourke, 2008).

a. Political Executives

The executive branch holds paramount significance in the policy-making process in the majority of countries. This holds particularly true in the realm of national security policy and foreign policy. The head of government, typically referred to as the president, prime minister, or premier, is generally seen as the most influential individual in the executive branch. Below the leader, there is a notable group of other political executives, including the ministers of international affairs (equivalent to the secretary of state) and ministers of defense (equivalent to the secretary of defense) (Rourke, 2008).



The extent to which the head of government exerts control over foreign policy is determined by multiple factors. We have previously discussed certain aspects, including the form of governance, the prevailing circumstances, and the adopted policies. Three further significant elements include the statutory authorities, informal powers, and leadership competencies of the chief executive (Rourke, 2008).

Formal powers refer to the explicit authorizations granted by a nation's constitution and its written laws to different offices and agencies. Many chief leaders, such as presidents or prime ministers, hold the highest authority over their country's armed forces as the commander in chief. This grants them extensive, frequently one-sided power to employ the military (Rourke, 2008).

Informal powers serve as a secondary basis of authority for political executives. Individuals are more likely to relate to and seek guidance from a single person rather than an organization. This grants the president of the United States and other top executives significant status and political power that is not derived from the constitution or laws (Rourke, 2008).

For example, the chief executive embodies the nation to a greater extent than any other political figure. This holds particularly true in global affairs and is much more pronounced in times of crises, as a president symbolizes the nation and represents the collective identity



when interacting with other nations. The nation's emphasis on the chief executive necessitates their role as a leader (Rourke, 2008).

Leadership talents are a significant determinant of the level of authority held by a particular chief executive. The capabilities encompass administrative proficiency, which pertains to the president's aptitude in organizing and overseeing their immediate staff and the government's bureaucracy (Rourke, 2008).

Another capability, for instance, is the legislative skill, referring to their ability to garner support in the national legislature within a democratic system. Public persuasion skills, encompassing the capacity to articulate a coherent vision and effectively communicate to cultivate a favorable public perception; and intellectual acumen, denoting their level of intelligence and pragmatic utilization thereof in policy formulation (Rourke, 2008).

Despite the extensive authority that top executives possess, their power is not boundless, even in autocratic nations, and it is much curtailed in democratic ones. Political leaders in today's interdependent world are faced with the challenge of navigating both domestic and international politics concurrently (Rourke, 2008).



This is due to the growing influence of democracy and the interconnected nature of policy. As a result, leaders must engage in a two-level game, where they play both the domestic and international games at the same time (Rourke, 2008).

The two-level game strategy recognizes the necessity for diplomats to engage in negotiations both at the international level with representatives from other nations, and at the domestic level with lawmakers, bureaucrats, interest groups, and the general public within their own country, in order to achieve success. The objective is to achieve a mutually beneficial deal that appeases both the international counterparts and the influential local actors, so garnering their support for the accord (Rourke, 2008).

b. Bureaucracies

The bureaucracy exerts significant influence over any state, regardless of its strength or form of governance. The distinction between decision makers and bureaucrats is frequently ambiguous, nevertheless, it may be stated that bureaucrats are individuals who have chosen a career in government service, as opposed to those who are appointed by political figures or elected into office (Rourke, 2008).



While political leaders have legal authority over the bureaucracy, they have challenges in effectively managing the extensive substructures inside their governments. Occasionally, bureaucrats may dissent with their nation's foreign policy. Alternatively, they may prefer an alternative policy approach based on their overall understanding of their unit's goal (Rourke, 2008).

The impact of a certain policy on the organization is a crucial consideration in developing a bureaucratic perspective. Often, the preferences of a particular bureaucracy are in line with common intuition. The armed forces of any nation will undoubtedly resist any attempts to reduce weaponry or slash defense budget, as such policies diminish their resources and power. However, the commonly held perception that the military is always enthusiastic and eager for war is not factually correct (Gelpi & Feaver, 2002).

Bureaucracies exert influence on policy by employing the method of information filtering. Decision makers rely on their staff to provide them with information, and the information they receive is contingent upon what subordinates choose, whether intentionally or unintentionally, to communicate (Rourke, 2008).

