International Economics

280 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017 U.S.A.

POLITICAL RISK ANALYSIS

William H. Overholt
Vice President
Political Assessment Group

PAG 124/1-D 16 November 1982

DRAFT

This is a working document and is not in final form; the statements contained in it may need to be revised or corrected. It is reproduced for private circulation only, not for general distribution or publication, and it should not be cited or quoted without the permission of the author.

Drafts are reproduced at the discretion of the author, with no Bank review procedure, and thus no opinions, statements of fact, or conclusions contained in this document can be attributed to the Bank or its clients.

GENERIC PURPOSES OF POLITICAL RISK ASSESSMENT

RISK AVOIDANCE

OPPORTUNITY SEEKING

COUNTRY PLANNING

INTERNATIONAL ANALYSIS

NEGOTIATING STRATEGY

STRATEGIC PLANNING

INFLUENCING EVENTS

WHY QUANTITATIVE METHODS DON'T WORK

LACK OF THEORY

LACK OF RELIABILITY

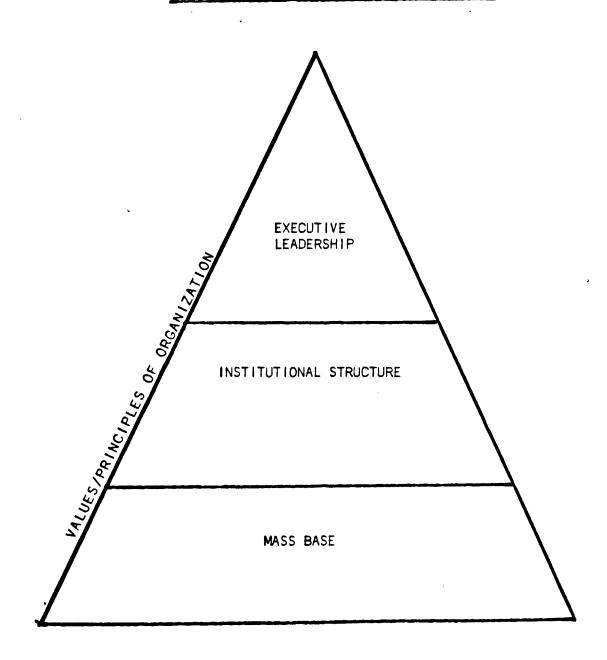
LACK OF VALIDITY

LACK OF RECENCY

LACK OF COMPLEXITY

EXCESSIVE GENERALITY

