APPENDIX I
FOREIGN POLICY STRUCTURES

Direct
1. Individuals/ foreign policy elite
   (Personalities, perceptions, belief, worldview, cognitive complexity influence foreign policy)
   • Chief executive (president or prime minister)
   • Heads of first rank foreign policy bureaucracy
   • Advisors of the chief executive
   • Professionals
   • Representative of think tanks
2. Governmental agencies and bureaucracies
   • Foreign ministry
   • Defence ministry
   • Agriculture ministry
   • Finance ministry
   • Think tanks
   • Other relevant agencies of government (list is not exhaustive)
3. Societal/ political processes
   • Legislatures
   • Political parties
   • Pressure groups
   • Public opinion

Indirect
(National Attributes/character)
1. Country size
2. Level of economic development
3. Regime type
4. Governmental stability
5. Religion
6. Elite tenure
7. Population density
8. Urbanization
9. Industrialization
10. Technological competitiveness
11. Strategic stature
12. Level of literacy

Power Capabilities of each nation

Decision Making Processes

National Interests

International Law
Technology
International System

Structure
• Great/ super powers
• Medium/ regional powers
• Small/ national powers

Patterns of relations
• Unipolar
• Bipolar
• Multipolar/ BOP
APPENDIX II

DIRECT FOREIGN POLICY STRUCTURES

Political process:
- Legislatures
- Political parties
- Pressure groups
- Public opinions
- Think tanks

1. Chief executive
2. Advisors to the chief executive
3. Foreign policy elite or heads of potential foreign policy bureaucracies
4. Key representatives of think tanks and non-governmental institutions
5. Coordinating institutions

1. Bureaucratic institutions e.g.
   - Foreign ministry
   - Defence ministry
   - Finance ministry
   - Etc
2. Key representative of think tanks

Power Capabilities of a Nation

Decision Making Processes

Internal Structure

External Structure

National Interests

Great powers

Small Powers

Medium powers
APPENDIX III

FOREIGN POLICY STRUCTURES OF THE UNITED STATES

1. The President of the United States
2. Presidential advisors: vice president, heads of first-rank foreign policy bureaucracies, congress committees of defence and foreign relations, experts on finance, trade, and technical issues, academics, etc.
3. Foreign policy elite: vice president, head of national security council, assistant for national security affairs, secretaries of state, defence, treasury, agriculture, etc., Director of central intelligence agency (CIA), chairman of joint chiefs of staff, director of emergency preparedness, as well as representatives of departments with vested interests and key personalities of president’s choosing.
4. Coordinating foreign policy institutions attached to the president’s office:
   - National security council
   - Special assistant for national security affairs

Foreign policy bureaucracy:
- Formal:
  - Department of state
  - Department of defence
  - Department of treasury
  - Department of agriculture
  - Department of commerce
  - Central intelligence agency
  - The military establishment
  - Etc.

- Informal/independent agencies and think tanks:
  - Arms control and disarmament agency (ACDA)
  - US information agency (USIA)
  - US agency of international development (USAID)
  - Rand corporation
  - Harvard center for international affairs
  - Etc.

Diagram: Power Capabilities of US
- Decision Making Processes
  - External Structure
    - Russia
    - Japan
    - China
  - National Interests of the United States
    - Small Powers in Asia-Pacific

Diagram: Political structure/process
- Congress/senate
- Republican/democratic parties
- Pressure groups
  - Human rights (ideological)
  - Italian/Jewish (ethnic)
  - Trade unions
  - Foreign lobby groups

Diagram: Internal Structure
- Outer circle
- Third circle
- Second circle
- Inner circle
APPENDIX IV

FOREIGN POLICY STRUCTURES OF JAPAN

1. Politicians (leaders of the ruling party (LDP) or coalitions of parties
   - President
   - Vice president
   - Secretary general
   - Party conference
   - Executive council
   - Assembly of party members of national Diet
   - Policy affairs research council (PARC)

2. Bureaucracy
   - Executive (Emperor)
     2. Prime minister, presides over the cabinet and imperial house hold agency
   - Heads of potential ministries or departments
     - MFA, MOF, MITI, MAFF, EPA, Defence Agency
   - Lower rank bureaucracy: bureaus, councils, and subdivisions of respective ministries and agencies
     - CCEC, MC, SWCD, MCOEC, ACOEC, NDC

