

**NATIONAL OPEN UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA**

**SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**COURSE CODE: INR 111**

**COURSE TITLE:  
INTRODUCTION TO INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**

**COURSE  
GUIDE**

INR 111

**INTRODUCTION TO INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**

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## Introduction

**INR 111: Introduction to International Studies** is a one Semester course. It will be available for you to take towards the core module of the French and International Studies Programme. This course is suitable as a foundation course on the subject matter of international studies as a discipline.

This course consists of 20 Units. It examines in detail the nature of the discipline of International Studies. The course covers such diverse topics as International History, Theories of international Studies, the Power Theory, Diplomacy, the meaning of Power and the Balance of Power. It further examines the key concept of Foreign Policy, Foreign Policy and National Interest, Methods and techniques of Formulating and Executing Foreign Policy and the Principles of Bargaining and Negotiation. The subjects of National Security and International Technical Assistance were also addressed in this course in addition to others.

There are compulsory prerequisites for this course. The course guide tells you briefly what the course is all about, what you are expected to know in each unit, what course materials you need to use and how you can work your way through these materials. It also emphasizes the necessity for tutor-marked assignments. There are also periodic tutorial classes that are linked to this course.

### **What you will learn in this course**

The overall objective of **INR 111 Introduction to International Studies** is to expose the students to the whole gamut of issues surrounding the subject matter of International Studies. It seeks to acquaint the student with the basics in the theory and practice of International Relations and Diplomacy. Knowledge of this will adequately prepare the student for a possible career in the Foreign Ministry, in the international civil society or as international civil servants.

Your understanding of this course will serve to expose you to a very important part of international studies that have to do with the understanding and actual practice of International Relations.

### **Course Aims**

The basic aim we intend to achieve in this course is to expose the student to the discipline of international studies, its various interpretations and the rudiments of foreign policy making and execution. The course is geared towards exposing the student to the interplay of domestic and foreign policies in the maintenance of the National Interests of countries. And in doing this, the student is expected to appreciate the role that National Security plays in this complex game.

### **Course Objectives**

Several objectives can be delineated from this course. In addition, each unit has specific objectives. The unit objectives can be found at the beginning of a unit. You may want to refer to them during your study of the particular unit to check on the progress you are making. You should always look at the unit objectives after completing a unit. In this way, you can be sure that you have covered what is required of you in that unit.

#### **On successful completion of the course, you should be able to:**

- 1) Intelligently discuss the discipline of International Studies;
- 2) Distinguish between International Relations and International Studies;
- 3) Explain the meaning of Diplomatic History;
- 4) Describe the use of the Historical Method in International Relations;
- 5) Discuss the Systems theory;
- 6) Discuss the Theory of Social Equilibrium;
- 7) Explain the Power Theory;
- 8) Understand the Decision making Theory;
- 9) Define the meaning and uses of Diplomacy;
- 10) Define what Economic Diplomacy means;
- 11) Explain the meaning of power and the 'Balance of power' theory;
- 12) Appreciate the reasons for Alliance Formations in the international system;
- 13) Define Foreign Policy and understand the processes of Foreign Policy;
- 14) Discuss Foreign Policy in relation to National Interest;
- 15) Discuss Foreign Policy Formulation and Implementation;
- 16) Define Negotiation and the elements of Negotiation;
- 17) Understand the meaning of National Security;
- 18) Discuss the issue of Foreign Aid as it relates to National Interest;
- 19) Explain the necessity for Nigeria's Technical Aids Corps Scheme;
- 20) Discuss International Technical Assistance;
- 21) Discuss refugee problems in Africa;
- 22) Discuss the UN and peacekeeping Missions;

- 23) Discuss the refugee problem in relation to human security;
- 24) Describe the discourse surrounding nuclear, chemical and biological threats;
- 25) Describe foreign policy in the context of multilateralism;
- 26) Discuss disarmament in relation to peacekeeping missions.

## Working through this Course

**To complete this course you are required to read the study units. Most of the units contain self-assessment exercises, and at some points in the course, you are required to submit assignments for assessment purposes.**

**At the end of this course is a final examination. Stated below are the components of the course and what you are expected to do.**

## Course Materials

- i. Course Guide
- ii. Study Units
- iii. Textbooks and other Reference Sources
- iv. Assignment File
- v. Presentation

## Study Units

There are twenty study units in this course, as follows:

- Unit 1: The Discipline of International Studies
- Unit 2: International History
- Unit 3: Theories of International Studies
- Unit 4: What is Power?
- Unit 5: The Power Theory
- Unit 6: The Balance of Power
- Unit 7: Diplomacy
- Unit 8: Concept of Foreign Policy
- Unit 9: Foreign Policy and National Interest
- Unit 10: Methods and Techniques of Formulating Foreign Policy
- Unit 11: Foreign Policy Execution
- Unit 12: Principles of Bargaining and Negotiation
- Unit 13: Negotiating Skills
- Unit 14: The Search for National Security
- Unit 15: International Technical Assistance
- Unit 16: War and Strife in Africa: Issues in Peacekeeping
- Unit 17: The United Nations Organization and the Refugee Problem
- Unit 18: The Nuclear Threat and International Diplomacy
- Unit 19: Foreign Policies of Africa and the Developing Countries
- Unit 20: United Nations Peacekeeping Efforts

Each unit contains a number of self-tests. In general, these self-tests question you on the materials you have just covered or require you to apply it in some way and, thereby, assist you gauge your progress as well as reinforce your understanding of the material. Together with tutor-marked assignments, these exercises will assist you in achieving the stated learning objectives of the individual units and of the Course.

### **Textbooks and Reference**

Rosenau. I.N. (ed.) (1969), International Politics and Foreign Policy, New York, Free Press.

Hans Morgenthau, (1972) Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace, New York, Alfred Knopf, 5<sup>th</sup> Edition.

Joseph Frankel, (1979) International Relations in a Changing World, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Olusanya, G.O. and Akindede, RA. (1990) The Structure and Processes of Foreign Policy Making and Implementation in Nigeria 1960-1990, Lagos, Nigerian Institute of International Affairs.

Akindede, R.A. and Ate, B.A. (2000) Selected Readings in Nigeria's Foreign Policy and International Relations, Lagos, Nigerian Institute of International Affairs.

Akindede, R. and Ate, B.E. (eds.), Beyond Conflict Resolution, Lagos, Nigerian Institute of International Affairs.

### **Assignment File**

There are two aspects to the assessment of this course. In this file, you will find all the details of the work you must submit to your tutor for marking. The marks you obtain for these assignments will count towards the final mark you obtain for this course. Further information on assignment will be found in the Assignment File itself, and later in this Course Guide in the section on assessment.

There are many assignments for this course, with each unit having at least one assignment. These assignments are basically meant to assist you to understand the course.

### **Assessment**

There are two aspects to the assessment of this course. First, are the tutor-marked assignments; second, is a written examination.

In tackling these assignments, you are expected to apply the information, knowledge and experience acquired during the course. The assignments must be submitted to your tutor for formal assessment in accordance with the deadlines stated in the Assignment File. The work you submit to your tutor for assessment will account for 30 per cent of your total course mark.

At the end of the course, you will need to sit for a final examination of three hours duration. This examination will account for the other 70 per cent of your total course mark.

### **Tutor-Marked Assignments (TMAs)**

There are 25 tutor-marked assignments in this course. You only need to submit some of the assignments. The best four (i.e. the highest four of what you submit) will be counted. Each assignment counts for 20 marks but on the average when the five assignments are put together, the score will count 30% towards your total course mark.

The Assignments for the units in this course are contained in the Assignment File. You will be able to complete your assignments from the information and materials contained in the reference books, reading and study units. However, it is always desirable at this level of your education to research more widely, and demonstrate that you have a very broad and in-dept knowledge of the subject matter.

When each assignment is completed, send it together with a TMA (tutor-marked assignment) form to your tutor. Ensure that each assignment reaches your tutor on or before the deadline given in the Assignment File. If, for any reason you cannot complete your work on time, contact your tutor before the assignment is due to discuss the possibility of an extension. Extensions will not be granted after the due date unless there are exceptional circumstances warranting such.

### **Final Examination and Grading**

The final examination for **INR 111 Introduction to International Studies** will be of three hours' duration and have a value of 70% of the total course grade. The examination will consist of questions, which reflect the practice exercises and tutor-marked assignments you have previously encountered. All areas of the course will be assessed.

Use the time between the completion of the last unit and sitting for the examination, to revise the entire course. You may find it useful to

review your tutor-marked assignments and comment on them before the examination.

The final examination covers information from all aspects of the course.

## Course Marking Scheme

**Table 1:** *Course marking Scheme*

<b>ASSESSMENT</b>	<b>MARKS</b>
Assignments	Four submitted, best three accounts for 30% of course marks.
Final examination	70% of overall course marks
<b>Total</b>	<b>100% of course marks</b>

## How to get the most from this Course

In distance learning, the study units replace the university lecture. This is one of the great advantages of distance learning; you can read and work through specially designed study materials at your own pace, and at a time and place that suits you best. Think of it as reading the lecture instead of listening to the lecturer. In the same way a lecturer might give you some reading to do, the study units tell you when to read, and which are your text materials or reference books. You are provided exercises to do at appropriate points, just as a lecturer might give you an in-class exercise.

Each of the study units follows a common format. The first item is an introduction to the subject matter of the unit, and how a particular unit is integrated with the other units and the course as a whole. Next to this is a set of learning objectives. These objectives allow you to know what you should be able to do by the time you have completed the unit. These learning objectives are meant to guide your study. The moment a unit is finished, you must go back and check whether you have achieved the objectives. If this is made a habit, then you will significantly improve your chances of passing the course.

The main body of the unit guides you through the required reading from other sources. This will usually be either from the reference books or from a Reading section.

The following is a practical strategy for working through the course. If you run into any trouble, telephone your tutor. Remember that your tutor's job is to help you. When you need assistance, do not hesitate to call and ask your tutor to provide it.

- 1) Read this Course Guide thoroughly, it is your first assignment.
- 2) Organize a Study Schedule. Design a 'Course Overview' to guide you through the Course. Note the time you are expected to spend on each unit and how the assignments relate to the units. Important information, e.g. details of your tutorials, and the date of the first day of the Semester is available from the NOUN Website. You need to gather all the information into one place, such as your diary or a wall calendar. Whatever method you choose to use, you should decide on and write in your own dates and schedule of work for each unit.
- 3) Once you have created your own study schedule, do everything to stay faithful to it. The major reason that students fail is that they get behind with their course work. If you get into difficulties with your schedule, please, let your tutor know before it is too late to get help.
- 4) Turn to Unit 1, and read the introduction and the objectives for the unit.
- 5) Assemble the study materials. You will need your set books and the unit you are studying at any point in time.
- 6) Work through the unit. As you work through the unit, you will know what sources to consult for further information.
- 7) Up-to-date course information will be continuously posted there.
- 8) Well before the relevant due dates (about 4 weeks before due dates), access the Assignment File on the NOUN Website and download your next required assignment. Keep in mind that you will learn a lot by doing the assignment carefully. They have been designed to help you meet the objectives of the course and, therefore, will help you pass the examination. Submit all assignments not later than the due date.
- 9) Review the objectives for each study unit to confirm that you have achieved them. If you feel unsure about any of the objectives, review the study materials or consult your tutor.
- 10) When you are confident that you have achieved a unit's objectives, you can start on the next unit. Proceed unit by unit through the course and try to pace your study so that you keep yourself on schedule.
- 11) When you have submitted an assignment to your tutor for marking, do not wait for its return before starting on the next unit. Keep to your schedule. When the Assignment is returned, pay particular attention to your tutor's comments, both on the tutor-

marked assignment form and also the written comments on the ordinary assignments.

- 12) After completing the last unit, review the course and prepare yourself for the final examination. Check that you have achieved the unit objectives (listed at the beginning of each unit) and the course objectives (listed in the Course Guide).

## **Tutors and Tutorials**

**There are 15 hours of tutorials provided in support of this course. You will be notified of the dates, times and location of these tutorials, together with the name and phone number of your tutor.**

Your tutor will mark and comment on your assignments, keep a close watch on your progress and on any difficulties you might encounter and provide assistance to you during the course. You must mail your tutor-marked assignments to your tutor well before the due date (at least two working days are required). They will be marked by your tutor and returned to you as soon as possible.

Do not hesitate to contact your tutor by telephone, e-mail, or discussion board. The following might be circumstances in which you will find help necessary. Contact your tutor if:

- i. You do not understand any part of the study units or the assigned readings.
- ii. You have difficulties within the exercises.
- iii. You have a question or problem with an assignment, with your tutor's comments on an assignment or with the grading of an assignment.

## **Summary**

You should try your best to attend the tutorials. This is the only chance to have face-to-face contact with your tutor and ask questions which are answered instantly. You can raise any problem encountered in the course of your study. To gain the maximum benefits from course tutorials, prepare a question list before attending them. You will learn quite a lot from participating in the discussions.

**MAIN  
COURSE**

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## **MODULE 1**

Unit 1	The Discipline of International Studies
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Unit 3	Theories of International Studies

### **UNIT 1 THE DISCIPLINE OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**

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3.4	The Aims of this Course
4.0	Conclusion
5.0	Summary
6.0	Tutor-Marked Assignment
7.0	References/Further Readings

#### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

In this unit, we shall examine the nature of the discipline of International Studies, noting the various nomenclatures or ways in which it has been understood. Sometimes, it has been referred to as International Relations and at other times as International Affairs or even International diplomacy.

#### **2.0 OBJECTIVES**

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- i) Explain what International Studies is;
- ii) Distinguish between International Relations and International Studies;
- iii) Define International Relations and its various components;
- iv) Explain the link between International Relations and History.

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 International Studies**

There is no major dichotomy between international studies, international affairs and international diplomacy; rather it is a matter of nomenclature. In most universities in the developed countries, it is either of these captions and they are usually taught in the department of Political Science or History. International Relations is however, more prevalent in the discipline of political science. This is the case in the developing countries. The same goes for the study of International Economic Relations, though fully within the purview of the discipline of Economics, it is also taught within Political Science or History departments. Therefore, such study areas or topics of International Law, foreign policy, international trade, international economies, commonwealth studies, regional economic integration, regional studies (Middle East), international organization/institutions, diplomacy, war and peace, or armament or disarmament are taught within various courses in History or Political Science departments.

The main difference between the two disciplines is in the methodology of study. While International Relations studies fall within the discipline of Political Science, it is usually scientific using all scientific tools (Behaviouralism) of analysis like hypotheses testing that usually leads to empirical theory building, with technical analysis verification. Scholars in history wade through its methodology of historiography, involving themselves in a systematic amount of events without resulting into any theoretical analysis or in any other scientific analysis. This also accounts for the different but similar course content that are often designed. Furthermore, while the historian may take a historical study of events with little analysis, the political scientist will not just go into scientific analysis but must first go through a historical reproduction. This is where we say that history cannot be forgotten and at times history repeats itself. History does not repeat itself; similar events happen at different times and involve different personalities and places.

International Relations is therefore, concerned with the study of the nature, conduct of, and influence upon, relations among individuals or groups operating in particular areas within a framework of the global system, and with the nature of, and the change of factors affecting the interactions among them. International relations may also refer to all forms of interaction between the members of separate societies, whether government-sponsored or not. International relations include the analysis of foreign policies or political processes between nations, but with its interest in all facets of relations between distinct societies. It would include as well studies of international trade unions, the

International Red Cross, Tourism, International Trade, Transport, communications and development of international values and ethics.

In the final analysis, as a student of international relations, you should:

1. bear in mind that the challenge before them is the study of the international systems, events and processes as well as the behaviour and capabilities of individual "actors" or group of actors;
2. deal with the relations among the relatively weak and underdeveloped states; relations among the super-powers; among states; and non-state actors and among the allies and prospective allies;
3. be concerned with relations between adversary states, between industrial and non-industrial, between oil producing and oil consuming, between East and West, between North and South, and among states within the same region as well as between those belong to different regions.

### **3.2 Why Study International Relations?**

These are exciting and troubling times to study global politics. The world has entered a period of dramatic and confusing change. Many of the institutions that shaped and regulated our world's political life are undergoing rapid evolution or decay, and new institutions are emerging equally quickly. Events such as the September 11, 2001 terrorist attack on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon raise concerns about the violent nature of global politics -- even while the globalization of the world's economy accelerates and international cooperation to solve emerging global problems continues to increase. We are witnessing the sudden and still uncertain transformation of a system of international politics that originally emerged in Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in response to the collapse of medieval order. This "Westphalian system" of world politics, organized around sovereign states, evolved in the eighteenth century to cope with the rise of democracy and in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to accommodate industrialization and the rise of nationalism.

Today, however, another revolution appears to be in process. Armed with greater education, with new ways of defining their identity, and with new ways of viewing their world -- and empowered with new tools, like computers, the internet, and cellular telephones, for analyzing and sharing ideas and data -- individuals are finding new ways to organize and to achieve their goals. Many of these changes permit ordinary

people to question authority and, for better or worse, to resist hierarchical institutions that attempt to control their behavior and impose order on political, economic, and social interaction. Paralleling this institutional shift is a transformation in the global agenda and in the meaning of "security." Issues like crime, disease, human rights, economic development, and environmental protection increasingly span national borders and compete for international attention along side more traditional issues like war and peace. And competing conceptions of identity -- along ethnic, gender, and cultural lines -- create new cleavages in global politics, vying with those based on citizenship or national identity. Thus in today's world, three sets of fundamental questions about global politics has simultaneously been reopened. First, questions of what "security" means and what institutions will be responsible for providing it -- questions that were resolved in the seventeenth century by the development of the "state" -- are again being debated. Second, the central political question of the eighteenth century -- how to create democratic political institutions that empowers individuals and yet permits the achievement of collective purposes -- is back. And third, the question of "who we are" -- that is, the issue of identity -- which bedeviled the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, has returned with a vengeance. Whether the twenty-first century is an age of unprecedented human achievement or a dark interregnum depends in no small measure on the answers we can construct to these questions.

Ultimately, of course, this is why it is so exciting to study international relations today. It is not simply that change is all around us. It is that we can influence, if not completely control, that change, and by doing so move the world down different, hopefully better, paths.

### **3.3 Theoretical Background to the study of International Relations**

International Relations, as a course, provide theoretical tools and frameworks of analysis that permit us to better understand the international system in which the countries operate and the global political setting in which we as individuals act. Such an understanding serves two immediate functions.

In the first place, it enables us to make more sense out of our Newspapers every morning, to carry out our democratic and civic obligations more wisely, and to deal more effectively with those aspects of our daily lives that are affected by world political, military, and economic events. By the end of the semester, you should be able to understand and participate intelligently in ongoing public debates about the major issues of global politics and foreign policy. You should be able to recognize and articulate why these issues arise, how they affect

your life and the lives of others around the world, what the range of possible solutions looks like, what moral dilemmas are raised by these issues, and what criteria for moral judgment might be used in attempting to evaluate or resolve these dilemmas.

In the second place, this class acts as a foundation for upper-level courses in international relations. It does so in three ways. First and most obviously, it provides a background for thinking about topics like international relations theory, strategies of international relations, defense policy, and the causes of war, foreign policy, and international political economy. Second and more broadly, it exposes you to the distinctive social scientific approach to gaining knowledge -- an approach shared not only by political scientists but also by economists, psychologists, sociologists, and anthropologists. At times we will be self-conscious about asking ourselves why we believe a particular argument or theory to be true, and about how we could go about improving our understanding of some phenomenon or pattern of behavior. Third and most fundamentally, this class will try to inculcate habits of critical reading, reasoning, writing, and speaking.

The differences between these two approaches are by no means so sharp or so absolute as these statements would suggest. The study and practice of International Relations require a variety of methods and techniques, as well as a framework of theory and theories, most of which, if properly used, will draw upon "classical", "scientific" and many other approaches.

Although the current emphasis is increasingly on interdisciplinary approaches, much of international relations teaching and research is still weighted heavily in favour of some more established discipline, notably history, political science, law and economics, and to an increasing extent sociology, social psychology, and cultural anthropology. Even today many courses in the subject are hardly more than courses in political geography, human ecology, international organisations and institutions, comparative political systems, or political behaviour. Some critics of the "new look" in the subject complain that the most "far out" of the new courses in international relations deal almost exclusively with such esoteric approaches as general theory or quantitative methodology, often presented in statistical and mathematical terms.

Supplementing the general approaches are a variety of more specific ones that give a distinctive flavour to almost every basic text in the field.

The study of international relations is not a science with which we solve the problems of international life. At its best it is an objective and systematic approach to those problems. Students of international

relations must always strive for objectivity, balance, and perspective. They must carry on their work in the face of obstacles of prejudice, ignorance, emotionalism, and vested interest, often including their own. Since the world is their laboratory, and since a healthy combination of realism and idealism must underlie their approach to the subject, they must beware of “simple” solutions to complex problems, and they must also shun the thesis of the “inevitability” of war, the “wave of the future” approach, and all such encouragements to disaster. They must look with understanding on the world as it is, and at the same time keep their eyes on the world as it should be; but they must never mistake the ideal for the actual, or conclude that what “must” be will in fact occur.

### **3.4 Course Aims:**

On completion of this course, you should be able to:

- i) Expatiate on the major issues in international politics;
- ii) Acquire the knowledge and intellectual skills necessary for more specialized courses in international relations at the 300 and 400 levels, as well as a sense of the variety of topics and approaches in such courses;
- iii) Understand the distinctive social science approach to gaining knowledge;
- iv) Improve your ability to think, read, listen, write and speak critically and clearly.

### **Self Assessment Exercise**

What is International Studies?

What do you understand by international Relations?

### **4.0 CONCLUSION**

International relations students are therefore to learn not only about the history and events within the international system and how to analyze them but also their processes and the means or mode or operation as well. In summary, there is little difference between the use of the terms – International Affairs, International Relations, diplomatic history and diplomacy. What basically differs is the method of analysis, and the amount of emphasis placed on a particular aspect of the subject.

## 5.0 SUMMARY

We have discussed the subject matter of International Affairs, its relation to international relations, history and other humanities. International Affairs is therefore, basically a broad and living subject of enquiry, and is best appreciated from a multidisciplinary perspective.

## 6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

Discuss the methodological approaches of Political Science and History to the study of International relations.

## 7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

Rosenau, I.N. (ed.), (1969) International Politics and Foreign Policy,  
New York, Free Press.

Joseph Frankel, (1979) International Relations in a Changing World,  
Oxford, Oxford University Press.

## **UNIT 2      INTERNATIONAL HISTORY**

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- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 Diplomatic History
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Readings

### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

In this unit, we want to understand what is meant by international history or diplomatic history, and the differences between them if any. Emphasis will be laid on the historical method in international relations and how this has changed over time, to embrace not just the description of events, but also the socio-economic and political conditions within which international Affairs is conducted.

### **2.0 OBJECTIVES**

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- i) Discuss international history/diplomatic history
- ii) Explain the genesis of international relations
- iii) Describe the historical method in global system analysis
- iv) Explain the role of history in the prediction of events

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 Diplomatic History**

This was the precursor to the sub-field of international relations and it dates back to the period of World War I and into post-1945 period. Until then, most writings on inter-state relations centered primarily on diplomatic history and international law. The approach was basically static and legalistic and was concerned mainly with a blow-by-blow account of events between and among states. The emphasis was on describing with as much detail and accuracy as possible, particular or specific incidents in history. No attempt was made to theorize nor was there a quest for policy relevant information that could be used to mould events to realize policy goals.

However, the catastrophic effect of the First World War stimulated interest in the study of international Relations. Because of the magnitude of the death toll of the war, estimated at several millions, it was the concern of all to learn from the blow-by-blow accounts and to understudy the causes of war and to prevent it, with peace as the major dividend. For this, research institutions such as The Royal Institute of International Affairs in London and the Council on Foreign Relations in New York, were set up immediately after the war. Professorial chairs were also established at the University College of Wales in Aberysturyth in 1922, and the London School of Economics and Political Science in 1923, for the study of international relations. Despite the spread of the study to continental Europe, it was found that the diplomatic-historical perspective persisted. Even when the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 threatened this historical blow-by-blow accounts or method, it still persisted.

Eventually the focus came to focus more on issues, themes and roles of statesmen across times. It also included the social conditions of the time, or a combination of all factors. Thus, we take a study on transfer of technology in Africa from 1960 to 1980, the findings which led to the shift to the south-south cooperation and self-reliance strategy. We can also analyze Nigeria's foreign policy from 1960 – 1965, 1966 – 1970, or civilian era versus military regimes; post independence era, etc. With the period identified, analysis would shift to actors' behaviour and pattern of relationships, such as cooperation, competition and conflict. In 1990, Iraq was advised by most countries to withdraw from Kuwait, because the United States was ready to repeat events in history (United States bombed the two cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1941; two cities of Libya – Tripoli and Benghazi in 1986); Iraqi cities were eventually bombed on January 15, 1991. This historical experience ought to have guided Iraq in her action. At the same time, if Iraq was not forced out of Kuwait, futurologists may argue that Iraq may go to Saudi Arabia next or, that it will encourage Muammar Gaddafi to annex Sudan and Chad. Those against the United States' quick intervention also recall history by arguing that it could be another Vietnam.

Another aspect has to do with the fact that those behaviors are conditioned by the socio-economic background of the time. After all, no nation can just wake up to annex, or start to bomb the other. Iraq argued that it annexed Kuwait because it had just realized that Kuwait was previously part of Iraq' 19<sup>th</sup> Province.

Some analysts argued that Nigeria's high point level of involvement in ECOMOG in Liberia is to counter previous passive role of Nigeria, and also the particular nature of the crisis.