ORGANIZATION OF A POLITICAL REGIME



KEY EXECUTIVE LEADERSHIP QUALITIES

PATRIOTISM

HONESTY

PRIORITY FOR ECONOMICS

SKILL

STRENGTH

UNITY

TIES TO INSTITUTIONS AND SUPPORT GROUPS

CRITERIA FOR JUDGING INSTITUTIONS

PERSONNEL

PERFORMANCE

COHERENCE

CRISIS ADAPTABILITY

CANDIDATE GROUPS FOR SOCIAL COALITIONS

MILITARY

CIVIL SERVICE

INTELLIGENTSIA

STATE FIRMS

INDUSTRIALISTS

SMALL BUSINESSMEN

SKILLED WORKERS

UNSKILLED WORKERS

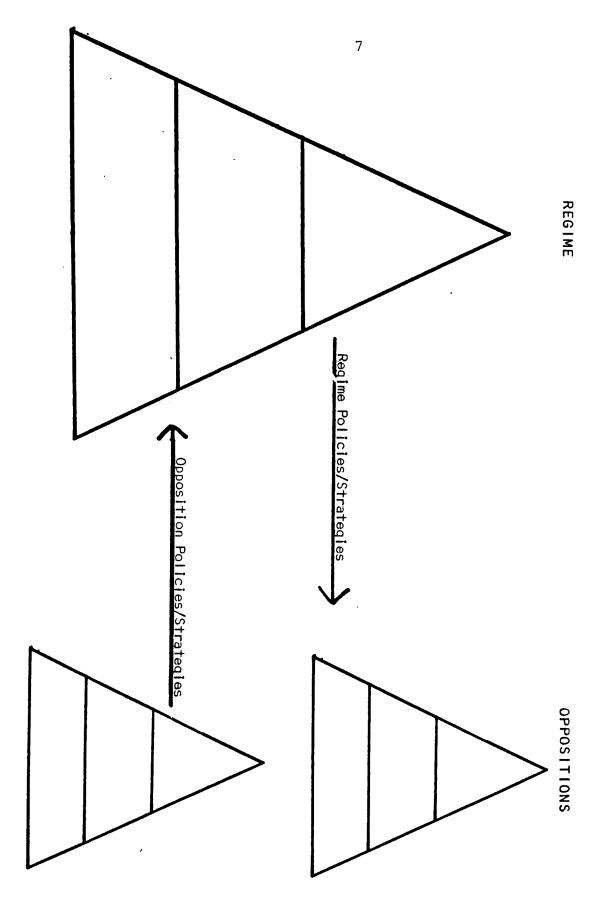
LANDLORDS

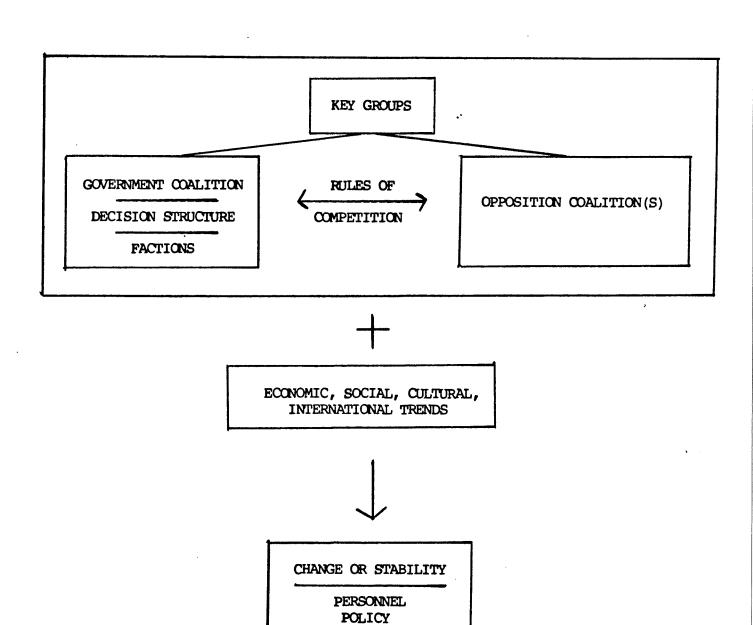
PEASANTS

ETHNIC GROUPS

RELIGIOUS GROUPS

(FOREIGN SUPPORT)





INSTITUTIONS
VALUES
VIOLENCE

VARIETIES OF MISMANAGEMENT

SUBSIDIES

- -- HUMANITARIAN
- -- FAILURE TO ADJUST

INEFFICIENCY

- SUBSIDIES
- -- PROTECTION
- --- FAVORED SECTORS

DISTORTED PRICING

-- LOSS OF MARKETS

CURRENCY OVERVALUATION

-- LOSS OF EXPORTS

OVER-INVESTMENT

MISPLACED INVESTMENT

SYNDROMES OF MISMANAGEMENT

AFRICAN URBANIZATION

POLISH PRODUCTIVITY

ASIAN CORRUPTION

TURIKISH CIVIL SERVICE

ARGENTINE MILITARY

MEXICAN MACHO

THIRD WORLD RADICALISM

DIFFERENTIATING RISKS I:

DIFFERENTIAL NATIONALIST SENSITIVITIES

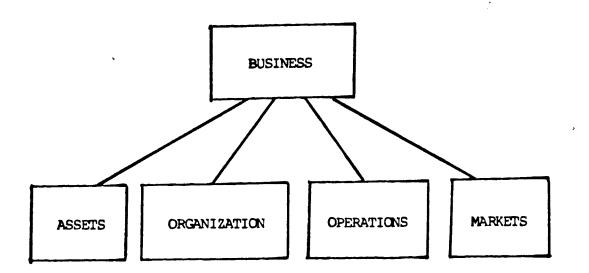
- A. MILITARY PROJECTS
- B. NATIONAL COMMUNICATIONS & TRANSPORTATION
- C. LAND
- D. NON-RENEWABLE NATURAL RESOURCES
- E. RENEWABLE NATURAL RESOURCES
- F. MANUFACTURING & SERVICES

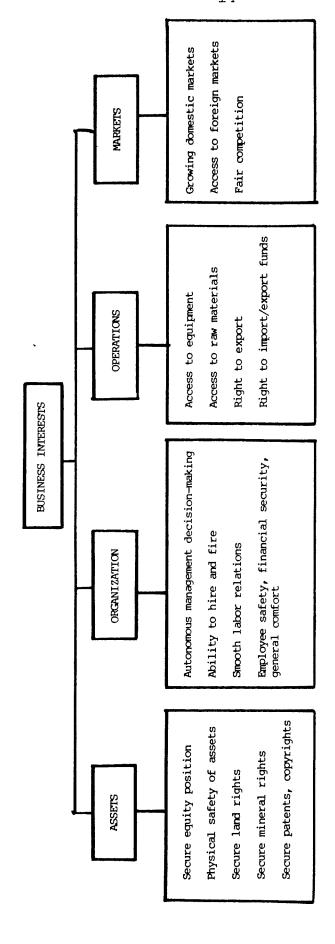
DIFFERENTIATING RISKS II:

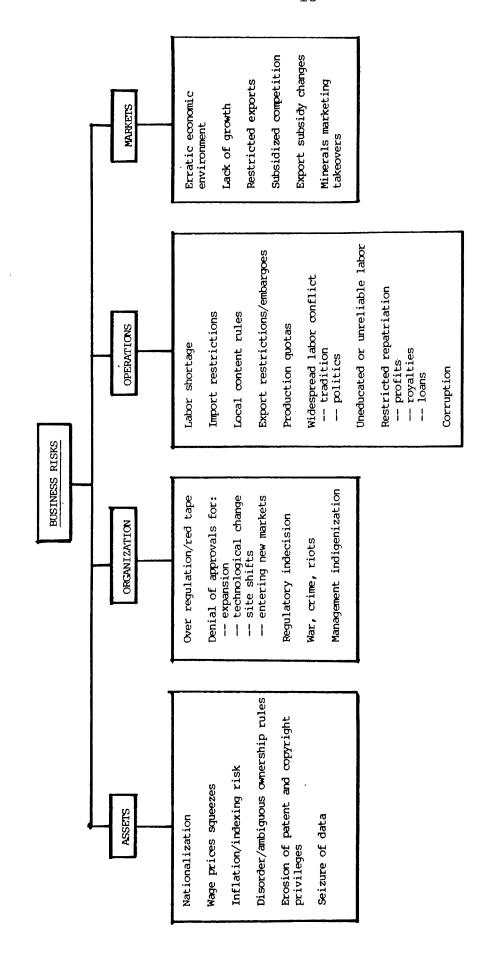
DIFFERENTIAL VULNERABILITIES

- A. LONG-TERM VS SHORT-TERM COMMITMENTS
 --OR LONG VS SHORT PAYBACK PERIODS
- B. SMALL VS LARGE PARTNERS
- C. SINGLE VS MULTIPLE PARTNERS
- D. SIMPLE VS COMPLEX MARKETS
 --GOLD VS CHROME
 --MINING VS FINANCE
- E. LOW VS HIGH TECHNOLOGY
- F. SLOW VS RAPID TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE
- G. LOW VS HIGH EMPLOYMENT