3. The business circle, business firms and industrial complex
   - Zakai (the executive of major economic organizations such as Keidanren, Nissho, Keisei Doyukai, and Nikkeiren)
   - Gyokai (the industrial groups)
   - Kigyo (the individual corporations)

4. The Diet (Japanese parliament)

The circle behind the scene or extra governmental policy makers
1. Business groups within LDP and oppositions who have ideological connection or political interests in the state with whom Japan intends to have friendly relations
2. Individuals who have influential and intimate relations with key political figures in Japan
3. Politician from LDP/ ruling coalition and opposition
4. Non-governmental organizations

Strategies of this circle include
- Tsukai (creation of conducive social environment and networking)
- Kuromaku (establishing personal contact between top policy-makers in Japan and the country with whom Japan seeks good relations)
- Nemawashi (behind the scene consensus building)

Outer circle
Middle circle
Inner circle

Decision Making Processes

Power Capabilities of Japan

National Interests of Japan

United States
Russia
China

Small Powers in Asia-Pacific

1. Oppositions parties (JSP, JCP, CMP, etc.
2. Pressure groups
   - Business circle
   - Politico cultural groups (JCA, NCDR, AJIA, CSA)
   - Agro-oriented groups (CUAC, NFAC)
   - Pacific and anti-nuclear groups (Japan’s congress against atomic and hydrogen bombs

3. Media
APPENDIX V
FOREIGN POLICY STRUCTURES OF CHINA

1. Leadership and its affiliated institutions
   - Leading nucleus (dominated by one person e.g. Mao)
   - Leading nuclear circle (dominated by few key individuals)
2. Military
   - Individuals heading the military e.g. Mao, Deng, Jiang Zimen
   - Communist party central military commission (PCMC)
   - The defence ministry of the state council

Communist party and its affiliated institutions
1. Politburo (first line during Mao)
   Its standing committee includes state president, chairman of standing committee of national people's congress, chairman of military commission, chairman of Chinese people's consultative conference
2. Secretariat (first line in post Mao era)
   - International liaison department
   - Central foreign affairs leading small group
   - Central committee
   - Research unit
3. Foreign affairs office of the state council

The government and its affiliated institutions
1. Office of the president
2. National people's congress (NPC)
3. Inner cabinet of the state council
4. Ministry of foreign affairs (MFA)
5. Ministry of foreign economic and trade relations (MOFERT)

Other relevant institutions:
1. Research institutes e.g.
   - Shanghai institute of international studies
   - Inst. Of contemporary int. relations
   - Foreign ministry inst. Of int. studies
   - Beijing's inst. for int., strategic studies
2. The press
   - Xinhua (China's news agency)
   - Remin ribao (the people's daily)
   - Reference material
3. Independent organizations
   - Chinese people's institute of foreign affairs
   - Chinese people's association for friendship with foreign countries
   - etc.
APPENDIX VI
FOREIGN POLICY STRUCTURES OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION

Presidential Apparatus
1. The president of Russian Federation
2. Network of institutions associated with the president’s office
   • Staff of the president’s office
   • President’s principle aide
   • Aide for international affairs
   • Head of administrative council
   • Security council
1. Prime minister, the secretary, speaker of Duma, ministers of defence, and foreign affairs and other presidential appointees
2. Foreign policy commission, defence and security commission
   • Presidential council (president’s advisers, foreign intelligence service, federal security service, and border troops office)

1. The prime minister’s office
2. The government (heads of potential ministries)
   • Ministry of foreign affairs
   • Ministry of defence
   • Ministry of cooperation with CIS
   • Ministry of foreign economic relations
   • Other relevant ministries and departments.

3. Governmental and non-governmental institutions that are not affiliated with the above ministries
   • Foreign ministry’s council on foreign policy
   • Department for CIS
   • General staff of the military
   • Council on foreign and security policy

Outer circle
Middle circle
Inner circle

Power Capabilities of Russia
Decision Making Processes
National interests of Russia

Internal Structure
External Structure

Japan
Small Powers in Asia-Pacific

1. Legislature (Duma)
2. Political parties:
   • liberal democratic party of Russia
   • Russia’s choice party
   • Democratic choice party
   • Russia people’s assembly
   • Civic union of Russia
   • Renewal party of Russia
3. Public opinion
4. Military industrial complex
APPENDIX VII