If themes constitute the basis of analysis, they are examined across times as well as their influence on the development of relationships. For example, what is the import of *Perestroika* and *Glasnost*, Liberalism, isolationism, autarky, dirigisme, integration, and new international economic order in the present century since she has developed technologically?

The historical approach also takes on a role in a country's making and implementation of foreign policy across time. In other words, to what extent has ideas, policies, influences and writing of notable leaders like Bismarck, Kennedy, Roosevelt, Kissinger, Nkrumah, Mandela, Nyerere, Babangida, Obasanjo determined war and peace?

The social conditions under which they rule e.g. poor economy, falling standards of their currency, food shortages, falling prices of their exports, Oil Act, must have influenced their peaceful or warring relations. Mikhail Gorbachev's *Perestroika* and *Glasnost* was influenced by the poor economy of the then Soviet Union of the time and he wanted a hand of fellowship from the West.

### **Self Assessment Exercise**

What do you understand by diplomatic history?

How did the study of international relations evolve?

## **4.0 CONCLUSION**

Diplomatic history is a precursor to the study of international relations, and has seen evolved from the historical accounts of relations between countries to involving the socio-economic, political and global conditions under which countries relate to one another. The study of international relations was given added impetus by the scale of destruction and death during the second world war (1939-1945), and the need to understand not only what went wrong, but also to prevent future occurrences of such catastrophe.

## **5.0 SUMMARY**

We have discussed international history or diplomatic history and shown how this evolved from just the description of historical events as they occurred, to embracing the conditions under which such events occurred. In addition, we traced the evolution of the study of international relations.

## **6.0 Tutor- Marked Assignment**

Discuss the development of international relations.

## **7.0 Reference/Further Readings**

Hans Morgenthau, (1972) Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace, 5<sup>th</sup> Edition Alfred Knopf, New York.

## **UNIT 3 THEORIES OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**

### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 The Systems Theory
    - 3.1.1 Modernisation Theory
    - 3.1.2 The International Interdependence (Globalisation Theory)
    - 3.1.3 Talcott Parson's Theory
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Readings

### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

From this point on, we will begin our examination of the various theories of international studies and diplomacy. We will begin by examining the Systems theory as it relates to international studies, noting in particular the various theorists and how this theory helps us to explain what happens in the relations between countries at the regional and state levels.

### **2.0 OBJECTIVES**

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- i) Explain the Systems theory
- ii) Relate it to international studies
- iii) Discuss Talcott Parsons Theory of Social Equilibrium
- iv) List the names of the Systems theorists

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 The Systems Theory**

The systems theory is probably the most widely used in international relations. Borrowed from Biology and Engineering sciences, its emphasis is on the working mechanism of a set-up for goals attainment. System theory aids in determining a political system's capacity for maintaining its equilibrium in the face of stress and for adapting to changes that are forced internally and externally. It is assumed that all

existing political units interact with one another according to some regular and observable pattern of relationship.

A system is an autonomous unit of complex elements, which interacts and is capable of adapting within itself. Each set of element is interdependent. The behaviour of each state depends upon the behaviour of other states; or in terms of gamesmanship, every player's move or "strategy" – the set of moves he calculates he must take to win – depends on the moves of every other player. A system, then, is an abstract way of looking at a part of reality for purposes of analysis; hence we speak of a human being's "circulatory system", in which the parts or "subsystems" – the veins, arteries, organs, and cells – must all work properly if the larger body system is to give peak performance or, perhaps run at all. In other words, when man eats, digestion takes place, as well as waste disposal. This helps to lubricate the body system for a healthy living leading to reproduction. Any malfunctioning, say the blood system, must destabilize other sub-systems; hence drug may be taken to create proper functioning for continuity.

In the game of international politics, each state in the state system is the guardian of its own security and independence. Each regards other states as potential enemies who might threaten fundamental interests. That is, each state action either destabilizes or attempts to maintain equilibrium. Consequently, states generally feel insecure and regard one another with a good of apprehension and distrust. The result is that all become very concerned with their strengths or power. In order to prevent an attack, a state feels it must be as powerful as the potential aggressor, for disproportion of power might tempt the other state to attack. A "balance of power", or terror or equilibrium, however would make victory in war unlikely. Therefore, equilibrium will in all probability deter attack (Morgenthau Power Theory). "Equilibrium is balanced power and balanced power is naturalized power". Thus, a balance of power is the preservation of the system itself. Any attempt by any nation to expand its power (destabilizes the system) and attain dominance, which would allow it to impose its will upon the other states; will be resisted. When the balance is disturbed, the tendency will be for responsive action to be taken to return it to a position of equilibrium. In other words, states are actors whose purpose is to play the role the system has "assigned" them in maintaining this equilibrium. If they fail in their assignment by disregarding the operational rule, that power must be counterbalanced, and thus place their own security in jeopardy. The balance of power is therefore an empirical description of how states do act (or more cautiously, how most of them, especially the great powers, act most of the time) and also a prescription for states to show how they should not. From the above analysis, a country is a subsystem whatever her behaviour is; it either destabilizes or maintains equilibrium. The two

world wars and their intervention by the U.S and the former Soviet Union on other states have in one way or the other destabilized the system or maintained it. The middle east crisis destabilized international peace, created global oil price inflation and nurtured the solar energy idea and subsequent effort to explore international system through an attack situation could affect the functioning of the other subsystems and therefore the whole system.

Thus, American bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1941 partly brought World War II to an end. So was her bombing of Libyan cities of Tripoli and Benghazi to prevent Gaddafi's imperialistic posture. That Saddam Hussein annexed Kuwait disturbed by the system, but the intervention of the UN and US-Allied Force, came to restore equilibrium in the Gulf.

The inability of the north to transfer technology to the south explains the imbalance in the economies of the third world. The Liberian, Sudanese, Somalian, Sierra Leonean, Rwandan, Burundi crises have disturbed the African system, but efforts by the ECOMOG, the AU, the US and the UN are ongoing to restore equilibrium.

### **3.1.1 Modernisation Theory**

This theory argues that third world participation in the world economy through such channels of foreign trade, foreign investments, and foreign loans would transform the developing societies of Europe and North America. Underlying this argument was the assumption that active participation in the global economic activities on the part of the developing societies would stimulate a greater surplus and increased socio-economic development. Moreover, the activity of the state in the third world would expand, the middle class would broaden, labor would become more organized, and investment in education, health and other social services would increase dramatically. This theory tallies with the third world philosophy of development since independence and apart from some internal measure to redress the total adoption of the mechanism of the theory, it still forms the core of their development strategies. It was on the basis of this that third World states began placing much hope on foreign investment, export promotion and various strands of debt-relief, and their domineering presence in their budget speeches.

It has since been discovered that despite the Third World's increased participation in the international economic order, their economy seems to be stagnating. Despite the effort to reformulate the theory by distributing its shortcoming to the internal structural weakness (official corruption, inefficient and oversized bureaucracy, and authoritarian

leadership) of the state, the theory had come under severe attack by a group of third World Scholars, known as the dependency theorists.

### **3.1.2 The International Interdependence (Globalization) Theory**

This theory takes into cognizance the fact that states in the international society co-operate rather than antagonize (for what one has, the others may lack in sufficient quantity to survive). And that from a small society of independent and self-sufficient, the European states, the international community has developed into a very large interdependent international system called “global village”. The membership of political units has tripled in this century, now closely knit. The world’s nation-states are heavily interdependent in terms of their need for natural resources which are unevenly distributed: - gold in Africa, oil in the Middle East, Titanium in Oceania, Tin in South America and technological expertise in the United States, Asia and Europe. Nations with the largest population – China, India and Commonwealth of Independent States (Former Soviet Union) – impact gain, while the under-endowed developing nations, with two thirds of the world’s populations, need all the products that the industrialized nations produce.

Transnational and cross-national reciprocal needs have greatly multiplied the number of transactions between states. Modern communication systems have accelerated the frequency of these contacts, making the world a global village – globalization.

Nation-states can prosper by negotiating trade and aid issues as well as sharing resources. Indeed higher standard of living is the ultimate objective of foreign policy. Therefore, mutual recognition by all states of one another’s needs and interests provides the only rational terms upon which international politics should be conducted.

The interdependence model copes with war by alleging that historical, war is the exception rather than the rule in the relations between states. The monopoly of nuclear fusion by the major power notwithstanding, they can hardly wage conventional war successfully. The United States, for example, was relatively unsuccessful in waging guerilla war in Vietnam for a variety of reasons. The American military, unfamiliar with guerilla warfare, was unable to fight the war under constraint imposed by government policy; the impact upon the domestic economy was disastrous, and public opinion at home forced its president to decline to run for office again; while opinion abroad subjected the nation to unprecedented vilification. Thus the United States had to seek the support of other powers “Allied Forces” of the United Nations to

prosecute the Gulf war in 1991 that led to the withdrawal of Iraq from Kuwait.

Proponents of the interdependence model would maintain that most of the transactions between states are in fact negotiated agreements in a peaceful environment, but there is competition.

Closely related to the interdependence theory is the transnational school. The center nexus of this school is that the state (union-state) and the state system have collapse with private interests taking over the pursuit of human security and welfare. This is as a result of the rapid and continuous developments in communications, transportation and military technology. The bottom-line of transnational interdependence reflects the diffusion of power in the international system where private interest can act to constrain official policies and where poor and weak states may be able to “take advantage of the trans – nationalisation of technology” to increase their destructive capability.

### **3.1.3 Talcott Parson’s Theory**

According to Talcott Persons, if societal equilibrium is to be maintained, four functional pre-requisites must be performance:

1. Pattern maintenance – the ability of a system to ensure the reproduction of its own basic patterns, it values and norms. Families and households serve this function.
2. Adaptation to the environment and to changes in areas of scientific and technological change.
3. Goal attainment – the capacity of the system to achieve whatever goals the systems has accepted or set for itself. The polity and government perform this.
4. Integration of the different functions and subsystems into a cohesive coordinated whole. This is achieved through the cultural subsystems, e.g. mass communications, religion and education.

According to Parsons, the formulation of common values, which cuts across national boundaries, is essential to international order. Parsons sees the need for the development of procedural consensus agreement among participants in international politics about the institutions and procedures for the settlement of problems and differences.

## **4.0 CONCLUSION**

What should be of interest to students of international politics is that system framework helps us to understand the different interactions that lead to decision-making in foreign policy and the linkage politics. Other theorists of system analysis include David Easton, Karl Deutsch, Gabriel Almond, David Spiro, Richard Rosecrance, George Modelski, and Morton Kaplan.

## **5.0 SUMMARY**

We have comprehensively discussed the Systems theory, including Talcott Parson's theory of Social Equilibrium and the application of this to the study of international relations.

## **6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENTS**

- i) Discuss Talcott Parsons theory of Social Equilibrium and relate it to the international system.
- ii) How can the systems theory be used to understand the notion of international peace and stability?

## **7.0 REFERENCE/FURTHER READINGS**

Joseph Frankel, (1979) International Relations in a changing world, Oxford University Press.

## MODULE 2

Unit 1	What is Power? Unit
2	The Power Theory
Unit 3	The Balance of Power
Unit 4	Diplomacy

### UNIT 1 WHAT IS POWER?

#### CONTENTS

1.0	Introduction
2.0	Objectives
3.0	Main Content
	3.1 The Exercise of Power
4.0	Conclusion
5.0	Summary
6.0	Tutor-Marked Assignment
7.0	References/Further Readings

#### 1.0 INTRODUCTION

As seen earlier power means different things to different peoples, even to scholars of international relations. But such a state of affairs is not enough to pose problems to our making use of the concept (power) as an analytical tool. Power may be simply defined as “the capacity to produce intended effects” (J. Frankel, International Relations) & or “the ability to influence the behaviour of others in accordance with one’s own ends”, (A.F.K. Organski, World Politics). In this, we will examine the nature of power and the various types of power.

#### 2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- i) Define power and explain its uses;
- ii) Identify the different types of power;
- iii) Discuss the way power is exercised;
- iv) Explain the fact that power is relational.

### 3.0 MAIN CONTENT

#### 3.1 The Exercise of Power

The exercise of power by a state is to be observed when the government of one state, because of the actions of another, changes its proposed behaviour: the change may involve an alteration of policy, or the maintenance of a policy that without the exercise of power would have been changed. Power may be exercised through or by the mere existence of a state, through diplomacy, economic pressure, subversion etc. It is however, not to be assumed that power is greatest when it is exercised in the most violent form. At first sight, it may seem that the ability of a state to impose its will by military victory is the ultimate measure of power: but it may on the contrary be argued that the need to resort to violence demonstrates a state's lack of power. This argument, particularly, gains force in our age when nuclear weapons can lead to the destruction of everything on earth: so no state would venture to resort to such use of power because of its consequence. K.J. Holsti has also defined power "as the general capacity of a state to control the behaviour of others". Spanier J. also contends that power is "the capacity to impel the behaviour of others in accordance with one's own objective". The above definition can be described as follows:

Actor (country) "A" seeks to influence "B" because it has established certain objectives, which it feels, cannot be achieved except and unless "B" does "X". If this is the basis of international relations, power can be viewed in several ways:

***Influence:*** An aspect of power, which is essentially a means to an end. Government/States seek influence primarily for achieving or defending other goals, which may include prestige, territory, souls, raw materials, security, or alliances.

***Capability:*** State "A" in the above example, acted towards "B" by mobilizing certain capabilities i.e. Any physical or mental object or quality available as an instrument of inducement, to persuade, reward, threaten, or punish e.g. A man walks to a bank and asks the cashier to surrender to him all her money. The clerk observes that the man is not armed and refuses to comply. The next time the man comes around with a pistol, the clerk would be forced to comply. In this instance, the man has mobilized certain resources or capabilities (the pistol) and succeeds in influencing the cashier to do as he wished. The pistol, just like a nation's military strength, is the instrument used to induce the cashier to change her behaviour to comply with the robber's objective.

**Relationship:** Power exists only in a relationship between or among two or more states. To speak of the power of say Great Britain, Germany, USA or USSR in isolation is meaningless. For example, in 1947 the USSR was able to persuade Poland and Czechoslovakia from participating in the Marshall Plan discussions but was not able to prevent the discussions from taking place. For another example, Neville Chamberlain was able in 1938 to obtain Hitler's signature to a piece of paper stating the desire of the two parties (Germany and England) never to go to war with each other again, but he was not able significantly to moderate Hitler's decisions to annex Czechoslovakia.

**Quantity:** Power can also be regarded as a quantity, but as a quantity it is only meaningful when compared to the power of others. Power is therefore relative. For example, if A can get B to do something, but B cannot get A to do similar thing, then we can say that A has more power than B regarding that particular issue.

The concept of power is therefore more usefully employed if its measurement includes the idea of minimizing loss: on this view the smaller the loss suffered in bringing about a behavioural change, the greater the power of the state, and its power may be seen as being greatest when its mere existence produces a change in another state's policy or prevents the adoption of a policy that would otherwise have been followed. The inability of the United States of America adequately to modify North Vietnam's behaviour without military violence and suffering of heavy losses reduced the ability of the US to influence behaviour in other areas, and seeing how the United States fared in Vietnam, other states may not yield to pressures from Washington on issues they regard as vital, in the hope that no United States administration would want to get into another "dirty war" like that again.

### **Self Assessment Exercise**

Define power and discuss the various types of power.

## **4.0 CONCLUSION**

In the final analysis, nation-states need power in order to win war, make peace or ensure justice. They also need power in order to make progress or prevent others from making progress. It is also clear that the basic components of power are resources, capacity and capabilities and willingness to employ them in order to control the behaviour of others.

What we need to know is that power is a feedback and dynamic relationship. Power relationships may vary from time to time and on an

issue-by-issue basis. It was power, which enabled the Europeans to colonize Africa. It is also power which enabled South Africa to maintain its inhuman apartheid policies in Southern Africa for over a century, and it is power that made the US and USSR (now Russian Federation) to live in relative peace since the end of World War II. In one word, what obtained previously in the international system could be referred to as a “Balance of Power” between the USA and USSR, the NATO and WARSAW Treaty Alliances. However, today it appears that the system is tending towards unilateralism, in which the United States of America is the sole superpower.

## **5.0 SUMMARY**

To summarize, power may be viewed from several aspects: it is a means, it is based on capabilities, it is a relationship and a process, and it can be measured, at least crudely. We can break down the concept of power into three distinct analytic elements. Power comprises:

- (1) the acts (process, relationship) of influencing other states;
- (2) the capabilities used to ensure the wielding of influence, and
- (3) the responses to the acts (K.J. Holsti: *International Politics: Framework for Analysis*).

## **6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT**

- i) Discuss power as a key element in international politics.
- ii) Distinguish between real and potential uses of power with examples.

## **7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS**

Holsti, K.J. (1992) International Politics, Prentice Hall.

Spanier, J. and Wendzel, D. (1996) Games Nations Play, CQ Press.

Hart, J. (1976) “Three Approaches to the Measurement of Power in International Politics”, International Organization, spring.

Keohane, R. and Nye, J. (1989) Power and Interdependence, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition, Harper-Collins, Ch. 1-2.

## **UNIT 2 THE POWER THEORY**

### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 Power Theory
    - 3.1.1 The Decision-Making Theory
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Readings

### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

We will examine the power theory in this unit. We should at this juncture remember that the issue of power and how it is used is central to the study of Political Science and international relations. The power approach is a way of understanding relations among nations in contradistinction to the legalistic and institutional approaches to the study of international politics. It takes the position that a country's National Interest is ensured through the potential use or use of power, which creates a balance of power that ensures that all countries respect one another. We will also discuss the Decision Making theory in this unit.

### **2.0 OBJECTIVES**

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- i) Discuss the power Approach as a theory in Political Science and International Relations;
- ii) Explain what balance of power means;
- iii) Discuss the various theorists of the power approach;
- iv) Discuss the Decision Making Theory;
- v) The Neo-Classic Modernization Theory;
- vi) The International Interdependency (Globalization) Theory.

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 Power Theory**

The power theory in the study of international politics evolved from the weakness of the utopian-idealist school of the pre-World War II era that emphasized the legalistic and institutional approach. The idealist

believed that the international court and the League of Nations would prevent a war situation. However, at the close of World War II the futility of this approach became evident, with the Realists, stressing power and national interest rather than ideals. The main proponents of this school were Hans Morgenthau, E.H. Carr, R. Niebhur, George Kannan and Henry Kissinger. Their thesis was that the pursuit of national power is a natural development in the international system. That those states, which do not strive for power, encourage war, for, if all states strive for power concurrently, peace will evolve because the struggle itself creates balance of power and eliminates hegemony. Hans Morgenthau in his book, *Politics Among Nations*, argued that national interest should best be defined in terms of power pursuit. In fact, post-World War II is power politics.

Martin Wright noted that in *Modern International Politics* the idea of power predominates over the ideas of right. George Schwarzenbeger also, analyzed power as a prime factor in international politics. By definition, power is the ability of an actor in the international scene to use tangible and intangible resources and assets in such a way as to influence the outcome of international events to its own satisfaction. Power is a means to an end and it may at times become an end in itself. The possession of power is meaningless if its application is unable to bring about required results. Whether exercised or not, its possession influences attitudes, roles and politics. Hence most states were careful in the hey days of the cold war (probably being non-aligned) not to incur the wrath of the super-powers of the United States and the Soviet Union, the international “policemen” of the world.

The analyses range from the country’s strategic location through economic, diplomatic, national orientation and military capability. Thus, the United States bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki (Japan) Tripoli and Benghazi (Libya), arrest of Manuel Noriega, a Sovereign leader from Panama, invasion of Grenada, getting the UN Security Council to pass resolutions in quick succession against Iraq in Kuwait, operation of Kuwait, Nigeria’s ECOMOG intervention in Liberia/Sierra Leone, Soviet Union in Afghanistan, etc, could be explained within the power framework. The problem is that this theory considers other issues of morality and legalism irrelevant. It is also too radical and belligerent, for it portends to that power is the only way a state can achieve its national interest without having setbacks.

### **3.1.1 The Decision-Making Theory**

Pioneered by R.C. Snyder and the associates in the 1950s, the model suggests that international events are functions of the wishes and demands of statesmen and not states, passed into decision made;

whether rational or irrational. It also assumes that the decisions of this group are products of conscious effort based on adequate knowledge and guided by skill and training (available alternatives – the seeming best with less losses and high probability of better successes).

Moreover, the growing personalization of political power in most post-colonial states means that the motivation and personality of the key leadership groups are important domestic determinants of foreign policy. This could be deduced from case histories and biographical materials and from speeches, statements and remarks made not only by the small foreign policy elite and members of legislation but also by other groups such as political parties, interest and pressure groups, and mass media. The controversial decision by General Babangida to annul the June 12, 1993 presidential election, evolved from a set-up of military cabal in the armed forces and an element of the Northern oligarchy and not the whole set-up of that military administration, for example.

It is important to note the fact of rationality and irrationality in decision-making. It is therefore assumed that rational decisions will evolve in an open society where information flow, debates and discussions are free as against societies that are closed. In other words, irrational decision will be common in societies where information flow is controlled, censored or open to a few. While open societies are characterized by civilian democracies, where irrelevances and emotionalism are supposed to be played down, military regimes are normally characterized by closed systems where differing opinions are frowned against. This was the case with the military in Nigeria where the press was harassed and persecuted.

As we started earlier, United Nations of the mid-1940s is not certainly the same as the UN of the mid-1970s the only thing, which continues to remain, is the fact that it is still the international political institution. As such, most of the newly independent countries, which joined this international institution after gaining their independence, found themselves having to have to slow down their enthusiasm about the hope and the goodwill they have been anticipating within the UN system.

Looking at page 1 Article (purpose and principles) of the Charter of the world body, there is no question about its good intention as regards security for mankind. When the UN promised to remain international peace and security, and to that end to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and the suppressions of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, the young nations were really taken in. They thought very sincerely that the world body would deliver what it had promised them in its charter. They found it to be their only saving grace since its principles of justice and

international law could at least offer all the confidence and hope. However, the fear and ever growing insecurity of the weaker nations have continued to grow.

The question of the settlement or adjustment of international disputes could not be truly answered by the United Nations. We have witnessed the activities of the UN Peacekeeping Force in the world over the last thirty-five years. It could be seen that the United Nations peacekeeping Force and other activities relating to war (civil or otherwise) were only restricted to the developing countries. The UN Charter has given us to understand that the relations among nations are based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of people.

But this is quite open to question in the light of what prevails today in world politics, especially after the 11 September, 2001 terrorist bombing of the World Trade Center (WTC) and the Pentagon, in the USA. At least the African nations in the UN can no longer take this argument very seriously since the question of colonialism in Africa has not been answered, which also negates the principle completely. To achieve international peace and security, and to solve international problem peacefully, there must be encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms “for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion”.

Therefore, the negation of this political reality by the imperialist powers of the world, who still wish to enslave others, has brought about the demand for changing the global balance of power. The debates and the discussions on the re-structuring of the United Nations system are all the time being sabotaged by the same enemies of human calamitous end. This factor has led the democratic dispensation of Obasanjo’s regime to take Nigeria out of the International Monetary Fund (I.M.F). If we examine the constitutional scheme of the United Nations we shall see that it was built upon three political assumptions: (1) that the great powers acting unison, would deal with any threat to peace and security, regardless of its source; (11) that their combined resort to war, and (111) that no such threat would emanate from one of the great powers themselves.

Before now, the international scene was dominated by cold war between the different ideological schools of major powers. As such they could not act in unison whenever their divergent interest was at stake. This fact was established in many regions in the world in which conflict resulted as a result of foreign interference. And the developing world is not free hitherto.

Because this constitutional scheme of the United Nations has been defied by the political reality of the postwar world, the need for re-

structuring is also pertinent indeed. In our earlier discussion in the chapter, we have shown how the young nations in the UN system have been bringing about some structural changes beyond the anticipation of the founding fathers. In the same token these same representatives of the weaker societies are today asking for a new political order based on equality and justice. Hence this political demand is in conformity with the charter, so, there is no contradiction whatsoever. Many warnings are signals:

Morton A. Kaplan has engaged in an analysis with the intent to explain under what conditions different international system persist, vanish or change from varying starting points. But it would seem unlikely that the developing countries as a group may be able to off set the present bipolarity, given that fact that military capability is actually something that counts. So, the question of re-structuring the UN system is something like a political daydream. However, the weaker nations are trying to do this.

A major problem confronting them too is the fact that in as much as they demand political justice and equality at the international level, they are required to do the same at home. So, there are many questions yet to be answered about this situation. One only hopes that the basic contradiction would be solved so that that humanity could be saved from all the evils and tyrannies confronting it.

### **Self Assessment Exercise**

Discuss the Decision Making Theory.

## **4.0 CONCLUSION**

The power theory is one theory in political science that has remained relevant in the contemporary times, for good or for bad. It should be regarded as the realist theory of politics espoused principally by the Realist School of politics. In international politics, it is applied as *realpolitik*. Though, it is proactive in character, and often achieves result, the problem is the cost of achieving that result. A good example is the huge loss of money, material and human lives as a result of US belligerent intervention in Iraq. Though the immediate objective was achieved through the principle of power politics, the cost of achieving this may not justify the act.

The Decision Making theory on the other hand, maintains that statesmen and not necessarily states make decisions on behalf of their countries. And that sometimes these decisions may or may not be rational.

## 5.0 SUMMARY

We have examined the power theory and its application to the international system. We also presented some of the key theorists of the power approach. Further, we examined the nature of the Decision Making theory.