Recommendations serve as an additional means through which bureaucratic influence impacts foreign policy. Bureaucracies possess a substantial amount of specialized knowledge, which they employ to



advocate for the agency's favored stance. After conducting a thorough analysis of bureaucratic recommendations in many countries, a scholar determined that leaders frequently encounter a phenomenon known as a "option funnel" (Rourke, 2008).

Advisers limit the choices accessible to leaders by selectively offering just the solutions that align with their bureaucratic organization's preferences. According to the researcher, this approach of recommendation frequently determined the actions of national leaders even before they took the issue into account (Legro, 1996). Implementation is a potent bureaucratic instrument. Bureaucrats have multiple methods to exert influence on policy through their implementation strategies (Rourke, 2008).

c. Legislatures

The role of legislatures in shaping foreign policy is relatively subordinate to that of executive-branch decision makers and bureaucrats in all nations. However, it is important to note that not all legislatures lack authority (Howell & Pevehouse, 2005; Scott & Carter, 2002; Leogrande, 2002, as cited in Rourke, 2008). Although they are not, the extent of their influence varies significantly across different countries. In authoritarian regimes, legislative bodies typically endorse or approve



the decisions made by the political leadership without any scrutiny or opposition (Rourke, 2008).

In democratic countries, legislatures have a significant influence in shaping foreign policy. However, their authority is limited by various considerations. One of these is that top executives typically possess broad legal authority in the domain of foreign policy. Tradition is an additional element that benefits top executives in the process of foreign policy decision-making (Rourke, 2008).

In practically all countries, the leadership has traditionally managed foreign policy, particularly during times of war or other emergencies. Furthermore, it is widely acknowledged that a cohesive and unified national perspective plays a crucial role in achieving a prosperous foreign policy. This is especially accurate during a crisis, as both Congress and the public have a tendency to unite in support of the president (Rourke, 2008).

Legislators prioritize domestic policy due to the perception among voters that it holds greater importance than foreign policy. Consequently, voting decisions are often influenced by this sense of priority. Due to this rationale, lawmakers are inclined to attempt to exert influence over intermestic policy matters, such as commerce, and are likely to be far less preoccupied with purely foreign policy matters (Rourke, 2008).



According to this reasoning, legislative activity is particularly probable and significant when a prominent problem gains public notice and popular opinion is against the president's policy. Furthermore, legislative activity is often triggered by intermestic concerns, such as trade, which have a direct impact on constituents and interest groups (Marshall & Prins, 2002).

d. Interest Groups

Interest groups are non-governmental organizations comprised of individuals who share similar policy perspectives and exert influence on the government to adopt those perspectives as official policy. Historically, interest groups were commonly perceived as having less activity and influence on foreign policy compared to domestic policy matters. The evolving intermestic nature of policy is altering this dynamic, with interest groups assuming a more significant role in the process of formulating foreign policy (Rourke, 2008).

Cultural groups are a specific category. Several nations possess ethnic, racial, religious, or other cultural factions that maintain strong emotional or political connections to a different country. Religious groups are a prominent category of cultural groupings that wield significant influence in numerous countries (Rourke, 2008).



For example, Conservative Protestant groups hold significant influence in the administration of President George W. Bush due to his personal religious values and the crucial political support he receives from them. This correlation, along with other internal characteristics, elucidates some of the president's proclivity towards unilateralism and hesitancy to depend on the United Nations and other global institutions (Skidmore, 2005).

Economic organizations are a significant type of interest activity. With the growth of international trade, enterprises, their employees, and the local communities they operate in are greatly impacted by both foreign sales and increased competition from other nations. They engage in lobbying activities to advocate for favorable legislation and to get support for their interests in foreign nations. In developed nations, labor unions often oppose free trade agreements due to the potential negative impact on domestic products and the workers involved in their production (Rourke, 2008).

Interest groups can be classified into another category known as issue-oriented groups. These groups are not formed based on specific socioeconomic factors, such as ethnicity or economic status. Instead, they recruit members who share a same policy objective. The concerns of issue-oriented groups encompass a wide range, spanning from broad to specialized and from liberal to conservative (Rourke, 2008).