NATIONAL INTERESTS OF THE FOUR MAJOR POWERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>American Interests</th>
<th>Chinese Interests</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. No single power domination or American hegemonism in Asia-Pacific region</td>
<td>1. Preservation of China’s sovereignty and territorial integrity in other words,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Political integrity and economic well being of Americans</td>
<td>establishing Beijing’s sovereignty over what China claims as “lost territories”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Promotion of policy of “assertive multilateralism/engagement” in Asia-Pacific region</td>
<td>2. Creation of greater China that is politically, economically, and militarily strong.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Institutionalization of a Pacific Community that integrates APEC and NAFTA</td>
<td>3. Realization of Chinese economic circle, comprising Mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Containing economic expansion of both China and Japan and strategic rise of Russia, China, or Japan</td>
<td>5. Realization of China’s four modernization program.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Access to market and resources in Asia-Pacific region</td>
<td>7. Integration of China economically into the post-Cold War world economic order.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Maintaining presence of American troops in Asia-Pacific region</td>
<td>8. Promotion of Chinese world order (principles of freedom, democracy, human rights, equality, mutual respect, sovereignty etc. should be interpreted by individual nations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10. Development and promotion of an economic model based on China’s present experiment. (China is experimenting an economic model that is the hybrid of the best of socialism and capitalism)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11. Support American presence as China’s short term objective.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Japanese Interests</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Creation of new economic and strategic order in Asia-Pacific Japan to play role of “rule formulator or agenda setter” in it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Promotion of amended capitalism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Seeking leadership in Asia-Pacific wants to remain preponderant economic power.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Wants to create dependency on Japan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Aims to institutionalize multilateral security framework as its long-term objective in Asia-Pacific region. Despite calls for multilateral mechanism, it still aims to maintain its security pact with US for long time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Assumption of military leadership in Asia-Pacific as well in the long run.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Aims to attain prestige and greater role in the world affairs. Wants to share the world leadership and bilateral management of the global affairs the Americas led by US, Europe by Germany, and Asia by Japan. Thus, creation of loose economic bloc under Japanese tutelage (Pax-Nipponica).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Diversity of its main sources of energy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Maintenance of peace and stability Asia-Pacific region</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Russian Interests</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Reconstruction of Russian Federation into a “super state” that is economically strong, militarily viable, and politically influential in the world affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Institutionalization of effective security mechanism in the “near abroad” under the leadership of Russian Federation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Making Russia a preponderant power in the “near abroad”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Institutionalization of BOP situation in Asia-Pacific region.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Creation of an overriding multilateral security framework in Asia-Pacific region that could function as conflict prevention and conflict regulation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Full integration of Russian economy into the Western economic order so to prevent from further decline.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Russia’s long term aim is to strategically distance US from Asia-Pacific region</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Aims to remain full-scale partner in the region. Wants to remain engaged in regional affairs (economic, military, security, political)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Maintaining peace and stability in Asia-Pacific</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# APPENDIX VIII

## ECONOMIC INDICATORS OF THE MAJOR POWERS

<table>
<thead>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>US</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 GNP</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>IMF, WBG, World Bank, IDA, IFC, APEC, WTO, NAFTA, ASEAN Dialogue Partner, G-8, G-22</td>
<td>Founding and influential member of all these institutions. US is major contributor to these institutions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 GDP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Volume of Total Trade</td>
<td>7247bn</td>
<td>7433bn</td>
<td>8435.2bn</td>
<td>1440bn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Export/Import</td>
<td>1353bn</td>
<td>583/771bn</td>
<td>26.8bn</td>
<td>5149b</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 FDI</td>
<td>4841b</td>
<td>4981b</td>
<td>5153b</td>
<td>5149b</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>6704b</td>
<td>7789b</td>
<td>7608b</td>
<td>4433.36b</td>
<td>IMF World Bank, ADB, G-8, G-22, APEC, ASEAN Dialogue Partner, WTO</td>
<td>Member and second largest financial contributor to most of these institutions. Its influence is second to that of US.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 GNP</td>
<td>2500</td>
<td>275.9b</td>
<td>906.1b</td>
<td>151/139b</td>
<td>IMF, WBG, World Bank, IDA, IFC, APEC, ASEAN Dialogue Partner</td>
<td>Holds membership of some of these institutions while trying to get membership of some others e.g., WTO. It acquires funds.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 GDP</td>
<td>2800</td>
<td>280.96b</td>
<td>149.132b</td>
<td>151/139b</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Volume of Total Trade</td>
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<tr>
<td>4 Export/Import</td>
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<tr>
<td>5 FDI</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>226b</td>
<td>252.3b</td>
<td>275.9b</td>
<td>906.1b</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 GNP</td>
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<td>2 GDP</td>
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<td>3 Volume of Total Trade</td>
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<tr>
<td>4 Export/Import</td>
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<tr>
<td>5 FDI</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>664b</td>
<td>1120</td>
<td>124.1b</td>
<td>81/43.3b</td>
<td>IMF, WTO, APEC, World Bank, G-8, ASEAN Dialogue Partner</td>
<td>It was admitted into these institutions. Has no or little influence. It mainly receives or uses these institutions to receive donations to put its economic house in order. It does not contribute financially.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 GNP</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2 GDP</td>
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<td>3 Volume of Total Trade</td>
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<td>4 Export/Import</td>
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<tr>
<td>5 FDI</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