## 6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

- i) Discuss the position of the Realist School of International Politics.
- ii) The Decision Making Theory is relevant in International Relations. Discuss.

## 7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

Hans Morgenthau, (1972) Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace, 5<sup>th</sup> Edition, Alfred Knopf, New York.

## **UNIT 3 THE BALANCE OF POWER**

### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 What do we mean by Balance?
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
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### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

Balance of power is a term commonly used in international relations. Its use is sometimes not clear. It could mean different things to different people or by the same people at different times. In this unit, we will examine the meaning and various uses of the term.

### **2.0 OBJECTIVES**

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- i) Discuss the term ‘Balance of Power’;
- ii) Explain the meaning of stable equilibrium;
- iii) Discuss Alliance formations in Europe;
- iv) Discuss the relevance of the ‘Balance of Power’ theory.

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 What do we mean by Balance?**

The word “balance” may evoke the image of a pair of scales with weights in either pan of such amount that the scales are posed in equilibrium. The “balance of power” in this sense is then intended to describe a situation in which two states or two groups of states, or all the states of the world grouped around two centers, are conceived to possess of roughly the same amount of power. In this way there will be no dominant power among the competing nation-states, groups or alliances. According to Tunde Adeniran, a Nigerian Professor of international relations, balance of power is derived from:

- a) the existence of a number of sovereign political actors with specific, but unequal powers;

- b) the existence of some small, intermediate and great nation-states; without any of them having the authority and power to control others; and
- c) persistent competition, periodic confrontation and possible conflict among them.

Since our discussion will revolve around the word “power”. It is important that we understand the meaning of the term, what it means in international relations, the importance and relevance of that concept and how it manifests itself in international relations in the period of our study. We did this in the last unit.

The balance of power, like national interest, is a concept, which recurs with great frequency in international relations. As it was said while defining power, it is the ability of one entity to modify in a desired direction the behaviour of another entity. The phrase means that, neither Germany nor Russia; England or Austro-Hungary; Prussia or France; USA or USSR is able to destroy the other without unacceptable losses. None is able with degree of consistency to modify the behaviour of the other and not to change its own, or is able to cause the other significantly to modify its behaviour in a question, which it judges to involve a vital interest.

The balance of power, can also be used to describe a situation in which the power of two states or group of states is roughly equal and this carries the implication that, at least over some period of time, if the equality is disturbed, action will be taken to restore it. It carries the implication of stable equilibrium.

The balance of power concept is unfortunately also used to describe a situation of unbalance. This had led to a lot of confusion. When some statesmen say, “the balance of power must be in our favour”, they imply the need for superiority. In another sense, the phrase “this caused a change in the balance of power” implies that the occurrence in question of something concrete caused the changed in the distribution of power. For example, let us go into a period, between 1853 and 1858, Prussia in the 1870 – 1911, Franco-Prussian war and the emergence of Germany as a united nation changed the balance of power in Europe.

From the above, a balance of power premise may refer to an attempt to establish or maintain an unbalance in one’s favour, or to a decision to enter the balance of power game.

An example can be found of maintaining equilibrium in Britain's policy in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The British Foreign Minister, Castlereagh at Vienna in 1815 tried to create a situation, "just equilibrium" whereby he believed that the safety of Britain could be threatened if any one mainland state held a position of excessive dominance; (See C.K. Webster: The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh). He believed that Britain should participate in the Concert of powers designed to uphold the 1815 settlement, but his successors were of the opinion that Britain's interest could better be served if Britain withdrew from European Affairs, but only intervening when necessary to prevent any power or group of powers from gaining ascendancy.

Furthermore, the balance of power was particularly reflected in Europe during the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. It was then, "the only system which, in a world of so much as at the mercy of force, made it possible for a considerable number of small states to remain in existence at all". The existing states were not necessarily equal in power (e.g. Russia was stronger than Austro-Hungary: but not stronger than Britain; so also were Prussia, France, Turkey, the Balkan States etc.) and did not have to extend their domain or territory to maintain the balance of power whenever one increases her own. The balance was usually rectified or preserved through a reshuffling of alliances, e.g. Britain joined France to fight Russia in the Crimean War. The process gave the smaller states independence of action and real political autonomy in that they, and not the larger states, could shift allegiances readily and alter the pattern of alliances.

In Europe at this time, the constant switching of alliances between Prussia, Russia and France and Austro-Hungary ensured a balance of power. It was therefore fluid, not constant and was bound to create mistrusts among Allies. Although it helped maintain peace, it has also been accused of being the cause of wars.

As can be seen from the above functions, the nation or nations that would hold the balance should be strong enough. This is where another problem of the balance of power concept comes in. For any nation strong enough to maintain a balance would want it to be in her own favour. For, what sense is there for a nation who holds balance to remain only as strong as the enemy? Of course, security lies in having an edge over one's potential enemy or enemies. That was precisely the policy of Britain in the early 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries and that of Metternich in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century and of Bismarck after 1871.

It is for this reason that Hans J. Morgenthau, the power-politics apostle, concluded that since the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, wars and not the balance of power policy have prevented one single state from achieving

total domination over others. He, therefore, felt that we should not rely much on the theory of the balance of power because it is unrealistic, uncertain, and rather inadequate for explaining state behaviour, especially the moral consensus and national restraint during the years from 1648 to 1914.

### **Self Assessment Exercise**

What do you understand by the 'Balance of Power' in the international system?

## **4.0 CONCLUSION**

In the final analysis, the balance of power is generally believed to achieve the following:

- (a) prevent a single state, or group of states, from becoming too powerful and thereby establishing its superiority;
- (b) maintain the status quo and ensure that the system, or any of its constituent parts do not collapse;
- (c) preserve the security and stability of the international system;
- (d) ensure that aggressors and potential aggressors are checked; and
- (e) do everything necessary to maintain peace and prevent war.

In conclusion, our major practical approach will cover the period between the 1815 Vienna Congress (after the final defeat of Napoleon at the Battle of Waterloo) to the Unification of Germany in 1870 – 1914. During this period, despite the fact that France was defeated, she was rehabilitated, brought up the rank of a world power as Russia, all in the name of maintaining a balance of power. The great architects of this period were Prime Minister Von Metternich (1773 – 1859); Russian Tsar Alexander I (1777 – 1825) and Prince Otto Von Edward Bismarck (1815 – 1898). The balance of power was maintained by the decision of the European states and their practice of non-interference in the internal affairs of member-states; collective opposition to revolts or revolutions; the formation of alliances; diplomatic bargaining and the creation of buffer states.

## **5.0 SUMMARY**

We have discussed the notion of Balance of Power in the international system, but especially as it existed in Europe in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup>

centuries. There are tremendous lessons to be learned from this, especially in respect of developments in the international system in contemporary times.

## **6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT**

- i) Discuss the Concert of Power, as it existed in Europe.
- ii) How relevant is the “Balance of Power” theory in contemporary times?

## **7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS**

Keohane, R. and Nye, J. (1989) Power and Interdependence, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition, Harper Collins, Ch.1-2.

Robert Axelrod, (1984) The Evolution of Cooperation, Basic Books.

## **UNIT 4     DIPLOMACY**

### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 Meaning of Diplomacy
  - 3.2 Types of Diplomacy
    - 3.2.1 Permanent Traditional Diplomacy
    - 3.2.2 Permanent Conference Diplomacy
    - 3.2.3 Parliamentary Conference Diplomacy
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    - 3.2.6 Economic Diplomacy
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
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### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

We intend to examine in this unit, diplomacy as a primary political instrument used by nation-states in the pursuit of their national interests. We will try to understand what diplomacy means, and the various types of diplomacy or combinations of diplomacy that a country may resort to in the pursuit of its goals in the international system. Further, we will also examine economic diplomacy as an important instrument of enhancing a country's interests.

### **2.0 OBJECTIVES**

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- i) Explain the meaning and uses of Diplomacy
- ii) Discuss the various types of Diplomacy
- iii) Explain what is meant by personal Diplomacy
- iv) Explain the meaning of Economic Diplomacy

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 Meaning of Diplomacy**

Diplomacy is the primary political instrument used by nation-states in pursuing foreign policy goals. It is a technique of coercion, persuasion (technique), adjustment, and of reaching agreement through direct

communication. It refers to the process of bargaining among states in order to narrow areas of disagreement, resolve conflicts or reach accommodation on issues over which agreement cannot, otherwise, be reached. Diplomatic negotiation may be initiated not really for agreement but for propaganda purposes. If relationships are cordial between nations the duty of ambassadors, envoys, or foreign ministers is to maintain a kind of continuity or whenever there is a crisis, they involve themselves in more rigorous diplomatic exercise. They may bring in a third party like states or international organizations, e.g. Nigeria, France and United Nations in the Congo, Middle East, Angola; the AU in Chad or Sudan; Western Sahara, Nigeria in Sudan, etc. These are ad hoc bodies and may terminate after the crisis. A state in a crisis may push a party or parties in a dispute to defer to a neutral ground e.g. Vienna, Geneva, Helsinki in disarmament discussions. Of significant importance was the shift of the United Nations General Assembly from New York to Geneva to allow Yasir Arafat of the declared Palestine State to address the United Nations when United States refused to grant Arafat Visa to the United States for reasons of security.

There is also the problem of sitting arrangement (technique), whether a meeting should be an open or a closed one. At times actors prefer a close encounter to hide away from the pressure of the press and other powerful lobbyists. In the negotiation process, actors put their demands on the genuineness of claims and diplomatic skill of diplomats. Failure of course could lead to crisis depending on the nature of the demand.

The use of threat and rewards is to force states to follow a given line. They range from diplomatic breakage, economic sanctions, like the one imposed by the USA; the European Union, from the Babangida to Abacha regimes in Nigeria, for their anti-democratic dispositions; and the Commonwealth suspension of Nigeria from the body on abuse of human rights (hanging of Ken Sawo Wiwa in 1995). Some approaches like candour and frankness are very necessary for compromise attainment. However, a lot of deception, duplicity and lies colour diplomatic negotiations.

Diplomacy is different from foreign policy, for while foreign policy is the substantive aspect. In principle, this distinction may be necessary but in practice, both are complementary. Types of diplomacy include permanent tradition diplomacy; personal diplomacy; permanent conference diplomacy; parliamentary conference diplomacy; multilateral diplomacy; ad hoc conference diplomacy; revolutionary diplomacy and economic diplomacy, etc.

## **3.2 Types of Diplomacy**

### **3.2.1 Permanent Traditional Diplomacy**

This is where a traditional permanent structure is usually used in diplomatic discussions. That is for all diplomatic discussions, must involve the states' ministry of external affairs, through its minister, and direct to its Ambassadors, charge de affairs, protocol, information attaches, etc. The head of government would normally allow the external affairs minister make all the pronouncements, on behalf of the state whenever the Head of Government wants to make such pronouncements the minister maybe of the legislature must also have an input.

In cases of change of government, this structure is not altered, although personnel may change such as the ministers and Ambassador sometimes. No matter how radical or revolutionary a regime may be it cannot afford to change this structure all the time.

### **3.2.2 Permanent Conference Diplomacy**

Here diplomatic discussions are carried out through various conferences. Particularly over issues that go beyond the power of individual state organizations such as the ECOWAS, AU, UN, Non-allied Movement (NAM), European Union (EU), the Commonwealth, Arab league, WTO, etc hold annual summits and extra-ordinary summits on general or specific issues concerning World Conflict and Peace. Thus, before ECOWAS launched ECOMOG, it met, discussed and approved military monitoring action on Liberia to curtail conflict and promote harmony in the war torn area.

The AU annual summits normally highlight African problems with possible solutions. With one voice they call on the international community to resolve crisis on economic matters. Within the OAU/AU there was the committee on Southern Africa Liberation and Apartheid. There is also a mediation and reconciliation committee, with peacekeeping missions. One problem with the AU however, is the inability of its leaders to put weight behind agreed actions. This was the reason why it failed in its peacekeeping mission in Chad, where Nigeria was abandoned to carry the burden.

### **3.2.3 Parliamentary Conference Diplomacy**

Each state constitution recognizes the importance of establishing committees on foreign affairs. It normally debates foreign affairs issues and pass them on to the whole house for general debate. As it is normal,

parliament must ratify treaties signed by the Head of Government. The inability of Nigeria's Supreme Military Council to ratify the cessation of the Bakassi Peninsula to Cameroun by Gowon is the cause of the present problem between Nigeria and Cameroun at the Bakassi Peninsula. .

### **3.2.4 Personal Diplomacy**

This is a diplomatic style where the Head of State or the Foreign Affairs Minister, dumps the permanent traditional structures for personal initiative. This entails diplomatic shuttles and allies, traveling from one country to another for image laundering and other matters. Although the journeys are usually in the company of by staff of the relevant ministries, the promises by the envoy are made out of his own volition. General Yakubu Gowon, and Chief Olusegun Obasanjo are the best examples in Nigeria. During one of the diplomatic shuttles Gown promised to pay the salaries of Grenada civil servants for six months. The danger in this type of diplomacy is that the environment he visits easily influences a weak leader. But for strong leaders it is difficult. This was why the expectations of the Nigerian government were high that Margaret Thatcher's visit to Nigeria may influence her thinking over apartheid in South Africa. However, Nigeria miscalculated, because Britain believes in following the traditional policy-making process.

### **3.2.5 Ad Hoc Conference Diplomacy**

This is a temporary diplomatic format set up by states or organizations for specific purposes, and it terminates after the purpose might have been achieved, e.g. The OAU's Apartheid Committee. Chief Olusegun Obasanjo was one time co-chairman, Eminent Persons Group on South Africa, etc. As soon as apartheid was crushed in 1994, the ad hoc committees were disbanded.

### **3.2.6 Economic Diplomacy**

This connotes the means by which government influences and controls certain productive arms of government in concert with the private sector interest in the economies of other countries for her domestic benefit, which are economic and political. The concept dates back to 1580 when the policy of technical assistance was in vogue with objective of promoting export markets. There is offensive economic diplomacy where a country in pursuit of its international relations, with its buoyant economic is not only ready to change the course of events and situations, but also has the capability to strike first at any instance when its national economic interest is at stake. This may entail the extension or denial of financial benefits, petroleum products, food supplies, the granting or denial or withdrawal of trade concessions, the establishment

or disinvestments of foreign investment etc. Nigeria for example, nationalized BP assets in Shell PDC on August 2, 1979 over Zimbabwe's independence. The Arab states oil embargo of 1973 was to pressurize the western world. The Monroe Doctrine, Marshal economic plan and Brezhnev doctrine etc. are such other examples.

There is also the Defensive Economic Diplomacy, where a country that is exploited and objectified, reacts violently at its opponents and tries to force them out rather than succumb to servitude. A country may want to be a master of itself. For example, Japan, China, Cuba, Nicaragua, etc., put up such struggles to sustain their sovereignty. There is also the need to restructure the existing international economic order.

Nigeria's economic diplomacy started in 1988 on the heels of the economic crisis and the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP). The emphases were:

- a) attraction of foreign investment;
- b) aggressive promotion; and
- c) debt management.

#### **4.0 CONCLUSION**

Diplomacy is a very important dimension and instrument of carrying out foreign relations by countries. It involves tact, some element of cunning, lies, and a certain amount of pressure or force, both potential and real: and ironically some element of trust and frankness. What a combination! Now, you can understand the amorphous character of diplomacy. It is usually at the discretion of the envoys and leaders of countries to know which approach is to be pursued or combinations of approaches to use at any given instance.

#### **5.0 SUMMARY**

We have discussed the meaning of diplomacy and types of diplomacy. Even, in our personal relationships, some degree of diplomacy is usually necessary for us to achieve our aims. Therefore, you can imagine the importance of this to nations.

#### **6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENTS**

- i) What is diplomacy in International Relations?
- ii) Define diplomacy and discuss the various types of diplomacy?

## **7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS**

Rosenau, I.N. (ed.), (1969) International Politics and Foreign Policy,  
New York, Free Press.

## MODULE 3

Unit 1	Concept of Foreign Policy
Unit 2	Foreign Policy and National Interest
Unit 3	Methods and Techniques of formulating Foreign Policy
Unit 4	Foreign Policy Execution

## UNIT 1 CONCEPT OF FOREIGN POLICY

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### 1.0 INTRODUCTION

In this unit, we shall discuss the concept of foreign policy. Foreign policy is one of the most important areas of the study of international relations. It is an important key to the rational explanation of how states behave in the international arena. It is not possible to understand inter-state relations without understanding the foreign policy of any given state. What then is foreign policy?

### 2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- i) Define what foreign policy is;
- ii) Explain the meaning of policy;
- iii) Discuss the nature and processes of foreign policy;
- iv) Discuss foreign policy in relation to National Interest;

v) Highlight Dr. Condoleezza Rice Discusses Foreign Policy.

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 Foreign Policy: The Question of Definition**

Foreign policy, a scholar has argued, “is a coordinated strategy with which institutionally designated decision-makers seek to manipulate the international environment” in order to achieve certain national objectives. It is the decision that defines goals, set precedents, or lay down courses of actions, and the actions taken to implement those decisions. It has also been defined as the actions of a state towards external environment and the conditions, usually domestic, under which those decisions are formulated. Stated objectives, variables affecting their choice, and some techniques employed to achieve these objectives are closely related to the study of foreign policy. Foreign policy has also been defined as the actions and reaction of countries to the external environment.

In pursuit of their goals and national interests, states devise and follow certain courses, principles and standards of action called policies. Foreign policies, says a US Department of State publication are the courses of action (adopted) by a nation in the interests of the welfare of its peoples. The courses, principles, and standard, are both the means by which states seek to attain their objectives (goals) and the measure they use to judge and evaluate their interests and conduct in world politics. But states are not monolithic decision-making entities. Rather, they consist of aggregates of public and private officials and organizations with differing perceptions, interests and objectives. Policy is often the product of high political pulling and hauling among competing interests within a state, rather than the product of one man's judgment.

Foreign policy is not something applied only abroad existing in a compartment distinct from domestic policy; they are inevitably both aspects of a state's total national policy. Thus national policies are foreign policies to an extent that they affect or influence other states. The character of state policies varies considerably. Toward certain countries a state may have very specific objective and may seek to apply carefully delineated courses of action; towards others it may have no more than indefinite aims, perhaps of maintaining peace or commerce. The foreign policy of a state can hardly be thought of as a blueprint, exact in its measures and specifications. Like any other national policies, those, which are foreign, are a mixture of elements (reactions to the past present, and plans for the future).

The demands on foreign policy have an expanded space. The pressures of technological development, emergence of multi-national corporations, expanding populations and land for resources, and rapid expansion of communication and increasing economic inter-dependence of nations have inexorably thrust most states into the international political arena. Even issues that were once considered within exclusive domain of domestic politics have become the subject of international relations, as illustrated by South Africa's Apartheid policies. Changing international conditions have required the more advanced nations to reassess their foreign policies. Until 1945, there was little doubt in England that the British interests lay in control of the seas, possession of worldwide bases, and the maintenance of the balance of power in Europe. From the seventeenth to the twentieth century, Britain maintained the largest merchant marine and the most powerful Navy in the Atlantic and allied or associated herself with various European states, including Russia at times, to maintain the European balance of power. Changing economic, military, and political circumstances since World War II have turned British interests to closer military and political ties with the United States, participation in NATO, the E.U. and relinquishment of her empire status. In 1917 and again in 1941 the United States reversed its policy of isolationism" to participate in World War I and II. After World War II, the United States found herself involved in the international system within which she should no longer hope to maintain her security in isolation. The Cold War era brought on a series of coalitions and military pacts – The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), Organization of American States (OAS) etc. to contain what was perceived threat of widespread communist aggression.

Having defined foreign policy it should be borne in mind that political decision-making is a modality of decision making in general whether in economic or business actions. Normally we connect with the notion of decision making some objective function, which is to be maximized. And to talk of maximization is to suggest that we may have to assume that policy makers are rational. This is to say, an individual decision-maker responds to an event on the basis of a cool, clear-headed, means-end calculation. He uses the best information available, and also draws from the universe of possible responses the one likely to maximize his goals. In the field of foreign affairs, the objective function to be maximized is the promotion and the protection of the national interest of the state, where 'national interest' is taken to mean the protection of the territorial integrity of a nation from physical and cultural incursions. This simply means that governments take all measures that would best achieve the maintenance of the geographical boundaries of a state; make sure that the culture of the people is not adversely affected by external influences in a way that a dissonance is created between the existing

political structures and the political culture; and promote the state's economic values at home and in other countries.

### **3.1.1 Dr. Condoleezza Rice Discusses Foreign Policy**

Remarks by National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice at 28th Annual Convention of the National Association of Black Journalists:

“DR. RICE: It is a great honor for me to be before this distinguished group. By advancing opportunity for black journalists you are advancing the values of freedom itself. Your work helps ensure that our democracy has a broad perspective and a firm moral standing.

It has been almost two years since the September 11th attacks -- and it is worth taking a moment to reflect and report on the strategy that America has pursued in responding to that awful day.

No less than December 7th, 1941, September 11th, 2001 forever changed the lives of every American and the strategic perspective of the United States. That day produced an acute sense of our vulnerability to attacks hatched in distant lands that come without warning, bringing tragedy to our shores.

In response, we resolved to take the fight to the terrorists themselves; to use all instruments of our national power to root out terror networks; and to hold accountable states that harbor terrorists.

But we also resolved that as we fight to make the world safer, we must work to make it better. We realized that to win the War on Terror, we must win a war of ideas by appealing to the hopes of decent people everywhere . . . helping to give them the chance for a better life and a brighter future . . . and reason to reject the false and destructive comforts of bitterness, grievance, and hate.

This resolve to work for a world that is both safer and better is captured by the President's National Security Strategy, issued almost one year ago. The strategy calls on America to use our position of unparalleled strength and influence to create a balance of power that favors freedom -- to create, in the President's words, the "conditions in which all nations and all societies can chose for

themselves the rewards and challenges of political and economic liberty."

We have made good progress in implementing its core principles.

Al Qaeda has been deprived of its chief sanctuary. Nearly two-thirds of its senior leaders, operational managers, and key facilitators have been captured or killed, and the rest are on the run -- permanently.

He is working with Congress to fund his proposal to increase United States development assistance by 50 percent -- with new funds going to countries that govern justly, invest in the health and education of their people, and encourage economic liberty.

The President has also made clear that fighting the scourge of HIV/AIDS is both a moral duty and a strategic priority. He has announced -- and Congress has approved -- a \$15 billion dollar commitment to fight AIDS abroad over the next five years, focusing on 14 countries in Africa and the Caribbean.

This security strategy is historic in its boldness. It is driven by a vision of freedom and a commitment to human dignity that is truly global, extending to every continent.

Yet there is one vital region of the world where all the challenges of our time come together, perhaps in their most difficult forms.

The Middle East is a region of tremendous potential. It is the birthplace and spiritual home of three of the world's great faiths ... and an ancient center of learning and tolerance, and progress. It is filled with talented, resourceful people who - when blessed with greater political and economic freedom and better, more modern education -- can fully join in the progress of our times.

And yet, today the Middle East - a region of 22 countries, with a combined population of 300 million - has a combined GDP less than that of Spain. It is a region suffering from what leading Arab intellectuals call a political and economic "freedom deficit". And it is a region where hopelessness provides a fertile ground for ideologies that convince promising youths to aspire not to a university education, a career, or a family, but to blowing themselves up - taking as many innocent lives with them as possible. These ingredients are a recipe for great instability and pose a direct threat to America's security.

Only nine days after September 11th, the President made clear that the War on Terrorism could not be won on defense. Homeland security is a vital challenge of our time, and we can and must do everything we can to "harden" targets within the United States -- airports, seaports, power plants, government buildings -- anything terrorists are likely to set their sights on. But if we in the United States are not going to change who we are -- if we are to preserve the nature of our open society -- there is only so much of this "hardening" we can do. We must also address the source of the problem.

We have to go on the offense. Rooting the Taliban out of Afghanistan was the first battle because they had provided the home base and primary sanctuary for Al Qaeda. Everyday across the globe unparalleled law enforcement and intelligence cooperation efforts are underway, successfully breaking up and disrupting terrorist networks. Today, the United States and many other nations are helping Afghans rebuild their country, and form a representative government, with democratic institutions that protect the rights of their citizens and help them build a more hopeful future -- and so that Afghanistan is never again a haven for terrorism.

Confronting Saddam Hussein's Iraq was also essential. Let us be very clear about why we went to war with Saddam Hussein. Saddam Hussein's regime posed a threat to the security of the United States and the world. This was a regime that pursued, had used and possessed weapons of mass destruction. He had links to terror, twice invaded other nations; defied the international community and seventeen UN resolutions for twelve years and gave every indication that he would never disarm and never comply with the just demands of the world. That threat could not be allowed to remain unaddressed.

Now that Saddam's regime is gone, the people of Iraq are freer, and people everywhere need no longer fear his weapons, his aggression, and his cruelty. The war on terror will be greatly served by the removal of this source of instability in the world's most volatile region. And Saddam's removal provides a new opportunity for a different kind of Middle East.

But if that different future for the Middle East is to be realized, we and our allies must make a generational commitment to helping the people of the Middle East transform their region.

This has been the President's clear and consistent message.

As he said in his first State of the Union speech, "America will take the side of brave men and women who advocate these values around the world, including the Islamic world, because we have a greater objective than eliminating threats and containing resentment. We seek a just and peaceful world beyond the war on terror."

Seven months later, in laying out the case to confront Saddam at United Nations, he said: "Liberty for the Iraqi people is a great moral cause, and a great strategic goal. The people of Iraq deserve it; the security of all nations requires it. Free societies do not intimidate through cruelty and conquest, and open societies do not threaten the world with mass murder . . ."