It is also important to note transnational interest groups. The rise of interdependence has led to a higher occurrence of countries, international organizations, and commercial interest groups engaging in cross-border lobbying (Rourke, 2008).

e. People

Similar to legislators, the public has a fluctuating and diverse impact on foreign policy. Public opinion has minimal influence under totalitarian administrations. The role of the people in democracies is multifaceted (Everts & Isernia, 2001). Public opinion occasionally plays a vital impact (Rourke, 2008).

The public's minimal engagement can be attributed to the general lack of interest among citizens in foreign affairs. However, it is important to note that not all members of the general public consistently disregard foreign policy. Initially, there exists a specific portion of the general population known as the "attentive public," which consistently and frequently directs their focus towards global occurrences (Rourke, 2008).

Furthermore, matters of crisis, such as the conflict with Iraq, and intermestic matters, such as commerce, are likely to attract considerably more public attention. Reserach indicates that while the general public may not be knowledgeable about the intricacies of policy, their



fundamental instincts are not detached from current events and remain consistent (Witko, 2003; Isernia, Juhasz, & Rattinger, 2002, as cited in Rourke, 2008).

Some countries allow the people to directly participate in making decisions on foreign policy issues through national referendums. Nevertheless, all democracies fundamentally adhere to a republican model of governance, wherein elected officials and their appointees are responsible for creating policies and laws (Rourke, 2008).

As a result, public opinion typically exerts an indirect democratic impact on policy by voting for officials and by officials being responsive to public sentiments (Rourke, 2008). While voters typically do not have direct control over policy decisions, they do occasionally have the opportunity to choose between candidates for national leadership positions that hold distinct foreign policy objectives and priorities (Fordham, 2002).

Moreover, studies indicate that both elected and appointed officials are attentive to public opinion and that it frequently exerts impact on policy decisions (Burstein, 2003; Heith, 2003; Reiter & Tillman, 2002, as cited in Rourke, 2008)). This is particularly accurate when the general population is evidently focused on a particular matter (Knecht & Weatherford, 2006, as cited in Rourke, 2008).



One explanation is because the majority of decision makers in a democratic system acknowledge that public opinion is a valid aspect that must be taken into account when deciding which policy to pursue. Also, leaders hold the belief that policy is more likely to achieve success when it is supported by public opinion. Furthermore, decision makers exhibit caution due to the potential for public backlash in the upcoming election if they disregard the prevailing majority sentiment (Rourke, 2008).

While most polls provide an overview of public opinion on a particular subject, it is crucial to acknowledge that opinions are not uniformly distributed throughout all parts of the population. Earlier in this chapter, one of the divisions in opinions, known as the gender gap, is examined (Rourke, 2008).

Furthermore, there exists a disparity in opinions between leaders and citizens regarding certain matters in the United States and other nations. This word refers to the disparity between the average viewpoints of individuals in positions of power in government, business, media, and other sectors of society, and the opinions held by the general people (Rourke, 2008).



D. System-Level Analysis

1. Structural Characteristics

All systems, including the international system, the national system, even the smallest local system in the society, include discernible structural attributes. Two factors that are particularly important for analysis are the structure of authority in the international system and the scope and intensity of interaction among the actors in the system (Rourke, 2008).

a. The Organization of Authority

The organizational framework for establishing and enforcing regulations, distributing resources, and carrying out other authoritative duties within a system can vary from a hierarchical (vertical) structure to an anarchical (horizontal) structure. Most systems, such as educational institutions and political entities, generally lean towards the hierarchical side of the spectrum (Rourke, 2008).

The organization follows a hierarchical structure where lower levels of authority are heavily governed by higher levels of authority. Other systems are positioned closer to the end of the continuum that represents a horizontal authority structure. In such systems, there is a scarcity of higher authority, if any exist at all, and power is divided into smaller parts (Rourke, 2008).



The international system is primarily characterized by a horizontal authority structure. It is founded upon the principle of state sovereignty. Sovereignty refers to the condition in which countries are not legally accountable to any superior entity for their actions, whether on the world or local level. The international system is primarily state-centric and characterized by anarchy, lacking a central authority to establish laws, resolve conflicts, and ensure security (Rourke, 2008).

The absence of a central authority in the international system has a multitude of effects on national policy. Examine defense expenditure as an example. We engage in discussions over whether the military budget is excessive, insufficient, or appropriate; however, very few individuals propose the complete elimination of our nation's military and the cessation of all military expenditures (Rourke, 2008).