COMPONENTS OF BUSINESS







FROST & SULLIVAN ANALYSIS OF THE CONTINUATION OF MARCOS REGIME

CURRENT ESTIMATES

ORIENTATION, CERTAINTY, POWER, SALIENCE*

+ Supports 1 Little/None 4 High

0 Neutral 2 Slight 5 Extremely High - Opposes 3 Moderate

GPF0502	_	WTATTON OFRITA	TMTY	R SALIF	NCE	PRINCE
ACTOR	ORIE	CERT	YIM. BOME	K SALI		PRI SO
Benigno Aquino	_	x 5	x 2	x 5	=	- 50
Armed Forces	+	x 4	x 3	x 4	=	+48
Cardinal Sin		x 5	x 1	x 5	=	-25
Christian Left	_	x 5	x 1	x 3	=	-1 5
Economic Elite	+	x 4	x 3	x 2	=	+24
Moderate Opposition	_	x 2	x 2	x 3	=	-12
Labor	_	x 3	x 1	x 3	=	- 9
Raul S. Manglapus	_	x 5	x 1	x 3	=	-15
Ferdinand Marcos	+	x 5	x 5	x 5	=	+125
Moro National						
Liberation Front		x 3	x 2	x 2	=	-12
New People's Army	-	x 5	x 2	x 2	=	-20
Cabinet	+	x 5	x 2	x 4		+40
Overseas Opposition	_	x 2	x 1	x 3	=	- 6

PROBABILITY EQUATION:

$$\frac{\text{E W}_{\text{S}}}{\text{E W}_{\text{t}}} = \frac{\text{Sum of Total Positive Actor Scores}}{\frac{\text{(Including 1/2 of each Neutral Actor Score)}}{\text{SUM OF ABSOLUTE VALUE OF ALL ACTOR SCORES}} = \frac{237}{401}$$

PROBABILITY = 59%

From: William D. Coplin and Michael K. O'Leary, "Systematic Political Risk Forecasting," March 9, 1982, mimeo.

THREE BASIC KINDS OF SCENARIOS

BUSINESS-AS-USUAL
SURPRISE-FREE
SURPRISES

PHASES OF SCENARIO WRITING

- I. HISTORICAL TREND ANALYSIS
- II. EXPANDING THE OPTIONS
- III. BOILING DOWN THE CENTRAL POSSIBILITIES
- IV. IDENTIFYING SURPRISES

CENTRAL ISSUES OF GLOBAL POLITICS

I. WEST-WEST AND EAST-EAST

- A. POLITICAL COHESION
- B. ECONOMIC VITALITY
- C. INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURES & TRENDS --NATO, WARSAW PACT, EEC, CMEA...

II. EAST-WEST AND NORTH-SOUTH

- A. STAKES OF CONFLICT
- B. STRATEGIES OF CONFLICT & COOPERATION
- C. TONE OF RELATIONSHIPS
- D. RELATIVE COHESION, VITALITY, BARGAINING POWER

III. MILITARY - PRIMARILY EAST-WEST

- A. COMPARATIVE STRATEGIES
- B. TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS
- C. LOCAL CONFLICTS WHICH COULD SPREAD
- D. ARMS TRADE
- E. NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION

IV. GLOBAL ECONOMY

- A. GROWTH RATE
- B. STRUCTURE
- C. TECHNOLOGIES
- D. DISTRIBUTION
- E. DEMOGRAPHY
- F. TRADE
- G. INSTITUTIONS

KEY RISK STUDY TECHNIQUES

EARLY WARNING INDICATORS

EXPERT CONSULTATIONS

- -- ORAL
- -- WRITTEN
- -- VICARIOUS

PIGEON-HOLED STAFF

STAFF-SUPPORTED DECISION-MAKING

STAFF-LINE INTEGRATED ANALYSIS

STAFF-LINE INTEGRATED PLANNING