And, three weeks before the onset of war, the President stated unequivocally: "The world has a clear interest in the spread of democratic values, because stable and free nations do not breed the ideologies of murder. They encourage the peaceful pursuit of a better life. And there are hopeful signs of a desire for freedom in the Middle East."

Those signs are multiplying. Consider, for instance, the recent progress towards peace for Israelis and Palestinians.

At the Red Sea Summits in June, Israelis, Palestinians, and neighboring Arab states united behind the vision the President has set forth -- a vision for two states, Israel and Palestine, living side by side in peace and security. Israeli leaders increasingly understand that it is in Israel's interest for Palestinians to govern themselves, in a state that is viable, peaceful, democratic, and committed to fighting terror. Israel has to fulfill its responsibilities to help that peaceful state emerge. A new Palestinian leadership is emerging that understands -- and says, in Arabic and English -- that terror is not a means to Palestinian statehood, but rather the greatest obstacle to statehood. And the President's vision and diplomacy have focused all parties on the crucial issue of what kind of Palestinian state we are seeking to establish. The President believes that Palestinians, like people everywhere, deserve democratic institutions, with honest leaders who truly serve the interests of their people. He is urging everyone interested in furthering the cause of peace to support Palestinian leaders committed to the path of reform because he understands that there will be no peace for either side until there is freedom for both sides. The President has made clear that all

parties must carry out their responsibilities and act as partners if a lasting peace is to be found.

In many ways, the opportunity before us today is similar to that we faced in the wake of World War II.

The horrific suffering and catastrophic costs of two European wars in less than thirty years convinced the United States to work in partnership with Europeans to make another war in Europe unthinkable . . . by helping to build a free, democratic, prosperous, and tolerant Europe.

American policy makers set out to create new institutions, such as NATO, to help realize this vision. We supported European efforts to promote economic integration -- efforts that eventually evolved into the European Union. We promoted democratic values at every opportunity. And, perhaps most importantly, we made a generational commitment to creating a democratic Germany -- which became a linchpin of a democratic Europe.

The historical analogy is important. Like the transformation of Europe, the transformation of the Middle East will require a commitment of many years. I do not mean that we will need to maintain a military presence in Iraq as was the case in Europe. I do mean that America and our friends and allies must engage broadly throughout the region, across many fronts, including diplomatic, economic, and cultural. And -- as in Europe -- our efforts must work in full partnership with the peoples of the region who share our commitment to human freedom and who see it in their own self-interest to defend that commitment.

And we must have the patience and perseverance to see it through. There is an understandable tendency to look back on America's experience in post-War Germany and see only the successes. But the road we traveled was very difficult. 1945 through 1947 were especially challenging. The Marshall Plan was actually a response to the failed efforts to rebuild Germany in late '45 and early '46. SS officers -- called "werewolves" -- attacked coalition forces and engaged in sabotage, much like today's Baathist and Fedayeen remnants.

In Iraq, much progress has already been made. Tomorrow marks the 100th day since President Bush announced the end of major combat operations. The road is hard. Remnants of the regime and other extremists are attacking progress -- just as they did today with the bombing of the Jordanian Embassy. And coalition soldiers continue to face mortal dangers and continue to sacrifice

for our future peace and security. Step by step, normal life in Iraq is being reborn, as basic services are restored -- in some cases beyond pre-war levels -- transportation networks are rebuilt, and the economy is revived. Banks are opening throughout the country and a new currency -- without Saddam Hussein's picture -- is being prepared. A country in which, only months ago, dissent was punishable by death, now sees more than 150 newspapers competing in a new marketplace of ideas.

Most promising of all Governing Council, in which all of Iraq's major tribal, ethnic and religious groups are represented, has been formed. As it works closely with the Coalition Provisional Authority, it also serves as a first step toward Iraqi self-government . . . and toward a democratic Iraq which can become a linchpin of a very different Middle East in which the ideologies of hate will not flourish.

But Democracy is not easy. Our own histories should remind us that the union of democratic principle and practice is always a work in progress. When the Founding Fathers said "We the People," they did not mean us. Our ancestors were considered three-fifths of a person. America has made great strides to overcome its birth defects -- but the struggle has been long and the cost has been high.

Like many of you, I grew up around the homegrown terrorism of the 1960s. I remember the bombing of the church in Birmingham in 1963, because one of the little girls that died was a friend of mine. Forty years removed from the tragedy I can honestly say that Denise McNair and the others did not die in vain. They -- and all who suffered and struggled for civil rights -- helped reintroduce this nation to its founding ideals. And because of their sacrifice we are a better nation -- and a better example to a world where difference is still too often taken as a license to kill.

Knowing what we know about the difficulties of our own history, let us always be humble in singing freedom's praises. But let our voice not waver in speaking out on the side of people seeking freedom. And let us never indulge the condescending voices who allege that some people are not interested in freedom or aren't ready for freedom's responsibilities. That view was wrong in 1963 in Birmingham and it is wrong in 2003 in Baghdad.

The desire for freedom transcends race, religion and culture -- as countries as diverse as Germany, Indonesia, Japan, the

Philippines, South Africa, South Korea, Taiwan, and Turkey have proved.

The people of the Middle East are not exempt from this desire. We have an opportunity -- and an obligation -- to help them turn desire into reality. That is the security challenge -- and moral mission -- of our time”.

### **3.1.2 Mongolia's Foreign Policy**

The Cold War which dominated international relations since the end of World War II has come to an end, the mutually opposing bipolar world structure has collapsed, and a process of forming a new international order is gaining momentum.

In line with trends of advancing human society, in particular with requirements of economic and technological progress, the nations of the world are drawing closer together, and conditions for enhancing their relationship are taking shape.

The disintegration of the world socialist system and the Soviet Union has dramatically changed the external situation of Mongolia, which used to be aligned with them. The major changes taking place in Mongolia's two neighboring countries have a direct impact on its external environment.

The restructuring and reforming of the country's political, social and economic systems provide it with favorable conditions for conducting a foreign policy based on realism and according priority to its national interests

Based on these external and internal factors, the concept of Mongolia's foreign policy is defined as follows:

### **3.1.3 General Provisions**

1. Independent and sovereign Mongolia, in terms of its state structure, is unitary State upholding rights, freedoms, and a free economy, in political and geographical respects; it is a developing country in Asia, landlocked between two great powers. Mongolia's foreign policy shall be based on its national interests, as defined in its Constitution; the country's specific external and internal situation constitutes the basis for determining its foreign policy objectives, principles and priorities.

2. Mongolia's foreign policy objectives reside in ensuring its independence and sovereignty by following the trend of human society's advancement, maintaining friendly relations with all countries, strengthening its position in the international community and forming with influential countries in the region and in the world a network of relationships based on the interdependence of political, economic and other interests.
3. Mongolia shall pursue an open and non-aligned policy. While following a policy of creating realistic interest of developed countries in Mongolia, it will seek to avoid becoming overly reliant or dependent on any particular country.
4. In formulating Mongolia's foreign policy and determining its priority directions and objectives, a flexible approach shall be applied, paying close attention to the development of international relations and to the regional and world political situation.
5. The priority of Mongolia's foreign policy shall be safeguarding of its security and vital national interests by political and diplomatic means, and creating a favorable external environment for its economic, scientific and technological development.
6. Consideration of foreign relations shall be in the political, economic, scientific, technological, cultural and humanitarian fields of foreign policy.

#### **3.1.4 Mongolia's Foreign Policy in the Political Field**

7. Mongolia's foreign policy in the political field is an important instrument for ensuring and strengthening its security. Thus its results will be measured, first and foremost, by how the country's security and independence interests are met, and to what extent its international position has been strengthened and its prestige enhanced.
8. In developing its relations with other countries, Mongolia shall be guided by universally recognized principles and norms of international law as defined in the Charter of the United Nations, including mutual respect for each other's sovereignty, territorial integrity and inviolability of frontiers, and right of self-determination, non-interference in internal affairs, non-use of force, settlement of disputes by peaceful means, respect for human rights and freedoms, and equal and mutually beneficial cooperation.

9. In its foreign policy Mongolia shall uphold peace, strive to avoid confrontation with other countries and pursue a multi-based policy. While always championing its national interests, it will at the same time respect the legitimate interests of other countries and its partners. Mongolia will not interfere in the disputes between its two neighboring countries unless the disputes affect Mongolia's national interests. It shall pursue a policy of refraining from joining any military alliance or grouping, allowing the use of its territory or air space against any other country, and the stationing of foreign troops or weapons, including nuclear or any other type of mass destruction weapons in its territory.
10. Mongolia shall seek to guarantee its interests in the international arena through bilateral and multilateral treaties and agreements. Mongolia shall respect and observe international law, and fulfill in a good faith its obligations under international treaties.
11. As a member of the world community, Mongolia shall strive to make active contributions to the common cause of settling pressing regional and international issues. In doing so, it shall be guided primarily by its national interests, values and fundamental principles.
12. In implementing its foreign policy, Mongolia shall be guided by the following:
  - (a) Maintaining friendly relations with the Russian Federation and the People's Republic of China shall be a priority direction of Mongolia's foreign policy activity. It shall not adopt the line of either country but shall maintain in principle a balanced relationship with both of them and shall promote all-round good neighborly cooperation. In doing so, the traditional relations as well as the specific nature of our economic cooperation with these two countries will be taken into account.
  - (b) The second direction of Mongolia's foreign policy activity shall be developing friendly relations with highly developed countries of the West and East, such as the United States of America, Japan, and the Federal Republic of Germany. At the same time, it will also pursue a policy aimed at promoting friendly relations with such countries as India, the Republic of Korea, Thailand, Singapore, Turkey, Denmark, the Netherlands, Finland, Austria, Sweden, Switzerland, and at creating and bringing to an

appropriate level their economic and other interests in Mongolia.

- (c) The third direction of Mongolia's foreign policy activity shall be strengthening its position in Asia and securing a constructive participation in the political and economic integration process in the region. Within the framework of this objective, greater attention shall be given to Asia and the Pacific region, in particular to North-East and Central Asia. Mongolia shall take an active part in the process of initiating dialogues and negotiations on the issues of strengthening regional security and creating a collective security mechanism. It will strive to become a member of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum (APEC). Prerequisites for participating in regional integration shall be created primarily through expanding and promoting bilateral relations with the countries of the region.
- (d) The fourth direction of Mongolia's foreign policy activity shall be promoting cooperation with United Nations Organization and its specialized agencies, and with international financial and economic organizations, including the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank.
- (e) The fifth direction of Mongolia's foreign policy activity will be developing friendly relations with the countries of the former socialist community as well as the newly independent states. When developing relations with these countries, a flexible approach will be adopted, reinforcing the positive legacy of our past relations while at the same time taking into account the potential of promoting relations in conformity with new circumstances. Particular attention will be given to promoting relations with Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic in Eastern Europe as well as with Kazakhstan, the Ukraine, Belarus, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan.
- (f) The sixth direction of Mongolia's foreign policy activity shall be developing friendly relations with developing countries and cooperating with them, as much as possible, in the solution of common objectives. Beyond the framework of bilateral relations with these countries, this task will be realized mainly through cooperation within the framework of international organizations and

movements, such as the United Nations, the Group of 77, and the Non-Aligned Movement.

13. The placement of Mongolia's plenipotentiary (diplomatic) representatives abroad shall be carried out with due regard to directions of foreign political relations so as to ensure conditions for their implementation.
14. The assignment of highly qualified and competent personnel from the economic, scientific, and technological spheres to Mongolia's diplomatic missions abroad shall be deemed a matter of principle.

### **3.1.5 Economic Foreign Policy**

15. The fundamental objective of Mongolia's policy concerning foreign economic relations lies in the optimal use of external factors to achieve adequate solutions to long-term and current economic goals in the light of the concept of sustainable development and eventually securing a proper place for its economy in regional economic integration.
16. In developing economic relations and cooperation with foreign countries, Mongolia, while safeguarding against any adverse impact on its economic security and against becoming dependent on any given country, shall pursue a policy designed to ensure conditions leading to equality, mutual benefit and faithful fulfillment of obligations, freedom from political and other pressures, based on the principles and norms of international economic relations.
17. In the implementation of projects connected with establishing economic, customs, and trade special zones, joint ventures or enterprises with full foreign investment or with granting concessions, their political and economic consequences shall be thoroughly examined to ensure that they do not adversely affect the country's economic security and that they will bring economic gains.
18. In selecting partners in the implementation of projects of crucial importance to the national interests, political interests shall have a significant role to play.
19. External debt issues shall be settled without detriment to national economic security, and loans will be accepted on the basis of a

thorough assessment of guarantees of their repayment and effective utilization.

20. In developing foreign economic relations, Mongolia shall adhere to the following main guidelines:
  - a) Foreign economic activities should be focused on enhancing the country's potential, increasing export resources, developing economic infrastructures and producing import substituting goods;
  - b) Mindful of the need to modernize the economy, presently dominated by raw materials production, and to develop basic sectors conducive to building a rational structure, measures will be taken to achieve the most effective level of processing minerals as well as raw materials of animal and plant extraction and to produce goods that are competitive on the world market.
  - c) Pursuing the policy of modernizing existing industries by re-equipping them with advanced technology and techniques and developing export-oriented industries such as food, light, mining and chemical industries, as well as biotechnology and new products on the basis of raw materials available in the country;
  - d) In enhancing its export potential, Mongolia shall promote cooperation with foreign countries in the fields of processing mineral resources, including gold, copper molybdenum, uranium and of manufacturing finished products thereof, as well as in the area of full processing agricultural raw materials and producing goods capable of competing on the world market;
  - e) Expanding markets for Mongolia's exports commodities;
  - f) Developing fuel, energy, transportation, communications and other necessary components of the economic infrastructure and creating favorable conditions for securing access to seaports and transit to them;
  - g) Integrating in the international transportation, information and communications networks, particularly those in Northeast Asia;

- h) Pursuing a policy of securing foreign assistance and technology for developing small and medium industries orientated towards the production of import-substituting goods;
- i) Taking advantage of Mongolia's natural, historical and cultural heritage, international tourism will be developed by enhancing its material basis, and raising its service level to world standards;
- j) Securing most favored nation treatment in foreign trade and retaining for a certain period the status, which enables Mongolia to get soft loans and grants.

### **3.1.6 Foreign Policy in Science and Technology**

- 21. The main objective of foreign relations in the scientific and technological fields will lie in making full use of external factors to build and enhance a modern national scientific, technical and technological potential capable of serving as a driving force for the effective development of the national economic and industry and able to be competitive at regional, continental and global levels.
- 22. Mongolia shall apply the principle of benefiting from world scientific and technological achievements to enrich the pool of national endowment and intellectual capacity which are congruous with the national human and natural resources, the level of social theory and thought as well as with the unique culture of its pastoral livestock breeding economy.
- 23. In implementing its scientific and technological foreign policy, Mongolia shall adhere to the following basic guidelines:
  - a) introducing advanced technology and methods into production and services. In doing so, priority will be given to the selective introduction of knowledge-intensive technology. Greater attention will be paid to introducing technologies related to processing mineral resources, raw materials of animal and plant extraction, and the use of renewable energy sources;
  - b) gearing the national scientific and technological information system to the international information network;

- c) developing bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the fields of intellectual property as well as science and technology.

### **3.1.7 Cultural and Humanitarian Foreign Policy**

- 24. The main objectives of cultural and humanitarian foreign relations reside in protecting the culture and way of life of Mongols, endowing their unique cultural heritage, enriching it with the achievements of world culture, restoring national historical and cultural assets, recovering cultural and art relics from abroad, using cultural cooperation for the purpose of educating and training skilled personnel capable of working in new conditions, introducing Mongolia to foreign countries, expanding the ranks of well-wishers and supporters of Mongolia, encouraging Mongolian Studies in other nations, and promoting mutual understanding and trust.
- 25. In promoting cultural and humanitarian cooperation, Mongolia will practice both Government and people's diplomacy, and apply the principle of respect for human rights, freedom, equality, and mutual benefit.
- 26. In developing humanitarian relations with foreign countries, Mongolia shall adhere to the following guidelines:
  - a) safeguarding the rights, freedoms, legitimate interests and the security of Mongolian citizens residing or traveling abroad through the promotion of broad cooperation with foreign countries in the legal sphere;
  - b) enhancing contacts and cooperation with Mongolian nationals residing abroad and mutual support in preserving and developing the Mongolian language, culture and traditions as well as securing their contributions to Mongolia's progress and growth;
  - c) taking preventive measures to thwart the influence of reactionary movements and groups prejudicial to the national security of Mongolia and the unity of its people;
  - d) giving priority to training in developed countries of Mongolian students, managerial personnel and specialists in the fields of market economic, politics, law, management and marketing as well as in the leading areas of the country's scientific and technological fields. In

doing so, Mongolia shall seek to benefit from specialized funds of international organizations and developed countries, scholarships of public and private universities and institutes for the purpose of training students, upgrading specialists, arranging degree studies, training highly skilled workers as for using the services of foreign lecturers and scholars of excellence;

- e) studying the advanced methods and technology of training and management of foreign countries in general education and vocational training with a view to applying them flexibly in a way suitable for the country's specific conditions;
- f) in restoring and protecting Mongolia's historical, cultural and natural heritage and assets and sharing them with other nations, Mongolia shall cooperation with Asian countries, which have similar historical, religious and cultural legacies as well as with other interested countries, UNESCO and other related international organizations;
- g) promoting active relations with international organizations, foundations and non-governmental institutions in the fields of education, culture, arts, sports and information, acceding to relevant treaties, establishing and promoting direct ties between similar organizations, encouraging the exchange of scholars, teachers, creative workers, representatives of the media and sportsmen, taking part in international cultural, art and sports events and organizing such measures in the country;
- h) promoting cooperation designed to help bring about favorable external conditions for ensuring the country's ecological security, maintaining its ecological balance and protecting nature.

### **Self Assessment Exercise**

What is Foreign Policy?

Is there any difference between domestic and foreign policy?

### **4.0 CONCLUSION**

What is important to observe is that the foreign policy of a country involves those acts or even processes that are usually activated to

promote what a country considers to be its National Interest. Though National Interest is a contentious concept, there are certain basic agreements as to what it should be. Usually, foreign policy is targeted at the external environment, but draws its strength from what happens at the domestic environment. We will take a closer look at the link between foreign policy and National Interest in the next unit.

## **5.0 SUMMARY**

We have discussed the meaning of foreign policy, and the link between state objectives, the processes of foreign policy and National Interest. We also discussed the decision making process that goes with these.

## **6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT**

“Foreign Policy is the actions and reactions of states to international occurrences”. Discuss.

## **7.0 References/Further Readings**

Rosenau, I.N. (ed.), (1969) International Politics and Foreign Policy, New York, Free Press.

Spanier, J. and Wendzel, D. (1996) Games Nations Play, CQ Press.

## **UNIT 2 FOREIGN POLICY AND NATIONAL INTEREST**

### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 The Meaning of National Interest
    - 3.1.1 Foreign Policy
    - 3.1.2 Japan's Foreign Policy – Influences
    - 3.1.3 International
    - 3.1.4 Domestic
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
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### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

The concept of a 'national interest' that guides all policy choices, domestic and foreign, may be an appealing ideal, but in practical terms national interest can be identified only in specific situational contexts. Some general definitions have been attempted such as Robert Osgood's "state of affairs valued solely for its benefit to the nation", or Hans Morgenthau's "political traditions and the total culture context within which a nation formulates its foreign policy". However, suffice it to observe that National Interest is a highly subjective concept. In this unit, we will examine the nature of this concept in relation to foreign policy.

### **2.0 OBJECTIVES**

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- i) Explain the nature and meaning of foreign policy;
- ii) Discuss National Interest in the context of foreign policy.

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 The Meaning of National Interest**

In his work, "*The Restoration of American Politics*", Morgenthau uses the term national interest in many different ways to cover a bewildering variety of meanings. This seems to be evidenced by the following array of terms: common interest, and conflicting interest, primary and secondary interest, inchoate interest, community of interests, political

and complementary interest, vital interests, legitimate interests, specific or limited interests, material interests, hard core interests, necessary and variable interests". Upon further investigation, however, these terms were broken down into two general categories, the national interests of a simple nation and the degree of commonality of interests of a simple nation and the degree of commonality of interests among two or more nations. Under the heading of the national interest we can group together several interests according to (a) the degree OF primacy of the interest; (b) the degree of permanence of the interest; (c) the degree of generality of the interest. The degree or lack of commonality of interests between two or more states could be represented by conflicting interest, community of interests, identical interests and ideological interest.

National interest is, however, frequently used as a concept that guides us in understanding the foreign policy of a particular country. There is therefore, some truth in Hans Morgenthau's contention that "no nation can have true guide as to what it must do and what it needs to do in foreign policy without accepting national interest as that guide". The term therefore tends to be used to explain what a nation is doing or about to do as foreign policy or her external relations. Since foreign policy is something pursued for the sake of the national interest, the question as to what actually constitute a national interest, has to be related to what the foreign policies of a particular country is.

The ultimate outcome that a state, whether that state is small or big, weak or strong, rich or poor consider in its vital interest could be classified into three:

- (a) All nation-states are interested in self-preservation; i.e. national security as well as stability of the system.
- (b) All nations are interested in economic wellbeing, economic stability and prosperity, the fight against unemployment, inflation, and unfavourable trade relations with others.
- (c) Nation-states are also generally interested in prestige and power, which implies that weak or poor nations want to have some degree of prestige among the comity of nations. The priorities that a nation's people collectively place on the achievement of these and other values are a product of their basic attitudes and beliefs, their perceptions of domestic and international pressure.

National interest is the key concept in foreign policy. In essence, it amounts to the sum total of all the national values (national in both meanings of the word, both pertaining to the nation and to the state). Joseph Frankel says the notion of "national interest is based upon the

values of the national community, values which can be regarded as the product of its culture and as the expression of its sense of cohesion, values which define for man what they believe to be right or just”.

Whether considered as independent, a mediating or dependent variable, or just a rationalization, national interest constitutes an element in the making of foreign policy to which, however, it may be defined. Therefore, the Brookings Institution’s definition of national interest as “the general and continuing ends for which the nation acts” appears to make commonsense to us.

### 3.1.1 Foreign Policy

A political and strategic interest of the United States that guides the identification of recipients of foreign assistance and the fundamental characteristics of development assistance.

The national interest, often referred to by the French term *raison d'etat*, is a country's goals and ambitions whether economic, military, or cultural. The notion is an important one in international relations where pursuit of the national interest is the foundation of the realist school.

A foreign policy is a set of political goals that seeks to outline how a particular country will interact with the other countries of the world.

### 3.1.2 Japan’s Foreign Policy – Influences

#### Structure Agency Norms

Norms shape behaviour of policy-making actors; norms are dynamic, open to manipulation, and change over time. Japanese policy-makers are subject to 4 ‘internationally-embedded’ norms and 3 ‘domestically-embedded’ norms:

### 3.1.3 International

**Bilateralism** – i.e. the belief that Japanese foreign policy should be conducted on a bilateral basis with the US (e.g. Yoshida)

**Asianism** – i.e. belief that Japan should play its ‘traditional’ role of intermediary between Asia and the West; encourages Japan to develop and East Asian identity; reversal of Meiji policy (e.g. Ishihara)

**Trilateralism** – an emerging norm; 3-pillar system of economic interaction between EU-US-Japan (e.g. Obuchi)

**Internationalism** – belief in early-starter’s concept that a traditional/orthodox power should make full use of its material capabilities to provide international public goods and uphold multilateral global institutions (e.g. Ozawa)

### 3.1.4 Domestic

**Antimilitarism** – stems from WWII experience, belief in pacifism and aversion to taking on greater military responsibility.

**Developmentalism** – late-comer / catch-up-ism, in political and economic sense.

**Economism** – a combination of Antimilitarism and Developmentalism which rejects militarism, and adopts an “economics-first” policy.

The problem occurs when there is tension between international and domestic norms; the former shapes a ‘normal’, pro-active foreign policy; whereas the latter shapes an ‘abnormal’ foreign policy.

### Self Assessment Exercise

“National Interest” is a subjective concept. Discuss.

## 4.0 CONCLUSION

The meaning of National Interest is highly contentious and subjective, and often depends on the decision makers’ perceptions, or the interests of the dominant political and economic actors or elite in a particular society. They often determine what should be the National Interest as their interests play themselves out in the push and pull of politics. However, this is not to say that there are no commonly accepted interests of a country that should be protected at all times, such as the national security.

## 5.0 SUMMARY

We have discussed the meaning and nature of National Interest as it affects a country’s welfare, protection and projection of what it considers its National Interest.

## **6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT**

“National Interest is a key concept in the study of Foreign Policy”.  
Discuss.

## **7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS**

Joseph Frankel, (1979) International Relations in a Changing World,  
Oxford, Oxford University Press.

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## **UNIT 3      METHODS AND TECHNIQUES OF FORMULATING FOREIGN POLICY**

### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 Policy Formulation
  - 3.2 The Domestic Constraints on Foreign Policy
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Readings

### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

In its practical aspects the formulation of foreign policy is the process of reaching decisions as to the way forces and situations abroad are to be influenced. As such, it lies essentially in the determination of this to be done, of actions to be pursued, of statements, of influences to be set in motion in order to affect persons, things and situations beyond the legal and jurisdictional limits of the policy-making country. In formulating foreign policy, countries must take into consideration the facts, conditions, and situation in world affairs, and then figure out the way or ways in which the nation can reach its goals. Into the process go all the elements that influence a state's conduct - among them reports from agents at home and abroad, the situation of the country in the world, developments abroad, conferences, commitments, and investigations, to mention a few. This is what we will examine more critically in this unit. They involve the methods and techniques used in the pursuit of foreign policy by nation-states.