To understand the reason why governments feel compelled to have a military in the anarchical international order, one must consider why all countries possess armed forces and yet very few, if any, students bring firearms to their educational institutions. One explanation is that states in the international system, unlike students in your college, rely on self-reliance for their protection (Rourke, 2008).

In the event of a state being endangered, there is no global emergency hotline available for seeking assistance. Considering this chaotic self-help mechanism, it is expected that states will own weapons. Although



the authority structure in the international system is predominantly horizontal, there are ongoing changes taking place (Rourke, 2008).

Several scholars argue that the concept of sovereignty is diminishing, and that even the most influential nations are increasingly bound by a greater number of authoritative regulations established by international organizations and international law. While some countries continue to resist and occasionally reject governance by intergovernmental organizations (IGOs), there is a growing trend of countries also adhering to it (Rourke, 2008).

b. Scope, Level, and Intensity of Interactions

One further aspect of a political system's structure is the extent, frequency, and intensity of interactions among the participants. In school, the extent of communication between students and teachers is likely restricted to the course itself. At the global level, the extent, frequency, and intensity of interaction among the participants is not only frequently greater than in school, but has significantly expanded over the past fifty years (Rourke, 2008).

An evident illustration of economic connection is provided. Countries engage in increased and frequent trading of various items compared to a relatively recent period. Even the influential United States relies significantly on other countries as sources of necessary



products and as marketplaces for the products it sells. U.S. transportation and industry would completely stop if there was no foreign oil (Rourke, 2008).

However, the available data on rising commerce fails to adequately convey the extent to which the broadening range and increasing intensity of global financial exchanges are leading to greater transnational connections at all levels. Modern technology and travel have transformed personal international interactions from being relatively rare to becoming commonplace for individuals (Rourke, 2008).

Communications are also broadening the range, extent, and magnitude of communications. The advent of satellite-transmitted television brought about a significant transformation in the field of communications. The globalization of human contacts is facilitated by trillions of phone conversations, letters, and e-mail communications. The Internet, in particular, transcends geographical borders, seamlessly connecting people and organizations worldwide as if they were in close proximity (Rourke, 2008).



2. Power Relationships

Countries are constrained by the dynamics of power within the global system, just as individuals are restricted by the allocation of power within smaller, localized systems. It is highly likely that the distribution of power in school is limited. Typically, there is a dominant authority figure, known as the teacher, who has the authority to determine the course content, set exam dates, moderate class discussions, and assign grades as a form of reward or punishment (Rourke, 2008).

Occasionally, students express dissatisfaction with certain aspects of a lesson, and their grievances may be justified. However, the significant power imbalance between students and the teacher greatly reduces the occurrence of open defiance. Power concerns, such as the presence of influential people and the power dynamics at play, significantly shape the behavior of the international system (Rourke, 2008).

a. The Number of Powerful Actors

Traditionally, the characterization of international systems has been influenced by the number of influential actors they encompass (Wilkinson, 2004). An actor referred to as a power pole can take the form of (1) an individual nation or empire, (2) a coalition of nations, (3) a global intergovernmental organization (IGO) like the UN, or (4) a regional IGO like the EU (Rourke, 2008).



The significance of these poles lies in their relevance to the realist approach, which prioritizes the equilibrium of power. Occasionally, the term is employed to depict the present allocation of authority, for as when stating that "the current power equilibrium significantly benefits the United States" (Rourke, 2008).

From a classical perspective, the theory of balance-of-power politics, proposed by realists, states that: (1) all states have a desire for power; (2) eventually, a state or group will strive to become dominant and control the system; and (3) other states will try to prevent this dominance by enhancing their own power and/or collaborating with other states in an antihegemonic endeavor. Some researchers argue that the quantity of power poles present at any one time plays a role in shaping the behavior of countries (Rourke, 2008).

According to the perspective of realist, it is feasible to discern patterns or principles governing the behavior of systems. There are four well recognized power configurations: unipolar, bipolar, tripolar, and multipolar. These configurations have distinct patterns of interaction that potentially differ from each other. Keep in mind that these rules identify the actions that actors are likely to attempt. The rules are not absolute and actors do not always achieve success in implementing them (Rourke, 2008).