IMF: International Monetary Fund  
ADB: Asian Development Bank  
APEC: Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation  
NAFTA: North American Free Trade Area  
WGB: World Bank Group  
IDA: International Development Association  
IFC: International Finance Corporation  
G-8: Group of & Industrialized Nations plus Russian Federation  
G-22: Group of twenty-two developed and developing nations  
GNP: Gross national product  
GDP: Gross domestic product  
FDI: Foreign direct investment

- All figures are in US dollar
## APPENDIX IX

### MILITARY INDICATORS OF THE FOUR MAJOR POWERS

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>US</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1. continental US</td>
<td>ARF (ASEAN Regional Forum), Bilateral Security Pact with Japan, South Korea, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>abroad: European Command(EUCOM), US pacific Command (USPACOM), central command (USCENTCOM), southern command (SUSSOUTHCOM), Atlantic command (USATCOM)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Defence budget</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ARF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Military expenditure</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ARF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Arms imports</td>
<td>82bn</td>
<td>62bn</td>
<td>48bn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ARF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Arms exports</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>95bn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ARF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Total number formed personnel</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9bn</td>
<td>1.4m</td>
<td></td>
<td>ARF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Nuclear capability</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ARF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>82bn</td>
<td>62bn</td>
<td>48bn</td>
<td>1.4m</td>
<td></td>
<td>ARF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>95bn</td>
<td>9bn</td>
<td></td>
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<td>ARF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Defence budget</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1. near abroad: former USSR territory</td>
<td>ARF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Military expenditure</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Far-abroad: Vietnam, Cuba, Mongolia, Syria, Angola, Bosnia, Croatia, Kuwait, Etc.</td>
<td>ARF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Arms imports</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>ARF</td>
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<tr>
<td>4 Arms exports</td>
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<td>ARF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Total number of armed personnel</td>
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<td>ARF</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. Nuclear capability</td>
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<td></td>
<td>ARF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1. mainland China</td>
<td>ARF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. UN peacekeeping in Kuwait (UNTSO)</td>
<td>ARF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3. UN peacekeeping Western Sahara(UNIKOM)</td>
<td>ARF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Defence budget</td>
<td>6.4bn</td>
<td>7.6bn</td>
<td>8.4bn</td>
<td>3m</td>
<td></td>
<td>ARF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Military expenditure</td>
<td>56.4bn</td>
<td>58.97bn</td>
<td>63.5bn</td>
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<td>ARF</td>
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<tr>
<td>3 Arms imports</td>
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<td>ARF</td>
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<tr>
<td>4 Arms exports</td>
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<td>ARF</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Total number of armed personnel</td>
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<td>ARF</td>
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<td>6. Nuclear capability</td>
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<td>ARF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>47.6bn</td>
<td>49.3bn</td>
<td>50.2bn</td>
<td>24000</td>
<td>1. Japanese islands</td>
<td>ARF, Security Pact with the United States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.97bn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. UN peacekeeping missions</td>
<td>ARF, Security Pact with the United States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Defence budget</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>ARF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Military expenditure</td>
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<td>ARF, Security Pact with the United States</td>
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<td>3 Arms imports</td>
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<tr>
<td>4 Arms exports</td>
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<td>ARF, Security Pact with the United States</td>
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