### **2.0 OBJECTIVES**

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- i) Discuss what policy formulation means
- ii) Discuss the methods and techniques of foreign policy
- iii) Explain the role of a strong domestic economy for foreign policy
- iv) Analyse the importance of making foreign policy choices

### 3.0 MAIN CONTENT

#### 3.1 Policy Formulation

Policy formulation, obviously, may result in good, bad and indifferent courses of action, their quality depending upon the decisions taken. It is a dynamic function, for it must deal with the changing times. To be effective, it calls for knowledge of the facts and situations. To be sound, it must also be based on an awareness of the state's power and influence both at home and abroad, and importance must also be given to the moral, ideology, and public opinion of a country. In short, foreign policies cannot be evolved in a vacuum. As they are unfolding a state must have the reactions and interest of other states in mind, for no country, however strong, can safely adopt policies without taking the actions, programmes, hopes, and aspirations of other countries into consideration. To be sure, guesses may sometimes produce good results but guesses are not substitutes for rationally formed policies.

Foreign policy is more than a bundle of official papers or series of pronouncements by high officials. Foreign policy is the way nations choose to deal with its external environment. C.B. Marshall, in the *"Limits of Foreign Policy"* describes the formulation of foreign policy as the *"forming of intentions"* as distinguished from our ends – regarding the world external to our jurisdiction.

To find the basis for the foreign policy of a country, therefore, it is necessary to ascertain why relevant decisions were actually made. This means looking at the thinking of the people who make the decisions, their image of the world and of their own polity, of finding which facts were factors to them; and how they took them into account.

One or two examples may help to show what is involved. At independence in 1960, one of the first pre-occupation of Nigeria was to define its position in the world, and the first official pronouncement of the Federal Government's policy on foreign affairs was made by the Prime Minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa in the Federal House of Representatives on 20 August, 1960. Nigeria declared that the Prime Minister, would follow an independent policy which would be "founded on Nigeria's interest" and would be "consistent with the moral and democratic principles on which our constitution is based". The policy on each occasion would be "selected with proper independent objectivity", Sir Abukakar continued, while full attention would be paid "to the opinions expressed by our representatives". He was careful to point out that "while benefiting greatly from the free inter-change of ideas and consultation between the members of the Commonwealth and from their experience within the framework of the United Nations" his government

would nevertheless, have “a free hand to select those policies which it considered to be most advantageous for Nigeria”. Nigeria he emphasized, would consider herself in no way subordinate to any member of the Commonwealth, she would also be firmly opposed to “all forms of aggression” and would strive always to maintain the observance everywhere of those human rights which all parties in Nigeria have agreed upon as fundamental; in particular, freedom from racial discrimination”.

### **3.2 The Domestic Constraints on Foreign Policy**

Unfortunately, the real world of foreign policy-making exists within an environment that includes a host of pressures from the domestic and international political systems. The domestic environment includes political pressures that may emanate from within or without the government, and organizational influences stemming from the manner in which governmental agencies perform their functions. The complexities of the international environment stem from a variety of factors. Prominent among these are (1) the various levels (from face to face meetings of national leaders to routine implementation of action programme) at which nations interact; (2) the inability of nations-states; and (3) the uncertainties that result from these conditions and from the inability of one nation to foresee changes in the international environment or to judge that environment from the same perspective as other nations.

Foreign and domestic policy issues are related products of the same political system and are designed to define and implement overall national purposes. Foreign and domestic policy must be mutually supporting of national policy aspirations and are to be achieved in an atmosphere of political stability. Philosopher Clausewitz put it succinctly when he said that foreign policy “*is an execution or reflection of the internal body politic of a nation*”. If the domestic structures are based on commensurable notions of what is just, a consensus about permissible aims and methods of foreign policy develops. If domestic structures are reasonably stable, temptations to use an adventurous foreign policy to achieve domestic cohesion are at a minimum. The domestic structure is taken as given; foreign policy begins where domestic policy ends. When the domestic structures are based on fundamentally different conceptions of what is just, the conduct of international affairs grows more complex. Then it becomes difficult even to define the nature of disagreement because what seems most obvious to one side appears most problematic to the other. A policy dilemma arises because the “*pros*” and “*cons*” of a given course seem evenly balanced.

The development of national economics requires the assembling of resources from other states and the expansion of market across international borders. The ability of a nation to exert military strength in the pursuit of its foreign policy objectives in turn depends upon a diversified and sound domestic industrial structure or help from allies that possess such resources. Both set of policies, foreign and domestic, are conditioned by the ideologies, popular attitudes and balance of political power that exist within the national system at any given time. Public policy programmes, both foreign and domestic, require the allocation of a nation's limited resources among conflicting claims and interests. For this reason all policy decisions that require the use of resources are interrelated. But the political conflict over the use of limited resources is not the only reason that foreign and domestic policies are interrelated. Foreign policy decisions often involve a whole range of choices that reflect the moral, religious, social, and economic interests of different groups and regions within a country.

While foreign policy choices affect domestic interests, domestic politics may also affect a nation's relations with other countries. Domestic issues may have a beneficial or dysfunctional effect on a nation's foreign policy position. For example, South Africa's apartheid policy with respect to her own population resulted in economic and political sanctions being imposed on her by the international community. Soviet emigration policy has been severely criticized by other nations as being discriminatory, since Jews were not allowed to emigrate this affected their policies towards the Soviet Union.

The inter-dependence of foreign and domestic policies could also be illustrated through Nigeria's foreign policy postures during the era of Tafawa Balewa (1960 – 1966) in Nigeria.

Throughout Balewa's term of office, there were two dimensions to Nigeria's external policy: the foreign political policy and the foreign economic policy. The first was based on the assumption of non-alignment as a weapon against colonialism, neo-colonialism, and racism, as a mechanism for projecting and asserting Nigeria's interest in international affairs, while the second was based on the assumption of non-alignment as an instrument of diversifying both the direction of trade and sources of aid.

Nigeria's foreign economic policy was highly programmatic and introspective since it was meant to respond to the exigencies of Nigeria's economic development process. Its chief concern was the provision of resources to fill the gap between domestic saving and the needs of planned development. The foreign political policy, on the other hand, was primarily concerned with an anti-colonial and anti-apartheid

campaign and with the promotion of international peace and security. Unlike the foreign economic policy, it was not essentially concerned with domestic issues.

Nigeria's economic alignment with the West, detracted from her political non-alignment and in this connection, the Balewa's government failure to diversify both the direction of trade and the sources of foreign economic assistance and thus disengage Nigeria from the West economically was perhaps the most conspicuous defect of the post independence Nigerian foreign economic policy. Mahmud Tukur had made a correct assessment of the situation when he wrote "Nigeria's foreign policy leadership never seemed to have attempted a national ordering of priorities. Decisions were based on prejudice rather than calculation. Moreover, since economic under-development was the main cause given during the Balewa era to the problems of economic development and foreign economic assistance, too little emphasis was laid to policies which could consolidate political independence, unite the people and inspire national pride. It is hardly surprising, then, that the Balewa's government despite its pragmatic considerations of promoting accelerated economic growth, found it increasingly difficult either to relate Nigeria's economic needs and domestic interest to the international economic scene or to use foreign economic policy as a mechanism to satisfy the psychological needs and the new expectations of a recently emancipated people.

Of course, the domestic structure is not irrelevant in any historical period. Granted that Nigeria's domestic political process and foreign policy are largely conditioned by the post-colonial situation, and granted that the domestic political structures not only "determine the amount of the social effort which can be devoted to foreign policy" but also set limits to the possibilities of foreign policy a few valid criticisms can still be laid squarely at the door of the Balewa's government.

In actual practice national interests and international objectives are interwoven, external and internal factors being inter-related in the achievement of national objectives. Thus for example, when domestic markets clearly could no longer absorb the total output of the American productive machine, the United States embarked upon a policy of reciprocal trade agreements with her allies that in effect, reduced tariff barriers and permitted greater trade abroad.

### **Self Assessment Exercise**

Discuss the domestic constraints to foreign policy formulation and implementation using Nigeria as an Example.

#### **4.0 CONCLUSION**

Ideally, in democracies the will of the people should rule the government and, in the final analysis, determines what the foreign policies of the state should be. In so far as that will pertain to matters at home, it is expressed through elections, laws, court decisions and administrative orders. In so far as it concerns affairs abroad, it manifests itself in agreements, pronouncements of governmental representatives, official notes, and governmental communications. Both domestic and foreign policies and acts of a given government proceed from a common source, whether it be a dictator, a ruling group, or the people themselves; and all policies are an expression of a common authority. That authority cannot with reason or safety make any compartmentalized distinction between foreign and domestic policies.

#### **5.0 SUMMARY**

In this unit, we discussed the various methods and techniques of formulating foreign policy. The pivotal role of the domestic environment should never be underplayed, as without a strong domestic base, it is extremely difficult to back up your foreign policy positions. Again, the strength of the domestic economy should determine the foreign policy choices a state is able to make.

#### **6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT**

Discuss the methods and constraints to foreign policy formulation?

#### **7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS**

Spanier, J. and Wendzel, D. (1996) Games Nations Play, CQ Press.

## **UNIT 4 FOREIGN POLICY EXECUTION**

### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 Foreign Policy Statements
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Readings

### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

A tenuous and ambiguous relationship exists between a policy and its implementation. Rather than a one-way casual chain, there exists a reciprocal relationship in which implementation may affect policy as well as the obverse. In this unit, we will examine the issue of foreign policy execution or implementation.

### **2.0 OBJECTIVES**

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- i) Explain the process of foreign policy execution;
- ii) Describe the actors that are usually involved;
- iii) Explain the instruments of foreign policy execution;
- iv) Discuss the linkage between foreign policy execution and foreign policy formulation

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 Foreign Policy Statements**

Foreign policy statements merely signal the proffered interests and intentions of a nation. Without specific actions designed to implement those intentions, even explicitly stated policies may soon become ineffective. It is not sufficient for the Federal Republic of Nigeria to say, “We shall continue to do everything in our power to eliminate apartheid from our continent and to defend the dignity of man everywhere”. If the means to implement that policy are not available, and a willingness to use those is not demonstrated, in the absence of the demonstrated means and will to carry out the stated intentions, a potential aggressor may treat the statement as pure rhetoric or bluff and not be deterred from aggression.

Every nation has machineries for the execution of foreign policy. Foreign policies are executed through the Ministry of Foreign or External Affairs as well as by the Embassies, Commissions, or Charge d'Affairs abroad. The intention of the state is usually to ensure that the policies formulated and the decisions taken on the foreign policy issues that are of interest to that particular country do not suffer for lack of implementation; also, that when they get to the implementation stage they are executed in such a way as to achieve the intended goal.

The administration of foreign policy, especially at the higher levels, is only partially separable from its formulation. Nevertheless, the two processes are sufficiently distinct in important ways to justify separate consideration. Foreign policy administration begins, of course, with the executive who everywhere possesses the authority to direct the conduct of foreign relations and their related activities. The role of the former leader in such matters is normally limited to ceremonial and social occasions. The functions of the head of government however, as a political executive, are considerable. He has certain regular responsibilities of appointing diplomatic envoys, receiving those from other states, ordering negotiations with representations of foreign governments, declaring war, signing treaties, and ensuring peace.

Governments have one ministry or department principally responsible for the administration of foreign policy. Its head is designated by such titles as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in Great Britain, Secretary of State in the United States, Minister of Foreign Affairs in France, Secretary of State for External Affairs in Canada, Minister of Foreign Affairs in Nigeria.

For the measurement of her foreign relations and the making and implementation of foreign policy decisions, Nigeria since independence, has established a network of overseas mission and developed a large and complex administrative machinery which is directly concerned with foreign affairs – the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, formerly known as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is wholly concerned with the day-to-day conduct of Nigeria foreign relations. In addition to formulating and carrying out specific policies designed to achieve Nigeria's national objectives, the ministry and its principal functionaries are charged with the responsibility for the following matters - "establishment and administration of Nigeria's diplomatic and consular posts; conduct of government business in the legislature relating to foreign and Commonwealth affairs; relations with the diplomatic corps in Nigeria; issuance of passports and travel certificates, consular matters affecting Nigerians outside Nigeria, etc. The political head of the ministry is the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs in

organized partly on a geographical and partly on a functional basis. In this respect, the titles of the various divisions suggest their respective areas of activities and responsibilities. The principal functionaries of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs are not simply agents carrying out Nigeria's international policies, but they are part of the policy making process. To say that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is the official machinery for handling foreign policy matters is not to say that external affairs are the exclusive concern of the ministry. In fact, there are few foreign policy issues, which do not cut across the traditional lines of demarcation, which separate the fields of responsibility assigned to various ministries and agencies. The never-ending problem of overlapping jurisdictions and conflicting sets of responsibilities in foreign affairs reflect the practical difficulties in the way of ensuring inter-ministerial coordination and reconciliation.

In the process of initiating, formulating and executing a particular policy, there are a number of forces involved apart from the officially designated people, such as people in government and in the foreign ministries; there are two other categories of people involved. One, there is external participants such as the agents of foreign governments or corporations, religious organizations, the civil society etc. who are interested in whatever policies a particular state pursues. As a result of this, they tend to deploy any means to influence the decisions taken. The second category of those who influence foreign policy are persons within the particular country. These include pressure groups, social or other organizations, and student bodies. They may, of course, be members of the foreign policy elite.

As mentioned, a policy is made effective by the steps that are taken to make it meaningful. Politics is not self-effecting. It must be supported by action programmes that generally operate in the external environment of a state, but domestic programmes also support foreign policy. Immigration, tariff, and agricultural surplus programmes and domestic policies with external relevant.

The programmes and actions taken to execute foreign policy are the instruments of policy. These instruments comprise power politics, diplomacy; international communication, including public information and the use of ideology, propaganda, and manipulation of opinion: economic actions; and use of military resources. Harold Lasswell of Yale University once described action programmes as covering "force, deals, goods and ideals".

The instruments of policy are the principal components of national strength and constitute national power when given purpose and direction. This power determines the degree of success or failure of

national policy. The instruments of policy are the mechanisms that translate policy and programmes into day-to-day operations and, overtime, result in the outlines of policy for all interest observers to see. Policy formulation as we have seen is a most complex process. Implementing policy on a daily basis along the lines originally intended is one of the most different tasks confronting government's decision-makers. Changing the course of programmes once started involves changing the minds and everyday routines of individuals and large organizations. Programme changes take time and inherently carry costs in terms of people, money, materials and processes. Rarely is any instrument used alone. Diplomacy is often directly supported by economic and military means. A state's diplomacy may be strengthened also by prestige gained from its economic, scientific, and military programmes. Inept diplomacy can weaken a state's policies. There are patterns of foreign policies integrating a variety of individual policies and employing a variety of foreign policies, while utilizing a variety of instruments to further a particular goal or set of related goals.

### **Self Assessment Exercise**

What are the various instruments for foreign policy execution?

## **4.0 CONCLUSION**

Foreign policy execution as an aspect of the pursuit of a country's interests cannot easily be separated from foreign policy formulation per se. The two are inter-related and are complementary to one another. However, without giving life to the policies formulated, a state may never be able to protect nor promote its national interests. A variety of actors are usually involved in the execution of foreign policy – the executive of the various countries being the key actors. However, the foreign policy elite, the academia, civil society, economic interest groups, and other pressure groups also contribute directly and indirectly to foreign policy formulation.

## **5.0 SUMMARY**

In this unit, we have discussed foreign policy, foreign policy execution and the link to the formulation. We also identified the various foreign policy actors involved in the execution and the instruments that are usually resorted to.

## **6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT**

Describe the process of Foreign Policy execution in Nigeria. Who are the key actors?

## **7.0 REFERENCE/FURTHER READINGS**

Joseph Frankel, (1979) International Relations in a Changing World,  
Oxford University Press, Oxford.

## **MODULE 4**

Unit 1	Principles of Bargaining and Negotiation
Unit 2	Negotiating Skills
Unit 3	The Search for National Security
Unit 4	International Technical Assistance

### **UNIT 1 PRINCIPLES OF BARGAINING AND NEGOTIATION**

#### **CONTENTS**

3.0	Introduction
4.0	Objectives
3.0	Main Content
3.1	Negotiation
3.1.1	Towards a successful Negotiation
3.1.2	Negotiating Protocols
3.1.3	The Joint Problem – Solving Approach to Negotiation
4.0	Conclusion
5.0	Summary
6.0	Tutor-Marked Assignment
7.0	References/Further Readings

#### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

We shall examine in this unit the principles of bargaining and negotiation, the method of negotiating protocols and the Joint-problem solving approach to negotiation. In addition, other related elements of negotiation will be discussed.

#### **2.0 OBJECTIVES**

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- i) Define negotiation;
- ii) Describe the ground rules for negotiation;
- iii) Distinguish between the Competitive and Joint-Problem Solving Approaches;
- iv) Explain the imperative of proper timing during negotiations.

## **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

### **3.1 Negotiation**

Negotiation is a voluntary problem solving activity, or a communication or information sharing process in which the parties try to work out their real, perceived or potential differences through agreements that define their future behaviour. The agreement can be formal or informal, written or oral, explicit or tacit. A successful negotiation leaves the parties satisfied and lays a positive foundation for their future relationship.

#### **3.1.1 Towards a Successful Negotiation**

Information release is a very important element of negotiation. The negotiating process has been described as: “the exchange of information (and its manipulation) which permits and compels learning by each party about his opponent, about himself, and about their common situation”. That is about their expectations, requirements, and strengths. As a result of learning, there is modification of expectations and requirement such that the negotiators may shift their demands to some point at which they can agree. Negotiators continue to exchange information and to explore possibilities so long as they consider that they may gain an outcome that is more advantageous than the status quo. Negotiations are thus a dynamic process of exploration in which change is intrinsic. These include changes in each party’s assessment of his requirements, in his expectations of what is possible, preferable and accountable, and changes in his understanding of the opponent’s assessment and expectations.

Negotiating parties expect to give up something of value in order to obtain something of value. Sometimes, this bargaining occurs in a cooperative environment, sometimes in an adversarial atmosphere, often in a combination of the two. But when a negotiating climate can be created which increase trust levels, enhances openness and maximizes the flow of information the pertinent times can create solutions which no one envisaged on the other hand and which arouses the need for any party to make extensive compromises on important principles or values.

Unless a party’s goal is the total destruction of the opposition, there comes a time in the life of every community or political conflict when it is in a party’s interest to attempt to reach a negotiated settlement, since the parties are virtually always interdependent, total destruction of the opposition becomes self-defeating if not unrealistic, even if it could be achieved. The question, then is not whether to negotiate, but, (1) When a party lacks viable alternatives to negotiating, Sierra Leone’s president Tejan Kabbah was forced to negotiate with the rebel Revolutionary

force (RUF) for the release of Foday Sankoh and other issues when he took over most of the territories in January, 1999; (2) When a party's power appears to have peaked; (3) When failure to negotiate may weaken a party's power base; and (4) When the other side has few alternatives, appears to be under pressure to negotiate and appears willing to bargain in good faith, are times to consider coming to the round table. The decision can be facilitated by conducting a risk-benefit analysis which may address these questions:

- (a) How important is it for us to attempt to resolve the problem now: Are there forces at work which make it necessary to resolve the matter soon? Will a delay weaken or can it be expected to improve our power base?
- (b) Are there internal or external forces pressuring us to negotiate now? (OAU pressuring Tejan Kabbah). Will our power base erode if we do not respond?
- (c) What pressure makes it inadvisable to negotiate now? These might include opposition from our constituency or an impending leadership test which is best dealt with before making a commitment to negotiate.
- (d) What are our viable alternatives to negotiation? These can include such things as
  - (i) Combining peaceful protest activity;
  - (ii) Use of force;
  - (iii) Mounting a public education campaign;
  - (iv) Taking legal action, or
  - (v) Binding time in anticipation that something will happen to weaken the other party's position. The fewer the alternatives, the greater the pressure to negotiate.
- (e) Do we have sufficient power and leverage to enable us to get what we need through negotiation? If not, is it feasible to delay negotiations until we can improve our position?
- (f) How will delaying negotiation affect our power relationship with other parties? Will we be relatively stronger or weaker coming to the table later? Are we likely to do better now or later.
- (g) Are we prepared to make concessions and explore new oppositions which may be necessary to resolve the matter? Do other parties appear to be prepared to do likewise?

- (h) What pre-conditions for negotiation will bind us? Will they diminish our power during negotiations or weaken us if negotiation reaches impasses?
- (i) What are the likely consequences of coming to the table and failing to reach a settlement? Will our situation deteriorate, will it be stronger or is it likely the status quo will prevail?

The above questions should be addressed from your perspective and as information allows from the other party(ies) as well. It is also in this way that countries decide whether to negotiate or not in their relations with other countries during conflicts.

### **3.1.2 Negotiating Protocols**

Once the parties have decided to move toward the negotiating table, they must agree on certain preconditions. Negotiations can determine who will convene the talks. They then must agree to the ground rules which will govern the process. Decisive and unambiguous protocols will help prevent subsequent misunderstandings and disagreement, which can bring negotiating to a standstill and leave the parties angry and mistrusting. Depending on the nature of the conflict, ground rules might specify the following issues:

- (a) The basic framework, including (i) the purpose of the negotiation; (ii) the agenda (iii) procedures for adding new issues to agenda; (iv) the need for consensus and defining what “consensus” means, (v) the extent to which parties agree to support and be bound by the agreements reached; and whether all issues must be resolved before any agreements can be considered. Also, (vii) the place where negotiations will be convened; (viii) any special room arrangements;(ix) starting times and length of the sessions; and (x) deadlines must be agreed upon.
- (b) The participants including (i) which parties will participate, (ii) procedure, for adding parties, if necessary; (iii) the maximum number of persons from each party to be present at the negotiations and (iv) the maximum numbers of individuals from each party to be seated at the negotiating table. Also (v) whether sessions will be closed or open to the public media. If sessions are closed, there should there be policies on confidentiality, including the use of recording devices, and (vi) how the parties will deal with the media.

- (c) Outside resources, including;
  - (i) the responsibilities of facilitators or mediators if they are to be used and the individuals or the organizations responsible for providing them;
  - (ii) whether outside observers will be invited or permitted to attend, how they will be selected and the limits of their number;
  - (iii) the terms on which parties will make financial or technical information available to each other during negotiations;
  - (iv) whether technical specialists will participate when needed to interpret his information, and
  - (v) whether sub-committees will be used to develop joint proposals and the method for selecting and using them.

Finally, the parties may want to include a brief statement that they agree to treat each other respectfully and avoid insulting or disparaging language during negotiations. This may seem trivial, but it can help set a positive climate at the start of negotiations and serve as a reminder to the parties when emotions flare during the process. In short, these are the key elements that must be considered and agreed upon during negotiations especially of protocols.

### **3.1.3 The Joint Problem-Solving Approach to Negotiation**

There is a variety of negotiation styles, but in community public policy and political negotiations, two approaches commonly used to confront the issues are the competitive mode and what can be called the joint problem-solving style.

Each style emphasizes a different set of behaviours and results in different types of outcomes. While individuals tend to use a combination of styles, many negotiators have a propensity to behave in ways consistent with one of the basic approaches; the one with which they are most comfortable and with which they feel most adept.

**Competitive:** Classic competitive negotiation focuses on their own demands and demonstrates little concern for the interest of others. They are adversarial taking extreme positions at the opening of negotiations and making few concessions. They view negotiation as a win-lose proposition and consider it a sign of weakness to give any credence to opposing views. Their sole aim is to obtain as big a piece of the pie as possible. They dominate the debate, exercising their power over the

other party to the extent possible, making concessions only when they are forced into it. They push through to the end of the negotiation giving little thought to the future relationship of the parties.

**Joint Problem-Solving:** Negotiators use joint problem-solving to find ways to expand the pie rather than simply fighting for what they see when they arrive at the table. They create a cooperative, open and expansive climate by focusing on the parties interests rather than in their position. They seek to use power of the other parties rather than power over them in their effort to find solutions which mutually benefits the parties.

Joint Problem-Solving Negotiators are not averse to confronting conflict. In fact, they deem confrontation essential to the full exploration and understanding of their differences. But unlike the competitive, they prefer discussion which encourages the flow of new information over debate in which parties only try to prove the correctness of their position and belittle others.

There is a time for hard bargaining and fighting for positions in joint problem-solving negotiation, but only after a long and arduous process of discussion, analysis and exploration aimed at identifying the possibilities for mutual gain.

At the outset of a model of joint problem-solving negotiation, the parties do not make demands, or even discuss their positions. Rather, they approach each issue on the agenda by clearly defining it and discussing each party's interests and also create doubt in their minds about the validity of some of their original assumption. A climate is thus established which is conducive to the exploration of solutions based on these new insights.

When trust levels are low, the parties cannot be expected to come to the table to prepare to share a lot of information about their real needs and interest. They consider much of this information about their real strategies and guard it closely. But if the negotiation is well managed, an environment may be created that enables a party to take some risks and be incrementally forthcoming. If the other side reciprocates by sharing have-to-have confidential information, trust levels begin to decrease, tensions rise and there is a greater sharing of information and ideas about issues and the parties to the conflict.

#### **4.0 CONCLUSION**

Bargaining and negotiation are important instruments of diplomacy and foreign policy execution. We should note the meaning, the necessity for

the proper timing of negotiations. This is important so that ongoing negotiations do not cause further conflict or make the already existing conflict more difficult to resolve. Negotiation is however, a very important instrument of negotiation.