As an illustration of the functioning of these laws, it is important to observe that in a unipolar system, which is now exemplified by the United States as the sole dominant power, the hegemonic power endeavors to uphold control. From a systemic standpoint, the drive for power is not primarily a result of the current desires of the dominating power, but rather a response to the need for stability and order within the system (Rourke, 2008).

The contention is that a unipolar system will remain peaceful, but only if the dominant state behaves in a hegemonic manner (Wohlforth, 1999). Some researchers express concern that if the United States declines to assume the primary position in global affairs, it could result in an unstable system, leading to more violence and other adverse outcomes (Lal, 2004).

Undoubtedly, there is significant controversy surrounding these perspectives. Certain experts argue that a diminished United States participation in the global arena would not cause instability in the system. However, several experts argue over the reasons and consequences of the United States acting as the dominant power. It is criticized by some as a harmful desire for power and control (Gitlin, 2003; Lobell, 2004, as cited in Rourke, 2008).



b. The Context of Power

The United States is concerned about its substantial trade deficit (\$221 billion in 2006) with China, and there is mounting pressure on the Bush administration to respond decisively. U.S. manufacturers and unions claim that they are experiencing a decline in business and employment opportunities due to the overwhelming influx of imported goods. So yet, Washington has not exerted much pressure on Beijing about the matter (Rourke, 2008).

One factor is that implementing higher taxes on Chinese imports and taking other resolute measures, which the United States possesses the authority to do, would significantly diminish China's inclination to collaborate with the United States in other crucial domains. An instance of this is the nuclear weapons development of North Korea, a circumstance that has the potential to result in the proliferation of nuclear weapons from North Korea to South Korea and Japan, and potentially escalate into armed conflict on the Korean Peninsula (Rourke, 2008).

China possesses significant influence in Pyongyang, making it one of the few countries with such leverage. In response to U.S. pressure to decrease the trade gap, Beijing may choose not to collaborate with Washington's endeavors to convince North Korea to cease its nuclear development (Rourke, 2008).



3. Economic Realities

System-level experts argue that the economic conditions of the global system influence the decisions made by countries. Once more, this phenomenon is consistent throughout systems ranging from the global scale to the local one. As an illustration, it is highly likely that once a student complete his schooling, he will secure employment and dedicate the most of his remaining time to work rather than following his preferred leisure activities (Rourke, 2008).

It is quite probable that someone will engage in such actions due to the economic constraints of their local system, which need the acquisition of money in order to obtain desired goods and services. Furthermore, the majority of individuals require employment as a means to acquire said money (Rourke, 2008).

Similarly, the international system is influenced by economic realities that play a role in shaping behavior. Interdependence is a fundamental economic reality that shapes the conduct of states. Various studies have consistently found that enhancing economic interdependence fosters peace by facilitating greater familiarity and mutual reliance among countries for their shared wealth (Schneider, Barbieri, & Gleditsch, 2003, as cited in Rourke, 2008).



4. Norms

Norms exert impact on players within systems at both the global and local levels, similar to the other components previously discussed. Norms are a significant factor that explains why, even on a hot day, it is quite likely that a student will still choose to wear clothes when attending class, rather than being completely naked. Norms ensure a high level of predictability that the majority of students will attend class not only in appropriate attire, but also in a similar fashion. Jeans, sweatshirts, shoes, work boots, and baseball caps (often worn in reverse) appear to be the most prevalent attire (Rourke, 2008).

Norms also influence actions within the international system. Some individuals find it challenging to acknowledge the existence of norms in a society where extremely terrible events occasionally occur. Furthermore, it would be overly assertive to claim that there is a universally agreed-upon standard of behavior. However, it is true that values actually exist, are increasingly significant in international behavior, and are becoming more universally global. Norms served as a deterrent against the use of nuclear weapons (Rourke, 2008).



In summary, system-level analysis examines how the configuration, distribution of power, economic factors, and norms of the international system shape foreign policy. Undoubtedly, it is evident that the process of formulating foreign policy is far more intricate than simply being determined by the president's decisions. Foreign policy and world politics are primarily shaped by various factors associated with human characteristics at both individual and species levels, the intricate governmental structure involving significant subnational actors, and the broader context of the international system within which all countries function (Rourke, 2008).