## **5.0 SUMMARY**

We have extensively discussed negotiation; the meaning, timing of negotiations, and the different types of negotiations; in particular Competitive as opposed to the Joint Problem-Solving Approaches. We also examined the ground rules that must be considered in preparation for negotiations.

## **6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT**

“Bargaining and Negotiations are important instruments of conflict resolution”. Discuss.

## **7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS**

Morten Deutsch, (1973) The Resolution of Conflict: Constructive and Destructive Processes, Yale University Press, New Haven, CT.

Charles Hauss, (2001) International Conflict Resolution: International Relations for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, Continuum Publishing, New York.

## **UNIT 2    NEGOTIATING SKILLS**

### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 The Skills for Effective Problem – Solving Negotiation
    - 3.1.1 Preparing for Negotiation
    - 3.1.2 The Negotiation Team
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor – Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Readings

### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

Notwithstanding the extra-ordinary advantages of joint problem-solving, many negotiators lack training in the skills necessary for its most effective use. This in part, is because in many cultures only negative values are placed on “conflict” and the skills required to confront and manage it effectively are not sufficiently valued to be taught at home or in schools.

The skills needed for effective joint problem-solving negotiations revolve around the need to communicate acceptance to other parties so that they are encouraged to continue the flow of information, rather than to communicate rejection which makes others defensive and closes down the information exchange. We will thus examine the issue of negotiating skills in this unit.

### **2.0 OBJECTIVES**

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- i) Identify and outline the skills necessary for effective problem solving;
- ii) Discuss the necessity for proper preparation before negotiations;
- iii) Explain the need for proper briefing and training for negotiation teams.

### 3.0 MAIN CONTENT

#### 3.1 The Skills for Effective Problem – Solving Negotiation

Five key skills for effective problem-solving negotiations are as follows:

- (a) **Empathic or Active Listening:** This skill means listening in a way that lets the speaker know that you understand and appreciate the problem and how the speaker feels about it. The listener throwing both verbal and non-verbal cues signals the speaker that “I accept and value both you and what you are saying, I am not judging you. I want to hear more and I desire to explore this matter further with you before deciding how to resolve it. Empathic listening not only surfaces information and ideas, but encourages the speaker, who has a full opportunity for expression to speak to a willing and effective listener.
- (b) **Withholding Judgment:** This is a component of empathic listening, but merits separate mention because of the difficulty many negotiators have by refraining from making and acting on judgment either before the parties come to the table or while an issue is still being defined and discussed. Responding in a way that judges the other party (that is a poor plan, or that is not a bad idea, but it will never work), creates defensiveness and shuts down the communication. Even a positive judgment (even a brilliant idea) can discourage the search for even better solutions.
- (c) **Dealing with Emotions:** Emotion, especially anger is a critical skill because the emotions of a negotiation are as real and important as the substance. Recognizing, acknowledging responding to another’s anger is always in such a way that it:
  - (i) does not deny or belittle their feeling;
  - (ii) permits them to express their emotion; and
  - (iii) helps clear their head for rational discussion of the issue. This is imperative for efficient and productive negotiations. Being able to avoid getting “hooked” by another party’s anger and knowing how to handle your own emotions during a negotiation is equally important.
- (d) **Asking Good Questions:** This is among the most overlooked skills of negotiation. Open-ended questions (“I don’t understand how your plan would work”, “will you tell me more about it”),

encourages a communication to continue. Threatening questions such as “What in the world gave you the idea we could accept a plan like that?” shuts it down.

- (e) **Creative Thinking:** This expands a party’s search to generate solutions. Many negotiators have been conditioned to use only the analysis and logical portion of their brain. The formality of a negotiation setting can reinforce their tendency. If negotiators can free themselves to use the creative side of their brain as well as the analytic, they can expect to create even better solutions.

A party may devalue the skill required for effective joint problem-solving because they do not address some of the important traditional sources of power in a negotiation, such as the ability to punish or reward others, the ability to intimidate or coerce, etc. There can be no questioning the importance of power in any negotiation. But parties who come to the table equipped in the skills of joint problem-solving have another more subtle type of power. They are able to behave in ways that build trust and respect, reduce tensions, generate cooperation and encourage sharing of information and ideas about the problem and the parties.

### 3.1.1 Preparing for Negotiation

**The Plan:** A negotiating plan should prioritize all agenda issues, indicating the perceived,

- (i) minimal needs (bottom lines); and
- (ii) possible outcomes.

Thought should be given to how each issue will be presented, including the content of the presentation, who should present it and how other parties might respond and why.

A plan should address the style of negotiation to be used. If it is joint problem-solving, consideration should be given to the type of information not known to other parties that must be held in confidence at all times and which can be released incrementally as a show of good faith.

As much information as available should be compiled about the other parties and the members of their negotiation team. Information about the statements they have made on the issues, their reputations, their professional backgrounds can influence, predict and explain their behaviour during negotiations.

Other dimensions of a plan can include the methods that will be used to:

- (i) communicate what is happening in negotiations to your constituents and obtain accurate feedback from them;
- (ii) communicate when needed with influential parties outside the negotiations;
- (iii) work with the media in ways that protect your interests without violating the negotiation protocols;
- (iv) monitor the media during the course of negotiations and transmit that information to your negotiating team and other key persons; and
- (v) obtain desired feedback or counsel from advisors or other supporters.

### **3.1.2 The Negotiation Team**

A negotiating team should include individuals who are knowledgeable, articulate, energetic, hardworking and capable of discipline and teamwork. Every team member should have a designated role, such as:

- (a) team leader;
- (b) designates spokesperson(s);
- (c) person(s) to take comprehensive notes of what is said;
- (d) person(s) to observe non-verbal behaviour;
- (e) resources specialist; and
- (f) a person(s) to display charts or distributes written materials, etc.

Team members should draft their opening statement, presentations on the issues and potential questions. They should anticipate the negotiation. Provides an opportunity to rehearse presentations and prepare responses.

## **4.0 CONCLUSION**

It is important that countries pay attention to the quality of negotiations they engage in, and of the quality of negotiators sent. For many countries, especially in the developing countries, it is often the case that they do not get good representations during negotiations at the global level. This is often underplayed to their own detriment. Training and skills are essential to effective negotiations, more so in this era of multi-level governance and multilateral diplomacy.

## **5.0 SUMMARY**

In this unit, we have discussed the need for ensuring that the negotiation skills of those engaged in negotiations are adequate. Preparing well before negotiations commence is very important. Negotiation is

increasingly becoming a very important instrument of diplomacy and international Relations in the 21st century.

## **6.0 TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENT**

What do you consider the skills necessary for effective problem solving during negotiation?

## **7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS**

- P. Terrence Hopmann, (1979) The Negotiation Process and the Resolution of International Conflicts, Oxford University Press, New York.

## **UNIT 3 THE SEARCH OF NATIONAL SECURITY**

### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 National Security
  - 3.3 Foreign Aid
    - 3.3.1 Types of Foreign Aid
  - 3.3 Alliance
  - 3.4 Alliance Formation
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Readings/Further Readings

### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

This unit introduces us to the issue of National Security, and its importance for the survival of a country. National Security is very essential even for those countries that have professed neutrality in international politics like Switzerland, Sweden and Japan. Some degree of security is still necessary for the protection and welfare of their citizens and their country. In this unit, we will also examine the issue of foreign aid and of Alliance formation in the international system.

### **2.0 OBJECTIVES**

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- i) Explain what national security means;
- ii) Identify the measures necessary to ensure National Security;
- iii) Discuss the dichotomy between National Security and Civil Rights;
- iv) Discuss Foreign Aid in international relations;
- v) Discuss Alliance Formation as an aspect of National Security.

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 The Meaning of National Security**

National security involves the measures taken by a state to ensure its survival and safety. National security includes the deterrence of attack, from within and without, as well as the protection and wellbeing of citizens.

Measures Taken to Ensure National Security include:

- the maintenance of armed forces;
- civil defence measures and emergency preparedness;
- attempts to create resilience and national infrastructure;
- the maintenance of intelligence services to detect threats;
- the protection of classified information.

National security for example, has become a popular topic in the United States as the terrorist attack of 9/11 brought an end to many people's beliefs that US was safe from national security threats. In many nations around the world, including the United States, terrorism is becoming the primary focus of national security measures.

As the world's interest in national security has risen the once forgotten conflict between national security and civil rights has reemerged as a major topic of discussion. The United States controversial Patriot Act has brought this issue to the attention of even the average citizen. The debate centers on the question, "is it justified to restrict the people's freedoms for the sake of the nation's security?"

### **3.2 Foreign Aid**

Foreign aid, international aid or development assistance is when one country helps another country through some form of donation or assistance. Usually this refers to helping out a country that has a special need caused by poverty, underdevelopment, natural disasters, armed conflicts, etc.

The main receivers of foreign aid are developing nations (third world countries), and the main contributors are the industrialized countries. Foreign aid comes naturally with two important features- the first is that the receiving country gets some assistance from willing partners who will help improve its economy in the short to medium term; the second is that such aid come with conditionalities, political and economic which may not necessarily be in the best interest of the recipients.

In terms of bilateral assistance, often this has some economic and political conditionalities attached. These conditionalities may include the practice of western style democracy, embracing the market economy with the attendant requirements of deregulation and privatization of one's economy. These demands may come from the advanced industrialized countries or from multilateral bodies like the UN, the IMF and the World Bank. The important thing is that countries receiving foreign aid should *ab initio* consider the implications of such aid for their countries.

### 3.2.1 Types of Foreign Aid

One major type of foreign aid, development aid, is aid given by developed countries to support economic development in developing countries. Humanitarian aid, on the other hand, is short-term foreign aid used to alleviate suffering caused by a humanitarian crisis such as genocide, famine, or a natural disaster. Finally, military aid is used to assist an ally in its defense efforts, or to assist a poor country in maintaining control over its own territory.

Other types of foreign aid exist as well, although many could be considered to fall under one of the three categories listed above. Latin American countries, as well as countries on other parts of the world, receive a great deal of aid designed to help them fight drug trafficking and cultivation. Many countries receive military aid to help with counter-insurgency efforts, or to help them fight terrorism. Much of the aid to Africa is used to help combat diseases such as AIDS and malaria. The World Health Organization assists countries in keeping under control possible pandemics such as Avian Flu and (in the recent past) SARS. Other problems poor countries are assisted with include landmines, corruption, democratization, adjustment to trade liberalization, money laundering, and peace building.

There has been some criticism of foreign aid. The von Mises Institute has pointed out that it can be route to reward multinational companies rather than the citizens of the country that it is supposed to help. Corruption in many third world nations leads to a portion of the aid money being siphoned off into private bank accounts. In addition, it can be a method of corruption at home. The money, once in the hands of corrupt dictators and off the stringent accounting books of most Western nations can then be kicked back to corrupt domestic politicians in a number of ways. And as an apparent act of charity it is also less politic to scrutinize such a transaction.

Development aid (also *development assistance*, *international aid*, *overseas aid* or *foreign aid*) is aid given by developed countries to support economic development in developing countries. It is distinguished from humanitarian aid as being aimed at alleviating poverty in the long term, rather than alleviating suffering in the short term (Foreign aid, on the other hand, includes both development aid and humanitarian aid. Some governments include military assistance in the notion "foreign aid", while a lot of NGOs tend to disapprove).

Historically the term used for the donation of expertise has been **technical assistance**. The nations of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), made up of the developed nations

of the world, have committed to providing a certain level of development assistance to underdeveloped countries. This is called Official Development Assistance (ODA), and is given by governments on certain concessional terms, usually as simple donations. It is given by governments through individual countries' international aid agencies (bilateral aid), through multilateral institutions such as the World Bank, or through development charities such as Oxfam.

## **Background**

The offer to give development aid has to be understood in the context of the cold war. The speech in which Harry Truman announced the foundation of NATO is also a founding document of development policy. "In addition, we will provide military advice and equipment to free nations which will cooperate with us in the maintenance of peace and security. Fourth, we must embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas. More than half the people of the world are living in conditions approaching misery. Their food is inadequate. They are victims of disease. Their economic life is primitive and stagnant. Their poverty is a handicap and a threat both to them and to more prosperous areas. For the first time in history, humanity possesses the knowledge and skill to relieve the suffering of these people."

Development aid was aimed at offering technical solutions to social problems without altering basic social structures. The United States was often fiercely opposed to even moderate changes in social structures, for example the land reform in Guatemala in the early 1950s.

## **2004 ODA figures(An Example)**

The combined Official Development Assistance of OECD countries in 2004 was \$78.6 billion USD. The United States is the world's largest contributor of ODA in absolute terms, \$19 billion, but this figure should be compared to the combined European Union contribution that totaled \$42.9 billion. Expressed as a percentage of GNI, Norway's contributions remained in the lead at 0.87%, with the combined EU at 0.36%. The United States remains the lowest contributor in the OECD as a percentage of GNI, at 0.16%.

## **Effectiveness of Foreign Aid**

Aid effectiveness refers to the degree to which development aid works, and is a subject of significant disagreement. Dissident economists such as Peter Bauer and Milton Friedman argued in the 1960s that aid is

ineffective. Many econometric studies in recent years have supported the view that development aid has no effect on the speed with which countries develop. Negative side effects of aid can include an unbalanced appreciation of the recipient's currency (known as Dutch Disease), increasing corruption, and adverse political effects such as postponements of necessary economic and democratic reforms.

There is also a lot of debate about which form development aid should take in order to be effective. It has been argued that a lot of government-to-government aid was ineffective because it was merely a way to support strategically important leaders. A good example of this is the former dictator of Zaire, Mobutu Sese Seko, who lost support from the west after the cold war had ended.

Another major point of criticism has been that western countries often project their own needs and solutions onto other societies and cultures. As a result of this criticism, western help in some cases has become more 'endogenous', which means that needs as well as solutions are being devised in accordance with local cultures. It has also been argued that help based on direct donation creates dependency and corruption, and has an adverse effect on local production. As a result, a shift has taken place towards aid based on activation of local assets and stimulation measures such as micro-loans.

A lot of aid has also proven ineffective because many third world countries are artificial, young countries in which ethnic tensions are strong: sometimes one ethnic group will refuse to help making a rivaling ethnic group more powerful. In some cases, western surpluses that resulted from faulty agriculture- or other policies have been dumped in poor countries, thus wiping out local production and increasing dependency. In a several instances, loans that were considered as irretrievable (for instance because funds had been embezzled by a dictator who has already died or disappeared), have been written off by donor countries, who subsequently booked this as development aid. In many cases western governments placed orders with western companies as a form of subsidizing them, and then later shipped these goods to poor countries who often had no use for them. These projects are sometimes called 'white elephants'.

Many of the aforementioned mistakes have happened because spending money abroad is often bad for the economy: it takes the donated money out of the economy and stops its economic chain-effect of wealth creation. This is one of the reasons why some people underwrite the slogan "not aid but trade". A common criticism in recent years is that rich countries have put so many conditions on aid that it has reduced aid effectiveness. In the example of tied aid, donor countries often require

the recipient to purchase goods and services from the donor, even if these are cheaper elsewhere. Other conditions include opening up the country to foreign investment, even if it might not be ready to do so.

The Massachusetts Institute of Technology's Abhijit Banerjee and Ruimin He have undertaken a rigorous study of the relatively few independent evaluations of aid program successes and failures. They suggest the following interventions are usually highly effective forms of aid in normal circumstances:

- subsidies given directly to families to be spent on children's education and health
- education vouchers for school uniforms & textbooks
- teaching selected illiterate adults to read and write
- deworming drugs and vitamin/nutritional supplements
- vaccination and HIV/AIDS prevention programs
- indoor sprays against malaria, anti-mosquito bed netting
- suitable fertilizers
- clean water supplies

[www.foreignaid.com](http://www.foreignaid.com)

### 3.3 Alliance

#### Definition of Alliance

The lack of an accepted definition of alliance is the first indication that the literature is characterized by a marked absence of agreement on many issues. Some authors use the terms alliance, coalition pact and block interchangeably whereas others distinguish among them on various criteria. Nor is there agreement on classifying types of alliance. Most authors seem to agree that the adjectives “offensive” and “defensive” are two value-laden terms to be of much utility. It is, moreover, distinctly unfashionable for signatories to a treaty of alliance to proclaim aggressive purposes; not even Ribbentrop and Molotov did so as they signed the Nazi-Soviet Pact of 1939. Categories such as “preservation” and “redistribution” are among the suggested alternatives. “Defensive Pact”, “neutrality and non aggression pact”, and “entente” are variously considered as techniques of state craft, or regulating mechanisms in the balance of power.

There is little to be gained by a restrictive definition, and a broad one offers the distinct advantage of enlarging the scope of our discourse. We will not limit ourselves to any one of these usages. We require only that the agreement to collaborate be made by formal treaty – open or secret and that it be concerned directly with national security issues. The first stipulation rules out the accidental or temporary coordination of foreign

policy acts such as occurred in 1956 when the United States and the Soviet Union found themselves on the same side with respect to the Suez crisis.

However, in the post-war years bilateral and multi-lateral alliances and other security arrangements have proliferated, and alliance politics, which embraces political-strategic aspects and diplomatic and other relationships, has become a prominent feature of international relations. This was especially true when alliance systems were flourishing, as they seemed to be in 1950s and early 1968. Even though most of the major multi-lateral alliances, including NATO, the Warsaw Pact, SEATO, and CENTO, now are in disarray and have lost much of their original purposes and momentum, the politics of NATO and other alliance system remains an important new dimension in the study of contemporary international relations. Furthermore, Alliance can be defined as a formal agreement between two or more nations to collaborate on national security issues.

### **3.4 Alliance Formation**

With rare exceptions, the decision to participate in alliance is made by sovereign and independent nations. We shall consider two closely related questions about the motives that give rise to alliance policies. First, why do nations choose to undertake or shun external commitment? There is little agreement among alliance theorists. Many place considerable emphasis on the external environment, stressing such factors as the structure of the international system or the level of conflict and threat among its member-nations. Some types of nations are regarded as “alliance prone”, whereas others are seen as more likely to remain free from external military ties. Second, why do nations elect to join others? One position is that nations with important characteristics in common are more likely to align than dissimilar nations. A different view is held by a substantial group of theorists who regard alliances as the pragmatic expression of transient, albeit urgent, interests, rather than as the international manifestation of sentimental ties arising from common ethnic, cultural, ideological or other attributes.

### **Self Assessment Exercise**

What do you understand by Alliance in the international system?

### **4.0 CONCLUSION**

There is little doubt that National Security is an important aspect of the duty of a sovereign state in order to ensure the protection of its citizens in the present times. It involves elements of internal and external

protection involving the use of the armed forces, intelligence services, the civil society as well as benign foreign governments. As is presently mouthed, “Home Security is the responsibility of all”. Therefore, it is necessary that all countries take those basic minimum measures to ensure national security.

Also, foreign aid although not always desirable is still an important aspect of the foreign policies of the advanced countries. Foreign aid when properly used by the recipient adds value to the economy, but when misapplied or misused become a burden or a curse for the country.

Though Alliances are fairly common and necessary especially in times of adversity, it appears to have become increasingly popular in recent times. However, what appears to be happening is the cooptation of weaker countries into ad hoc arrangements, often with short – term objectives. A typical example is the ‘Coalition of the Willing’ raised by the United States to prosecute the war against Iraq. However, The North Atlantic Treaty Alliance (NATO) remains important evidence that the days of Alliances are not yet over in the international system.

## **5.0 SUMMARY**

We have discussed the important issue of National Security and identified the measures usually taken to ensure that it is not jeopardized. We also examined the issue of foreign aid and the implications for the receiving countries. In this unit, we also comprehensively discussed the definition of Alliance, Alliance formation and the relevance in contemporary times.

## **6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENTS**

- i) “Foreign Aid is a necessity for the developing countries experiencing economic difficulties”. Discuss.
- ii) What do you understand by National Security? Is Alliance Formation still relevant in the 21st Century?

## **7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS**

Joseph Frankel, (1979) International Politics in a Changing World, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

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## **UNIT 4    INTERNATIONAL TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE**

### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 Nigeria's Technical Aids Corps Scheme
  - 3.2 International Technical Assistance
    - 3.2.1 Long-term Technical Assistance
    - 3.2.2 Short-term Technical Assistance
    - 3.2.3 Procedures
    - 3.2.4 Processing
    - 3.2.6 Funding
    - 3.2.7 International Technical Assistance Measures
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Readings

### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

In this unit, we will examine international technical assistance which is another way states deploy to project their foreign policy and interests just as in the case of extending foreign aid. However, in this unit, we will focus attention on Nigeria's technical assistance to other developing countries. However, examples may be cited from other countries.

### **2.0 OBJECTIVES**

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- i) Discuss international technical assistance;
- ii) Explain Nigeria's Technical Aids Corp Scheme;
- iii) Explain the importance of this in international politics.

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 Nigeria's Technical Aids Corp Scheme (TAC)**

The Technical Aid Corps scheme was established in 1987 by the Federal Government of Nigeria to streamline the nation's hitherto uncoordinated foreign aid and technical assistance policy. Since its inception it has become an important tool of the nation's foreign policy and, plays a

very important role in cementing relations with friendly countries of the African, Caribbean and Pacific regions. It was legally backed up in 1993, by Decree 27 to aid its activities. The TAC programme is managed under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

This Scheme is basically an alternative to direct financial aid to African countries, especially those of the Caribbean and Pacific countries (ACP). Nigeria shares its technical know-how and expertise based on already assessed and perceived needs to the recipient countries. The Technical Aid Corps Scheme however, invariably promotes cooperation and understanding between Nigeria and the ACP states.

The programme involves the development of highly experienced Nigerian professionals in the fields of medicine, nursing, education, engineering, agriculture, accountancy and other related fields to African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) for a period of two years in the first instance, subject to possible extension.

The assistance offered under the scheme is covered by a TAC country Agreement between Nigeria and the individual recipient country. This agreement outlines the obligations and responsibilities of each party. Since its inception 17 years ago, over 2,000 volunteers have served in more than 27 ACP countries

### **3.2 International Technical Assistance**

The Natural Resources Conservation Service receives numerous requests to provide technical assistance in foreign countries. NRCS helps improve the management and conservation of natural resources globally by providing long- and short-term technical assistance and leadership with our foreign partners.

Due to lack of statutory authority to fund technical assistance outside the U.S., NRCS participates in these activities on a reimbursable basis, through USDA's Foreign Agricultural Service/International Cooperation and Development (FAS/ICD). Under provisions of the Economy Act, NRCS may provide technical expertise to another federal agency on a reimbursable basis. Funding agencies include the U.S. Agency for International Development, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, the World Bank, and host countries.

#### **3.2.1 Long-Term Technical Assistance**

Over the years, 196 employees have provided *long-term (resident)* international technical services for natural resource conservation projects in 16 countries on every continent except Antarctica. They

resided in country with their families for a minimum of one year, usually two or more.

### **3.2.2 Short-Term Technical Assistance**

NRCS has provided *short-term* technical assistance and leadership, usually two weeks in duration, in developing programmes and projects in over 140 other countries to conserve and improve natural resources. During FY 1999, NRCS specialists participated in 32 assignments in ten foreign countries to develop and implement policies and programs for the conservation of natural resources.

### **3.2.3 Procedures**

#### **Scope of Work**

Requests for nominations originate outside NRCS and are forwarded to IPD directly or through FAS/ICD. IPD works with FAS/ICD to evaluate the scope of work to determine whether NRCS has and can make available the required expertise.

Evaluation and Selection: Specific detailed selection criteria are generated from the scope of work and generally include the following:

- Technical expertise;
- Availability (duration of assignment);
- International experience;
- Language capability.

NRCS consults with the funding agency in reviewing the scope of work for completeness and accuracy in describing the technical expertise required. Appropriate technical divisions in NHQ will be involved in this step of the process.

Through the networks within NRCS (such as technical divisions, program managers, and special emphasis program managers), a list of viable candidates will be developed. Candidates are evaluated against the established selection criteria.

After the top candidate is identified, but before contact with the staff member, a contact will be made with the supervisor and state conservationist to ensure they are aware of the request and concur in the candidate's participation.

### 3.2.4 Processing

Once the selection process is complete, an International Travel Request Form (ITRF) is completed by the traveler and forwarded to IPD, either electronically or by fax. The ITRF ensures that all necessary information is provided, as follows:

- Name, organizational unit, discipline
- Purpose of travel
- Benefit to NRCS, if any. (Avoid generalities and include assessment of nominee's effectiveness in carrying out the assignment and transferring technology upon return).
- Passport information
- Approvals of supervisor and state conservationist

The ITRF is shared with FAS/ICD for purposes of arranging travel and securing country clearance.

### Responsibilities

The employee, NRCS, and FAS/ICD each have specific responsibilities in the process of implementing a technical assistance activity. NRCS will provide overall guidance in this process.

Employee Responsibilities:

- Complete ITRF and secure approvals of supervisor and state conservationist.
- Work with NRCS to secure official passport and visa.
- Secure necessary immunizations.

### NRCS Responsibilities:

- Advise the traveler on immunizations and other travel preparations.
- Secure official passport and visa.
- Develop budget and submit to FAS/ICD for issuance of Form AD-52, an Interagency Reimbursable Agreement.

### FAS/ICD Responsibilities:

- Issue travel authorization and tickets.
- Secure country clearance.
- Issue Form AD-672 for reimbursement of costs.

### **3.2.5 Funding**

NRCS will develop a budget to support the services provided and forward the budget to the funding agency.

Funding for the project is held by the funding agency and obligated by Form AD-672.

NRCS bills against the AD-672 when the activity is completed and actual costs are known.

### **3.2.6 International Technical Assistance Measures**

1. Article 22 of the Covenant establishes a mechanism by which the Economic and Social Council may bring to the attention of relevant United Nations bodies any matters arising out of reports submitted under the Covenant "which may assist such bodies in deciding, each within its field of competence, on the advisability of international measures likely to contribute to the effective progressive implementation of the ... Covenant". While the primary responsibility under article 22 is vested in the Council, it is clearly appropriate for the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights to play an active role in advising and assisting the Council in this regard.
2. Recommendations in accordance with article 22 may be made to any "organs of the United Nations, their subsidiary organs and specialized agencies concerned with furnishing technical assistance". The Committee considers that this provision should be interpreted so as to include virtually all United Nations organs and agencies involved in any aspect of international development cooperation. It would therefore be appropriate for recommendations in accordance with article 22 to be addressed, inter alia, to the Secretary-General, subsidiary organs of the Council such as the Commission on Human Rights, the Commission on Social Development and the Commission on the Status of Women, other bodies such as UNDP, UNICEF and CDP, agencies such as the World Bank and IMF, and any of the other specialized agencies such as ILO, FAO, UNESCO and WHO.
3. Article 22 could lead either to recommendations of a general policy nature or to more narrowly focused recommendations relating to a specific situation. In the former context, the principal role of the Committee would seem to be to encourage greater attention to efforts to promote economic, social and cultural

rights within the framework of international development cooperation activities undertaken by, or with the assistance of, the United Nations and its agencies. In this regard the Committee notes that the Commission on Human Rights, in its resolution 1989/13 of 2 March 1989, invited it "to give consideration to means by which the various United Nations agencies working in the field of development could best integrate measures designed to promote full respect for economic, social and cultural rights in their activities".

4. As a preliminary practical matter, the Committee notes that its own endeavours would be assisted, and the relevant agencies would also be better informed, if they were to take a greater interest in the work of the Committee. While recognizing that such an interest can be demonstrated in a variety of ways, the Committee observes that attendance by representatives of the appropriate United Nations bodies at its first four sessions has, with the notable exceptions of ILO, UNESCO and WHO, been very low. Similarly, pertinent materials and written information had been received from only a very limited number of agencies. The Committee considers that a deeper understanding of the relevance of economic, social and cultural rights in the context of international development cooperation activities would be considerably facilitated through greater interaction between the Committee and the appropriate agencies. At the very least, the day of general discussion on a specific issue, which the Committee undertakes at each of its sessions, provides an ideal context in which a potentially productive exchange of views can be undertaken.
5. On the broader issues of the promotion of respect for human rights in the context of development activities, the Committee has so far seen only rather limited evidence of specific efforts by United Nations bodies. It notes with satisfaction in this regard the initiative taken jointly by the Centre for Human Rights and UNDP in writing to United Nations Resident Representatives and other field-based officials, inviting their "suggestions and advice, in particular with respect to possible forms of cooperation in ongoing projects [identified] as having a human rights dimension or in new ones in response to a specific Government's request". The Committee has also been informed of long-standing efforts undertaken by ILO to link its own human rights and other international labour standards to its technical cooperation activities.

6. With respect to such activities, two general principles are important. The first is that the two sets of human rights are indivisible and interdependent. This means that efforts to promote one set of rights should also take full account of the other. United Nations agencies involved in the promotion of economic, social and cultural rights should do their utmost to ensure that their activities are fully consistent with the enjoyment of civil and political rights. In negative terms this means that the international agencies should scrupulously avoid involvement in projects which, for example, involve the use of forced labour in contravention of international standards, or promote or reinforce discrimination against individuals or groups contrary to the provisions of the Covenant, or involve large-scale evictions or displacement of persons without the provision of all appropriate protection and compensation. In positive terms, it means that, wherever possible, the agencies should act as advocates of projects and approaches which contribute not only to economic growth or other broadly defined objectives, but also to enhanced enjoyment of the full range of human rights.
7. The second principle of general relevance is that development cooperation activities do not automatically contribute to the promotion of respect for economic, social and cultural rights. Many activities undertaken in the name of "development" have subsequently been recognized as ill-conceived and even counter-productive in human rights terms. In order to reduce the incidence of such problems, the whole range of issues dealt with in the Covenant should, wherever possible and appropriate, be given specific and careful consideration.
8. Despite the importance of seeking to integrate human rights concerns into development activities, it is true that proposals for such integration can too easily remain at a level of generality. Thus, in an effort to encourage the operationalization of the principle contained in article 22 of the Covenant, the Committee wishes to draw attention to the following specific measures which merit consideration by the relevant bodies:
  - (a) As a matter of principle, the appropriate United Nations organs and agencies should specifically recognize the intimate relationship which should be established between development activities, efforts to promote respect for human rights in general, and economic, social and cultural rights in particular. The Committee notes in this regard the failure of each of the first three United Nations Development Decade Strategies to recognize that

relationship and urges that the fourth such strategy, to be adopted in 1990, should rectify that omission;

- (b) Consideration should be given by United Nations agencies to the proposal, made by the Secretary-General in a report of 1979 <sup>1/</sup> that a "human rights impact statement" be required to be prepared in connection with all major development cooperation activities;
  - (c) The training or briefing given to project and other personnel employed by United Nations agencies should include a component dealing with human rights standards and principles;
  - (d) Every effort should be made, at each phase of a development project, to ensure that the rights contained in the Covenants are duly taken into account. This would apply, for example, in the initial assessment of the priority needs of a particular country, in the identification of particular projects, in project design, in the implementation of the project, and in its final evaluation.
9. A matter which has been of particular concern to the Committee in the examination of the reports of States parties, is the adverse impact of the debt burden and of the relevant adjustment measures on the enjoyment of economic, social and cultural rights in many countries. The Committee recognizes that adjustment programmes will often be unavoidable and that these will frequently involve a major element of austerity. Under such circumstances, however, endeavours to protect the most basic economic, social and cultural rights become more, rather than less, urgent. States parties to the Covenant, as well as the relevant United Nations agencies, should thus make a particular effort to ensure that such protection is, to the maximum extent possible, built-in to programmes and policies designed to promote adjustment. Such an approach, which is sometimes referred to as "adjustment with a human face" or as promoting "the human dimension of development" requires that the goal of protecting the rights of the poor and vulnerable should become a basic objective of economic adjustment. Similarly, international measures to deal with the debt crisis should take full account of the need to protect economic, social and cultural rights through, inter alia, international cooperation. In many situations, this might point to the need for major debt relief initiatives.
10. Finally, the Committee may wish to draw attention to the important opportunity provided to States parties, in accordance with article 22 of the Covenant, to identify in their reports any

particular needs they might have for technical assistance or development cooperation.

#### **4.0 CONCLUSION**

International technical assistance is a form of foreign aid, but has the special feature that representatives of the donor countries are physically present in the recipient country, and are also often paid by their home countries. Examples apart from Nigeria include the technical assistance being rendered to many African Countries including Nigeria by the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), and that being rendered by the National Democratic Institute (NDI) of the United States to many democratizing African States.

#### **5.0 SUMMARY**

In this unit, we discussed international technical assistance with emphasis on Nigeria's Technical Aids Corp Scheme.

#### **6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT**

“Technical Assistance is an alternative to direct financial aid”. Discuss with the Nigerian Example:

#### **7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS**

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## **MODULE 5**

Unit 1	War and Strife in Africa: Issues in Peacekeeping
Unit 2	The United Nations Organisation and the Refugee Problem
Unit 3	The Nuclear Threat and International Diplomacy
Unit 4	Foreign Policies of Africa and the Developing Countries
Unit 5	United Nations Peacekeeping Efforts

### **UNIT 1      WAR AND STRIFE IN AFRICA: ISSUES IN PEACEKEEPING**

#### **CONTENTS**

1.0	Introduction
2.0	Objectives
3.0	Main Content
3.1	The Costs of War
3.2	The Nature of Conflicts and Means of Peacemaking
3.3	Techniques of Managing International Conflicts
4.0	Conclusion
5.0	Summary
6.0	Tutor-Marked Assignment
7.0	References/Further Readings

#### **1.0      INTRODUCTION**

War and peace have come to dominate the experience of man in the world in which we live today. Man pours so much time and resources into defence, and the procurement of arms for the destruction of man and his environment. The world has never been able to record any decade in history, which has been war-free. It must thus be mentioned that even after the establishment of International Organizations such as the United Nations, the African Union (A.U), etc., the conflicts or crises spots have continued to increase on the world map. Nations have gone to war to increase their wealth or power, but whatever the inclination or policy, their ultimate manifestation is the conditions of war, its hazards and hostilities that are created by man against man. In this unit, we focus on the issues concerning peacekeeping and the resultant effects.

## 2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- i) Discuss war and strife in Africa;
- ii) Discuss issues concerning peacekeeping;
- iii) Discuss refugee problems in Africa;
- iv) Discuss the UN and peacekeeping.

## 3.0 MAIN CONTENT

### 3.1 The Costs of War

It is a fact that the cost of war exceeds by far the benefits that might accrue from the struggle not only in the human and material resources which are expended in the process, but also in the socio-economic as well as the post-war environment hazards. It is in this light that nations tend to preserve or to restore peace whenever this is breached by war. A reason for which the U.N.O was set up with the ultimate functions of preserving world peace, to facilitate and increase the relationship and interaction amongst nation states. Whenever and wherever any party strains relationships, it usually calls for some concern from the whole world. This is because small-scale wars or conflicts have in the past showed that they have a high tendency of escalating into confrontation among superpowers, which in itself would lead to a mutual nuclear annihilation e.g. the Vietnam War. It was the widespread interest in peace which culminated in the efforts by nations to create the United Nations in 1945, which includes its package, the practice of peace-keeping sought for after the leagues' failure to prevent the world war 11.

The controversy surrounding United Nations activities in the achievement of its primary function, which is the maintenance of world peace, is clouded by dispositions, which is in itself surrounded by complex, and emotional historical problems of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Some students and scholars of the disciplines are of the view that the United Nations has failed in its primary objective, and have again gone further to describe it as ineffective irresolute body which creates a forum where diplomats go and let out abuses on each other. While a few hold this view, there are others who hold entirely different view. They, on the other hand, say that there is nothing wrong with the United Nations, but its members, Kurt Waldheim former Secretary general of United Nations as being microsm of the world, and he is of the view that the United Nations has done its best to preserve peace despite the obstacles, which have continued to emerge.

Following the wake of events and trend of activities in the International system as well as the role played by the United Nations in its primary role of maintaining peace, there has arisen such rigorous controversy regarding the efficacy of the world Body in carrying out its primary functions which is preservation of peace. The performance of the United Nations organization, in the preservation of world peace has no doubt turned out to be a subject of discussion, which is clouded by a historical and emotional phenomenon. While some are of the view that the United Nations has failed in its primary assignment, others have their reservations and they hold an opposing view as regards the efficacy of the International Organization. This dissension is however not restricted to scholars or people in the discipline, rather it spread amongst people of all walks of life.

However, those who are of the view that the United Nations has failed, and has such outlived its usefulness believe that:

“It has fallen in its central role of keeping the world peace and...it seems a little more than a debating chamber...where hot-headed diplomats angrily abuse each and nothing effective ever gets done”?

This idea was further buttressed by the words of German Scholar, Rudiger Juchte, who is of the institute of peace research and security policy, at the University Hamburg. He noted as follows...

Conflicts and crises, dominated the agenda of the United Nations and... The capacity of the Security Council and the General Assembly. The overall results were well known: the United Nations record in maintaining peace and Security presents itself as a history of predominant failures; and a few outstanding roles that the organization could play were indeed exceptions to the rule rather than evidence of its functions as a reliable instrument to safeguard the elements of rudimentary peace.

Some have however gone further to suggest that there is need for a complete overhaul and a re-organization of the system if it is to be of any significance to the contemporary International system. Daniel Frei (1973) while writing on the rationales and implications of crises research, mentioned that:

“It is certainly no exaggeration to the hypothesis that since 1945, there has never been less than three crises spots simultaneously active somewhere on the map and they are all prone to the risk of eruption and escalation into confrontation through the involvement of the major powers”

Due to the fact that the international system has become a highly sensitive network of political and socio-economic interdependence any local crises inevitable has its effect on the entire system. So much so that a confrontation amongst or within a nation (local crises) could lead to a threat of mutual annihilation. The United Nations has often been found engaging in the regulation of conflict between international actors in disagreement but the organization was powerless. This was evident however in the non-reaction of the United Nations Organization towards their anti-Libya policy which resulted in the air raid against Libya, which no doubt was a violation of both the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Libya. In our Opinion, however, the issues surround the efficiency of the United Nations in the attainment of its primary objective that are eluded by emotions and disposition towards the organization, such that a general consensus cannot be reached even within the organization itself. Decisions taken would always be reviewed as being biased by one nation or another. Whichever being the case it has often been stated that the veto power of the Security Council and permanent members has presented one of the structural defects of the United Nations Organization. The decision and the activities of the United Nations would always be subjected to scrutiny and criticism, for good or bad.

### **3.2 The Nature of Conflicts and Means of Peacemaking**

Since the end of the cold War, the world has witnessed some, but not many conflicts between nations. Such conflicts are called international conflicts. More often today, we witness some kind of civil conflict within a nation, called international conflict.

Have you ever thought about how to define war and types of war? It is not a pleasant thought. When we think of war – conflict – we think of people shooting each other, of bombs dropping, of tanks firing, of people dying. We become sad, we feel powerless, and we are confused.

What do we know about war? We know war involves the use of violence. We know war means that the political order within a country or between countries has broken down. We know that war means someone or some group could not prevent it. We know that war leave deep scars on any society.

Many experts have tried to find out why conflict occurs. One thing these experts all agree on is that in any conflict there are many causes, perhaps a major cause and several others. All the experts agree that studying conflict is complex. Below, five major causes, or types of conflict are summarized. As you read the case studies, keep these types of conflict in mind so that you can apply them in a particular case.

1. **Ideological Conflict:** Is a clash of basic values related to the role of government in society, how economic resources should be owned and used, who should make decisions for people, how decisions should be made, and who is rewarded and punished in a society. Ideology is a “world view”. It is lens through which all things are perceived.
2. **Territorial and Environmental Conflict:** Involves disputes over land, water, control of rivers, the protection and use of natural resources and the environment. Territory very often becomes the place where other types of conflict occur. Or, perhaps control of land, water, or other natural resources becomes the heart of conflict.
3. **Identity Conflict:** Occurs over the questions, which we are? Or alternatively who am I? Individuals and groups of people want to feel secure where they live and how. They do not want to fear for their lives or subject to discrimination. Tribal, religious, ethnic, linguistic, and nationality conflicts fall into this category. As with most conflict, identity becomes a question of values, norms, and tradition. These beliefs become so central to people that they fear, mistrust, and hate others who are not the same.
4. **Racial Conflict:** Is a type of identity conflict, instead of values and beliefs that become issues, it is the colour of one’s skin or the origin of the group from which they came. Perceived differences in outside appearance such as skin colour, often result in one group been considered inferior by a group that considers itself superior.
5. **Governance and Authority:** Conflicts result from the use or misuse of power. Simply stated, the conflicted arises over who makes decisions for a group of people. With decision-making power come the associated decisions related to economic matters, territory, and matter of justice. Often conflict arises because those in authority favour or punish groups of people based on race or religion.

### **3.3 Techniques of Managing International Conflicts**

Managing Conflict: Karen A. Mingst, Professor of Political Science at the University of Kentucky, has provided an overview of means of managing conflict. In a paper published with support of the United States Institute of Peace, professor Mingst offers and analysis of ways conflict is managed. Excerpts from the paper follow.

Low-level conflicts, especially conflicts that arise from miscommunication, may be managed through traditional and routine diplomacy... First, when diplomatic recognition is exchanged, states promise to resolve disputes and conflicts through peaceful and diplomatic means. Second, many diplomatic practices are codified into international law. Diplomacy may, then, provide a means through which communication between disputing parties occurs; it may or may not lead to resolving conflict.

International conflict may also be managed through balance of power-silent and sometimes not so silent diplomacy. A balance of power approach is predicated on the belief that power may counter power. Conflict is managed, kept under control, by putting the power of state against the power of another. Equality or balance of power assures that no other nation or group will become dominant.

Balance of power may become institutionalized into security alliances. Such alliances are the oldest and perhaps the most familiar to conflict management. Like-minded states, states having similar security interests, or states whose enemies are the same join together. Security alliances serve both an international and external role in managing conflict. States promise to resolve internal disputes and to speak with a one voice against the outsiders; alliances structure conflict directed toward external actors.

Security alliance may evolve into international organizations – organizations established by member states to fulfill a number of different tasks. Modern international organizations, the most prominent being the League of Nations and the United Nations, are largely products of warfare in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century....

International peacekeeping: The United Nations was established at the war's end (World War II), designed by the victors including the United States, to eliminate war and its causes. The United Nations Charter obligates all members to settle disputes by peaceful means, to refrain from the threat or use of force, and to cooperate with UN sponsored actions:

1. UN peacekeepers serve as observers – traditionally the least controversial of their activities. This has included supervising armistices and maintaining ceasefires, or more recently verifying troop withdrawals, observing elections, or coordinating the voluntary surrender of weapons.

2. UN forces may be interposed between two states engaged in conflict or disengage warring factions and observe first hand the violations of ceasefires. Separation of forces is a technique of conflict managers.
3. UN peacekeepers may act defensively to maintain law and order in a country, should central government authority be eroded. Usually UN civilian police assist local police in performing these functions.
4. Peacekeepers may use limited force defensively. Use of force has always been controversial: How much is limited force? Is force really used defensively? These controversies are being re-opened with the end of the Cold War and the accelerated demand for peacekeepers pitted against elements having great destructive potential.

International Negotiation: Paraphrased, negotiation process in which parties in conflict make a series of proposals in order to reach an agreement based on their common interest.

Negotiations proceed in stages. When the problem is being identified, individuals participating in the negotiations need to be separated from the problem. At the state of presentation of positions, interests need to be articulated, rather than personal positions negotiated. At the stage where options are considered, negotiators should seek options with mutual rather than individual gains. The criteria for option selection need to be objective. The framework, as well as the actions suggested, is appropriate for discussion of negotiations at every level of daily life

Third Party Dispute Resolution: Attempts at conflict management by third parties are very old, dating from the time of the Greeks when city-states agreed that if there were disputes, the matter should be “judicially decided”. If quarrels broke out, states promised to appeal to other cities which both deemed to be impartial – mediators in fact.

Disputants generally make a cost-benefit calculation – the gains versus the risk and constraints (of a settlement). Although stronger parties are more reluctant to seek third-party intervention for fear that their power will be neutralized, either weak or strong parties may find it in their interest to avail themselves of third party instrumentalities. Likewise, third parties have their own motivations, ranging from a sense of public responsibility to a desire for prestige and honour.

Track-Two Diplomacy: Track-two diplomacy involves both individuals and organizations from outside the government. Such individuals and groups from disputing countries interact in ways to facilitate conflict resolution.

In track-two diplomacy three processes occur. First, non-government participants from each side meet in informal problem-solving workshops mediated or facilitated by psychologically sensitive third parties. These workshops bring politically influential representatives of parties together to enable participants to see that they have shared problem and to examine the underlying causes of the conflict.

Second, a track-two approach involves influencing opinion, trying to shape the overall political environment. The programme serves to increase communication and understanding between people in conflict.

This, track-two diplomacy involves trying to take concrete actions. Most proposals focus on economic development proposals. However, the key is to find something concrete that parties can believe in for the purposes of building up habits of cooperation and managing conflict. An interesting example has been the role that civilian groups have played in arranging humanitarian ceasefires.

As you learn more about the case studies of conflict, think about the best possible means, or combination of means, you might recommend to manage the conflict.

#### **4.0 CONCLUSION**

There is little doubt that issues of war and strife constitute important social and political issues that occupy and task the skills of African leaders, diplomats and the international community. Part of the efforts at addressing the issue includes the use of international peacekeeping by the UN. Whether this has been effective or not is still largely debatable. However, the point remains that there are various techniques currently employed for managing conflicts around the world, many of which have been tested in Africa. Some work, some do not work. It is left for us to find out the reasons why many have not worked.

#### **5.0 SUMMARY**

In this unit, we have examined wars and strife and what are usually done to combat and manage them. We examined issues relating to peacekeeping in Africa, conflicts and the means of peacemaking. The various techniques for managing international conflicts were also examined.

#### **6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT**

What are the various techniques for managing Conflicts?

## **7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS**

Arthur Lee Burns and Hira Heathcote, (1960) Peacekeeping by the UN,  
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## **UNIT 2 THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION AND THE REFUGEE PROBLEM**

### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 The Refugee problem since 1919
  - 3.2 The Growing tide of Economic Refugees
  - 3.3 Life in Refugee Camps
  - 3.4 Misery of Displacement
  - 3.5 Building a world where everyone is secure
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
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- 7.0 References/Further Readings

### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

The end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century had not brought an end to the bloodshed and persecution that force people to run for their lives. Tens of millions of people have ushered in the new millennium in refugee camps and at other temporary shelters, afraid that they will be killed if they dare return to their homes.

The United Nations High commissioner for Refugees divides these impoverished wanderers into two groups. A refugee is defined as someone who flees his country because of a well-founded fear of persecution of violence. An internally displaced person has likewise been forced to leave his home because of war of similar grave dangers, but still resides in his own country.

Nobody knows for sure how many refugees and displaced persons eke out a living in make shift camps or how many wander helplessly from place to place in search of security. According to some sources, the total worldwide figure may be about 40 million, and half of them are children. Where do they all come from?

### **2.0 OBJECTIVES**

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- i) Define a Refugee;
- ii) Define the term- Internally Displaced Person;
- iii) Discuss the refugee problem to wars and conflicts;
- iv) Discuss the refugee problem to human rights and human security.

### 3.0 MAIN CONTENT

#### 3.1 The Refugee Problem Since 1919

The refugee problem takes on a new dimension at the end of the First World War. In the aftermath of that war, empires were dismantled and ethnic minorities persecuted. As a result, millions of Europeans sought asylum in countries other than their own. The Second World War was much more devastating than its predecessor – it sent millions more fleeing from their homes. Since 1945, wars have become more localized, but they are just as traumatic for the civilian populations caught in the crossfire.

“Although war has always generated some refugees, only in the twentieth century has international conflict affected entire population, explains Gil Loescher in his 1993 book, ‘Beyond Charity – International Cooperation and Global Refugee Crises’. The elimination of the distinction between combatants and non-combatants produced vast numbers of refugees who were desperate to escape the ravages of indiscriminate violence.

Furthermore, many of today’s conflicts are civil wars that take a terrible toll not only on men of military age but also on women and children. Fueled by deep-rooted ethnic and religious divisions, some of these conflicts seem interminable. Sometimes these wars which dragged on for many years generated refugees and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) in their millions, while hundreds of thousands more have fled abroad.

Invariably, the only way that war-weary civilians can escape the violence is to leave home. “Refugee leaves their homeland and seek admission to another country not from choice or for reasons of personal convenience, but out of absolute necessity,” explains the book ‘The State of the World’s Refugees 1997-1998’. Nowadays, however, gaining admission to another country may not be that easy.

During the 1990’s, the worldwide total of refugees dropped from about 17 million to 14 million. This apparent improvement, however, is misleading. It is estimated that during the same decade, the number of internally displaced persons reached between 25 million to 30 million. What is happening?

Getting official recognition as a refugee has become more difficult for various reasons. Countries may be reluctant to accept refugees, either because they cannot cope with a massive influx or because they have real concerns that a large refugee population could bring economic and

political instability. Sometimes, however, terrified civilians do not even have the long trek to the border. Their only option is to move to a safer area within their own country.

### **3.2 The Growing Tide of Economic Refugees**

Along with the millions of bona fide refugees are millions of other impoverished people who seek to improve their lot in life, the only way they know how by moving to a country where living conditions are much better.

On February 17, 2001, a rusty old freighter ran aground on the French coast. Its cargo consisted of about a thousand men, women and children, who had been at sea for nearly a week without food. They had paid \$2,000 per head for this hazardous journey, without even knowing to which country they were going. The captain and the crew disappeared soon after beaching the ship. But fortunately the frightened passengers were rescued, and the French government promised to consider their request for asylum. Millions like them attempt similar journeys every year.

Most of these economic migrants willingly face severe hardships and uncertainties. Somehow they scrape together the money for the trip because at home, poverty, violence, discrimination, or repressive regimes – and sometimes a combination of all four make life seem hopeless.

Not a few perish in their attempt to find a better life. During the last decade, about 3,500 migrants drowned or disappeared while attempting to cross strait of Gibraltar from Africa into Spain. In the year 2000, fifty-eight Chinese migrants suffocated while hidden in a truck taking them from Belgium to England. Countless more migrants die of thirst in the Sahara when their overloaded, ramshackle trucks break down in the middle of the desert.

Despite the dangers, the ranks of the world's economic refugees are swelling inexorably. About half a million people are smuggled into Europe each year, and another 300,000 into the United States. Back in 1993, the United Nations Population Fund estimated the worldwide number of migrants to be 100 million, of which over a third had settled in Europe and the United States. Since then, the number has doubtless increased considerably.

Many of these migrants never find security they seek. And few refugees find a safe and permanent refuge. All too frequently, these wanderers exchange one set of problems for another.

### 3.3 Life in Refugee Camps

Often, first comes the war, a war that never seems to end. Then come the drought, a drought that never relented. On the heels of the drought came the famine. And the people did the only thing they could do – they abandoned their homes in search of water, food and work.

They arrived by the thousands at the border posts. But in recent years a million refugees had already been admitted from countries like Somalia, Eritrea, Congo, Niger, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Sudan as a result of internal conflicts. Even, the contribution of natural disasters to the creation of refugees in the world today is more of great concern. E.g The Tsunami in the South East Asia, Hurricane Katrina in the US and Europe, Torrential rain etc. and the neighbouring country would accept no more. Border police with truncheons made sure that nobody slipped through.

A local immigration official bluntly described the reasons for halting the surging tide of refugees. “They don’t pay taxes; they wreck the roads; they cut down the trees, and they use up the water. No, we don’t want any more.”

Such tragic scenes are becoming all too common. Uprooted people discover that it is more and more difficult to find a place they can call their own. “As the number of people seeking protection has increased, so too has the reluctance of states to provide that protection.” Explained a recent Amnesty International report.

The fortunate ones who do make it to a refugee camp may find safety of sorts, but it rarely seems like home. And the conditions in the camp may be far from ideal.

The situation described above occurred in March 2001 in an Asian country. But similar problems have also arisen in some African countries.

“You might die at home of a bullet, but here (in the refugee camp-) your children will die of hunger,” complained one African refugee. As this desperate father discovered, many camps suffer persistent shortages of food and water as well as a dearth of hygiene and adequate shelter. The reasons are simple. Developing countries that suddenly find themselves inundated with many thousands of refugees may already be struggling just to feed their own citizens. They cannot provide much help to the multitudes who suddenly appear on their doorstep. And the wealthier nations, faced with their own problems, may be reluctant to help support the many refugees in other countries.

When over two million people fled one African country in 1994, the hastily built refugee camps inevitably lacked water and proper sanitation. As a result, an outbreak of cholera killed thousands before it was finally brought under control. To make matters worse, armed combatants mixed in with the civilian refugees and quickly took over the distribution of relief items. This problem was not unique. “The presence of armed elements amongst refugee populations has exposed civilians to increase risks. It has made them vulnerable to intimidation, harassment and forced recruitment,” states a United Nations report.

Local people may also suffer from the huge influx of hungry refugees. In the Great Lakes region of Africa, some officials complained: “(The Refugees) have destroyed our food reserves, destroyed our fields, our cattle, our natural parks, caused famine and spread epidemics. They benefit from food aid while we get nothing.”

Nevertheless, the thorniest problems may be fact that many provisional refugee camps end up as permanent settlements. For example, in one country in the Middle East, some 200,000 refugees are squeezed into a camp originally built for a quarter of that number. “We have long-suffering refugees who face severe employment restriction in their host country, and as many as 95 per cent are reckoned to be unemployed or underemployed. “I honestly don’t know how they make ends meet”, a refugee official admitted.

But if conditions sound bad in the refugee camps, they may be even worse for those displaced persons who cannot leave their own country.

### **3.4 The Misery of Displacement**

According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, “the scale and scope of this problem, the human suffering which underlies it, as well as its impact on international peace and security, have rightly made internal displacement an issue of great international concern.” For several reasons, these homeless people are usually more vulnerable than refugees.

No international organization cares for the welfare of displaced persons, and their desperate plight often draws scant attention from the media. Their own governments, bogged down in a military conflict of one sort or another, may be unwilling or unable to protect them. Families are frequently broken up during their flights from danger zones. Often forced to travel on foot, some displaced persons do not even survive the march to a place of greater security.

Many of these uprooted people seek refuge in cities, where they are limited to a meager existence in shanty towns or abandoned buildings. Others congregate in makeshift camps, which sometimes suffer armed attacks. Usually, their mortality rate is higher than that of other group in the country.

Even well meaning relief efforts organized to alleviate the suffering of these displaced persons can boomerang. The State of the World's Refugees 2000 explains: "During the last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, humanitarian organizations operating in war-torn countries saved thousands of lives and did much to mitigate human suffering. One of the central lessons of the decade, however, was that in conflict situations humanitarian action can easily be manipulated, relocation is accompanied with a loss of the means of livelihood, such as land, jobs, homes and livestock," explains the State of the World's Refugee 1997-1998. "And each relocation marks the start of a tough restoration process. One study of repatriated refugees in central Africa reported that, "for the refugees who had received assistance in exile, the return could be more difficult than the experience of exile itself."

Even more distressing, however, is the situation of millions of refugees who are forced to return to their home country against their will. What conditions await them? Returnees may have to survive in a situation where the rule of law hardly exists, where banditry and violent crime are rife, where demobilized soldiers prey on the civilian population and where light weapons are available to most of the population," stated a United Nations report. Evidently, such hostile environments do not satisfy even the basic security need of these uprooted people.

### **3.5 Building a World Where Everyone is Secure**

Forced or reluctant repatriations will never solve refugee problems if the underlying causes are not addressed. Mrs. Sadako Ogata, former United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, stated in 1999; "The events of this decade and, indeed, those of the past year indicate very clearly that refugee issues cannot be discussed without reference to security."

And an acute lack of security afflicts millions of people around the globe. Kofi Annan, "Meeting the needs of the world's displaced people – both refugees and the internally displaced – is much more complex than simply providing short-term security and assistance. It is about addressing the persecution, violence and conflict, which bring about displacement in the first place. It is about recognizing the human rights of all men, women and children to enjoy peace, security and dignity without having to flee their homes." The State of the World's Refugees 2000.

United Nations Secretary-General, explains: “In some parts of the world, states have collapsed as a result of the internal and communal conflicts, depriving their citizens of any effective protection. Elsewhere human security has been jeopardized by governments which refuse to act in the common interest, which persecute their opponents and punish innocent members of minority groups.”

Wars, persecution, and ethnic violence, which are the fundamental causes of insecurity that Kofi Annan described usually, have their roots in hatred, prejudice, and injustice. These evils will not be uprooted easily. Does that mean that the refugee’s problems will inevitably get worse?

“Since wars begin in the minds of men.” It is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed.” States the preamble of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization.

### **Self Assessment Exercise**

Discuss the refugee problem in Africa in relation to conflicts and wars.

## **4.0 CONCLUSION**

So far as conflicts, wars and strife pervade the political environment, so also will refugees and Internally Displaced Persons be generated. In spite of the efforts by the United Nations and its Organs especially the UNHCR refugees continue to suffer as victims of conflicts around the world.

## **5.0 SUMMARY**

Refugee generation has implications for security, human rights and human security provision.

## **6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT**

Discuss the refugee problem in Africa in relation to human rights and human security.

## **7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS**

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## **UNIT 3 THE NUCLEAR THREAT AND INTERNATIONAL DIPLOMACY**

### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 New Weapons on the Horizon
  - 3.2 New Powers on the Nuclear Scene
  - 3.3 Nuclear Smuggling and Terrorism
  - 3.4 Biological and Chemical Threats
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Readings

### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

For more than 40 years, the world lived under the threat of a nuclear apocalypse. Then, 1989, the Berlin Wall tumbled down – a prelude to the fall of Soviet Communism. Before long, the super powers had agreed to stop aiming their missiles at each other. With the nuclear “Armageddon” seemingly called off, or at least postponed, the world heaved a longed awaited sign of relief.

Many experts feel, however, that it is far too early to celebrate. In 1998 the famous doomsday clock of the bulletin of the Atomic Scientists was moved up by five minutes, to nine minutes to midnight – a clear indication that the nuclear threat had not gone away”. True, the world scene has changed. No longer are two major nuclear powers locked in a nuclear standoff. Now several nations possess nuclear capabilities. In addition, experts fear that it is only a matter of time before some terrorist group get their hands on radioactive material and build a crude atomic bomb.

Furthermore, despite dramatic reductions, the United States and Russia still retain awesome arsenals of nuclear warheads. According to a research group called the Committee in Nuclear Policy, some 5,000 nuclear weapons are currently on hair – trigger alert. “Therefore”, their report states, “if a launch order were sent under current circumstances, 4,000 (international ballistic missile) warheads (2,000) on each side could be on their way to their targets within a few minutes and another 1,000 (submarine launched ballistic missile) warheads could be on route to targets shortly there after”.

The existence of the arsenals raises the possibilities of accidental or even premeditated war. A fateful accident could plunge the world into the chaos of a thermonuclear catastrophe, contrary to political leaders' wishes," warned prominent Russian strategist Vladimir Belous. So while the World War may be over, the threat of a nuclear holocaust has not really gone away. But just how great is that theory? Will the earth ever be rid of nuclear weapons?

At dawn on January 25, 1995, an ominous blip suddenly appeared on early-warning radar screens across northern Russia. A rocket had been launched somewhere off the coast of Norway! Radar operators alerted Moscow to the possible arrival of a nuclear bomb. Within minutes, the Russian President was handed a suitcase containing electronic devices that would allow him to order a devastating nuclear attack. All-out nuclear war seemed to be just moments away.

Fortunately, cool heads prevailed, and the trajectory of the rocket was seen to pose no threat to Russia. It was later learned that the projectile carried equipment for meteorological research. Even so, an article in "The Washington Post" observed: "These may have some of the most dangerous moments of the nuclear age. They offer a glimpse of how the high alert nuclear launch mechanism or of the Cold War remains in place, and how it could go disastrously wrong, even though the great superpower rivalry has ended".

For decades the nuclear posture of both the former Soviet Union and the United States was based on the deterrence concept known as mutual assured destruction (MAD). One pillar of MAD was the strategy called launch on warning. This gave each side the grim assurance that if they attacked, their enemy would launch a massive retaliation before the attacking warheads could even hit their targets. A second pillar of MAD was the strategy called launch on attack. This referred to the capacity to unleash retaliatory strikes even after warheads had done their damage.

In spite of the thawing of the Cold War, the specter of MAD still haunts mankind. Yes, U.S. and Russia nuclear stockpiles have been reduced dramatically, some say by as much as half – but thousands of nuclear warheads still exist. There is the possibility then, that weapons could be launched by accident or without authorization. And because both nations still fear the seemingly unlikely possibility of a first-strike attack, a large number of missiles are maintained on hair-trigger alert.

True, in 1994 the United States and Russia agreed to stop aiming their strategic missiles at each other. "This change, though a welcome gesture, has little military significance". Notes Scientific American.

“Missile commanders can reload target coordinates into guidance computers within seconds”.

## **2.0 OBJECTIVES**

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- i) Define nuclear threat;
- ii) Explain the meaning of Mutual Assured Destruction;
- iii) Explain the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty;
- iv) Discuss issues of nuclear smuggling and terrorism;
- v) Discuss chemical and biological weapon threat.

## **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

### **3.1 New Weapons on the Horizon?**

Not to be overlooked is the fact that nuclear weapons research and development continues. In the United States, for example, the annual budget for such weapons is about \$4.5 billion! In 1997, the Toronto Star reported “Paradoxically, the U.S. is now spending more than it did during the Cold War on the preservation of its nuclear war machine. And some of the money is ear-marked for ambiguous programmes that critics say carry the seeds of a new global arm race”.

For example, much controversy arose over the multi-billion dollar U.S. government project called the Stockpile Stewardship and management Programme. It is the maintenance of existing nuclear weapons; critics say that it also serves a more sinister purpose. Reports “The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists”: “There are plans for alterations, modifications, updates, and replacements – not just to extend the life of the nuclear arsenal.... But of “improve” it as well”.

In 1997 a furor arose over the development of a nuclear bomb called the B61, which has the ability to penetrate the earth’s surface before detonating. It can thus destroy underground command posts, factories, and laboratories. While proponents claim that it is merely a repacking of an older bomb, opponents claim that it is indeed a new bomb – a gross violation of promises made by the U.S. government that it would not develop new nuclear weapons.

In any event, Ted Taylor, a nuclear physicist at Princeton University, observed: “My guess is the sort of research now going in the U.S. is also going on in Russia, France, Germany and other places, and I believe that some of our projects are leading the world into new arms race”. Critics also claim that the research, development, and design of new weapons

are being actively promoted by the weapons designers themselves. Bruised egos, dwindling prestige, the financial difficulties may be powerful motivation for these skilled scientists to push for the revival of weapons research.

### **3.2 New Powers on the Nuclear Scene**

Then there are the changes in the world's political lineup. Traditionally, five nations used to make up the nuclear club: Britain, China, France, Russia and the United States. However, it is generally recognized that other countries too have gone nuclear. India and Pakistan, for example recently conducted nuclear tests that sparked fears of an intense arms race in Southeast Asia. Other nations suspected of having nuclear programmes include Algeria, Iran, Iraq and North Korea. More than 180 nations have signed the Nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty, which went into effect in 1970. But to date a number of powers widely suspected of hiding their nuclear ambitions have not signed it.

Reports Asiaweek: "Nuclear proliferation experts still believe that the real threat comes from the growing number of countries whose leaders would like to have the Nuclear capability inspite of the Non Proliferation Treaty. James Clapper, director the U.S. Defence Intelligence Agency, predicted: "By the turn of the century we could see numerous countries with the capability to make a (chemical, biological, or nuclear) warhead with an indigenously produced missile".

Nor is it like that all nations will succumb to pressure to ban nuclear testing. When a number of nations were lobbied to sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty in 1996, and editorial in Asiaweek observed; "It is fine for the Americans or the Europeans to preach the gospel of test bans, since they have already detonated enough nuclear devices to be able to sit back on the information they have collected".

### **3.3 Nuclear Smuggling and Terrorism**

Some feel that the greatest threat is that some terrorist groups might get their hands on a nuclear weapon and decide to explode – or at least threaten to explode – the device in order to press their political agenda. There are also fears that a criminal organization could similarly use radioactive material for large-scale extortion of a government or corporation. An article in 'Scientific American' explains: it would be fairly easy for a nuclear blackmailer to establish credibility by leaving a sample for analysis. Subsequent threats to pollute air or water supplies, or even detonate a small nuclear weapon, could have considerable leverage". Law enforcement agencies have already uncovered attempts

to smuggle nuclear material. This adds weight to fears that rogue groups may in fact be trying to develop nuclear weaponry.

True, certain analysis dismissed nuclear smuggling as a minor threat. Not only has little material apparently changed hands, they say, but, with a few exceptions, most of it has not been close to weapons grade. Scientific American, however, remind readers that “in almost all illicit markets, only the tip of the iceberg is visible, and there is no reason why the nuclear materials “black,” market should be an exception.... To believe that authorities are stopping more than 80 per cent of the trade would be foolish. Moreover, even small leakage rate could have vast consequences.

Although the exact amount is a well-kept secret, it is estimated that a nuclear bomb requires between 3 and 25 kilograms of enriched uranium or between 1 and 8 kilograms of weapons grade plutonium. To the delight of smugglers, seven kilograms of plutonium takes up roughly the space of standard aluminum soft drink can. Some think that even reactor grade plutonium – which is more easily obtainable than weapons grade could be used to build a crude, but still destructive nuclear bomb. If, as many experts claim. Stockpiles of radioactive materials are poorly protected; they may be more vulnerable to theft that most people realize. Mikhail Kulik, a Russian official, quipped: “Even potatoes are probably much better guarded today than radioactive materials.”

Clearly then, nuclear danger, like the Damoclean sword, still hangs over mankind. Is there any hope of it being removed?

### **3.4 Biological and Chemical Threats**

Aggressive nations that are too poor to develop nuclear arsenals may turn to medium range missiles armed with poison gas or with biological weapons. These have been dubbed the poor man’s nukes. In fact, many analysts fear that such devices may also become the weapons of choice for terrorist groups.

However, biological and chemical weapons can wreak havoc even without a high-tech delivery system. U.S. Secretary of Defence William Cohen said in 1997: “With advanced technology and a smaller world of porous borders, the ability to unleash mass sickness, death, and destruction today has reached a far greater order of magnitude. A lone madman or nest of fanatics with a bottle of chemical, a batch of plague including bacteria, or a crude nuclear bomb can threaten or kill tens of thousands of people in a single act of malevolence.” Such fears were proved valid when cult terrorists used Sarin, a nerve agent, to attack

commuters in Tokyo subway system in March 1995. Twelve people were killed, and 5,500 injured.

“If a chemical attack is frightening, a biological weapon poses a worse nightmare,” notes Professor of political science, Leonard Cole, “Chemical agents are inanimate, but bacteria, virus and other live agents may be contagious and reproductive. If they become established in the environment, they may multiply. Unlike any other weapon, they can become more dangerous over time.”

In an effort to curb the proliferation of chemical and biological weapons, the 1972 Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention and the 1993 Chemical Weapons Convention have been implemented. The Economist notes, however, that despite such good intentions, “no arms control regime is perfect. They cannot pick up every transgression”. The same source remarks: “And, of course, the real cheats are unlikely to sign up anyway”.

#### **4.0 CONCLUSION**

It is important to note that the threat of nuclear war is ever present in the minds of leaders and statesmen around the world. So far, it is only the very strict monitoring and regulation of nuclear making materials that has prevented the misuse and proliferation of nuclear weapons. However, with the increasing poverty, global marginalization and autocracy of some of the advanced industrialized countries, it is not impossible that sooner or later, poor, threatened and disgruntled individuals or countries will lay hands on nuclear materials and resort to the use of nuclear or even biological and chemical weapons as a way of protest and/or retaliation. However, the experience of countries that have seen the devastating impact of nuclear bombs like Japan clearly shows that the world will gain very little if nuclear bombs were deployed as a way of settling differences.

#### **5.0 SUMMARY**

We have discussed nuclear threat and international diplomacy. We noted the presence of new weapons and the implications, the arrival of new powers and the nuclear threat, nuclear smuggling and its possible linkage to terrorism and the threat of chemical and biological weapons.

#### **6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT**

Discuss the Nuclear Threat. What efforts have been made at nuclear disarmament?

## **7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS**

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## **UNIT 4 FOREIGN POLICIES OF AFRICA AND THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES**

### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 Background to the Foreign Policies
  - 3.2 Third World Nations or Developing Countries
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Readings

### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

In discussing the foreign policies of Africa and the developing countries, it is not possible to discuss the foreign policies of each individual African country or developing country, rather we see their foreign policies articulated in various multilateral bodies and their activities like the Non-aligned Movement, Economic Community of West African States, Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries and the African Union. In this unit, our interest is to examine the bearings of this conceptualization of foreign policy collectively with a few country examples.

### **2.0 OBJECTIVES**

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- i) Discuss the ramifications of foreign policy;
- ii) Discuss foreign policy in the context of multilateralism;
- iii) Discuss the developing world in relation to military expenditures;
- iv) Discuss foreign policy of African countries in relation to ideology.

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 Background to the Foreign Policies**

During the first Afro-Asian conference in Bandung, in April 1955, the Chinese Premier Chou En-Lai had attended, and had a chance of meeting the Egyptian leader Gamel Abdel Nasser. Soon after, we saw that Egypt politically recognized Communist China and established firm

trade and cultural relations. This development was one of the major achievements of the Bandung conference.

One major outcome of this conference was the establishment of an “Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee” which held its first conference in the Egyptian capital, Cairo, from December 1957, to January 1958. And the second conference was followed in Conakry, Guinea, in 1960. It may be recalled that in the 1960s, the wind of change which blew across the continent of Africa also brought with it independence to many African states. As these African States became independent, they continued to maintain relations with the Asian countries.

Non-alignment has always been the greatest linkage since then, between Africa and the countries of the so-called Third World. India, more than any other Asian country, has had a long contact and involvement on the African continent. It could be remembered that at the beginning of the last century, Mahatma Gandhi founded the Natal Indian to bring about social change and justice in South Africa from 1906-1914. When India achieved independence in 1947, Mr. Nehru, the Prime Minister, led the struggle in the United Nations for the decolonization of Africa. This historic-cultural linkage has therefore shown the relationship between Africa and Asia even before the Bandung conference (1958).

In 1960, before the independence in East and Central Africa, there were about one million Indians living as semi-permanent residents in Africa. Most of them were living in the Natal province of South Africa since 1860s because of the labour demand. There are other linkages today between Africa and the countries of the world apart from the highest one-nonalignment. For example, the Commonwealth of Nations provides a linkage between Africa and Asia on the hand, and the West Indies on the other. The OPEC is another major linkage of Africa and West Indies World countries, as well as the Commonwealth of Nations.

### **3.2 Third World Nations or Developing Countries**

Many people define this concept of the “Third World” variously. Some see it as the developing nations of the world, the non-whites, uncommitted peoples, who are tied neither to the Communist caste nor the capitalists next, but who are essentially a third, neutral force. Recently, the peoples of this world do not like to see themselves as neutral but as nonaligned. Frantz Fanon saw the Third World as “the Wrenched of the earth” committed to socialism.

Whatever definition one uses to describe this world, one thing at least is very certain about it. It is one of the most dynamic forces in history-oppressed peoples (outside of Europe) who are still struggling by

various means to break away their relationship of dependence on the imperialist world. Their struggle has taken the form of mass demonstrations, strikes, passive resistance, and in some instances, armed protracted warfare. They have been trying to choose the form of social development, which will give them happiness, peace and security. But they still cannot succeed, as there are many imperialist forces that are working against their attempt to be free.

At any rate, one cannot deny this world of the “third force”, its historical place in world history in the sense that more than 100 states comprise it. Over two-thirds the world population also live in it. These third world countries vary enormously. Their third world differences can be seen in their history, cultural development, the pre-history of their political independence and their present place in the existing international division of labour. There are enormous differences in their economies and potential, their socio-economic structure, the character of their power and many other important different features. The most important difference is the choice of their paths of development.

China tried to lead the Third World in the wake of her rise with the former Soviet Union. But many Afro-Asian countries especially suspect that China, which is now possessing nuclear capability, has proved to be another superpower with tendencies to determine and control her spheres of influence in an attempt to compete with the former Soviet Union and the United States. This is the main reason why China cannot be allowed to lead the Third World. In addition to this reason, it is not a member of the Nonaligned Movement. China also has a permanent seat in the Security Council of the United Nations.

In his speech to the special General Assembly session in 1974, the Chinese spokesman, Deputy Premier Teng Esaio-peng, labeled the two superpowers (the former Soviet Union and the United States) as the First World, competing for hegemonic exploitation of the whole planet. Then he put West Europe and Japan in the second World, and finally place China in the third World.

World military expenditures are now in the region of \$300 billion a year. Which is nearly \$55 million every hour of every day, and they continue to rise. The military alliances and the superpowers in particular, are the great military spenders of our time. The Third World countries are being involved in this mad and senseless project. In the developing areas where there are many military regimes, the military expenditure are growing very rapidly.

This arms race is surely depriving mankind of enormous financial and human resources. What is even being transferred from rich and poor

countries in the form of financial resources only amounts to about one-thirtieth of world military expenditures.

The money being wasted on these military expenditures are 163 times more than the sum spent on peace and development through the United Nations system. Almost half the world's scientists and engineers (about 500,000 of them) devote their skills to military research and development, at a cost between \$20 and \$25 billion every year. This huge amount of money can be used to feed the hungry who number hundreds of millions in and around the world. The money can be used also to provide improved living conditions and give shelter to hundreds of millions who needed them all over the world.

Several hundreds of millions, especially children in the Third World countries, need health facilities very desperately, but they never can get them. As a result they die daily. In short, the picture of human suffering in the Third World is devastating. The whole slogan of the United Nations of peace and peaceful coexistence has no practical meaning so long as \$35 million is being wasted every hour of day in the arms race.

It will be very sane for those concerned with this mad development of massive arms to remember the fact that the poor can no longer sit back and watch their destruction without doing anything to destroy the existing structure. This, we fear, can bring the life of the world to an abrupt ending.

The continent of Africa definitely shares a very serious concern with the rest of the third world countries about the economic and social consequences of the arms race. This is why the Africa group in the United Nations always team up with the rest of the peace-loving members of the world body in supporting all the resolutions to the arms race.

Outside its negative economic and social consequences, the arms race was also felt by the experts "to exacerbate international tension. The stock piling of weapons and the continuing development of more sophisticated new arms could only generate more suspicion and greater tension than existed at the start of the arms build-up." There are today, biological, chemical, nuclear and atomic weapons of human destruction. Africa and the rest of the third world countries more especially are becoming much more threatened because this tend to provoking hostile reactions on their part. And it will continue to do so, so long as the development prevails. The threat of terrorism are epitomized in the September 11, 2001, US bombings has not helped matter. The UN General-Secretary warned in his foreword to the report of the experts:

“The perils which military expenditures brought in their wake have become so acute to provide man with the means of his own ultimate destruction. Security cannot, therefore, be achieved by further accumulation of destructive power”.

In all these international developments, Africa's main concern is the same third world countries. That is, the whole question of choosing which road of social development to take. The capitalist, which has enslaved the colonized, and still neo-colonizing them, or the socialist that has allowed the former Soviet union and a number of other socialist countries in the world to achieve fantastic techno-economic development in the shortest time possible. However, to choose one of the paths is still the major confusion confronting the Third World. The countries of this world incidentally, (Africa is right inside), are not clear about their position of social development – whether it is transfer or acquisition of technology or the development of traditional technology.

As the role of the Third World countries in international economies and politics grows, the ideological struggle over the course along which these countries will develop becomes more intensified. The peoples of the Third World were being bamboozled that their backwardness was “the product of internal, hard-to define cause, demographic, geographic, historico-cultural, and so on.

There-in lies the basic methodology being used by some western scholars of the capitalist world so that they can keep the destiny of the struggling peoples of this neglected world forever into their control. Their methodology is a deductive descriptive type. They try to define the indefinable and give all kinds of explanations that are quite abstract, and which have no connection with the objective conditions whatsoever. In this trend, however, they convert many of the Third World fallen comrades.

In recent years, when the capitalist system began to be shaken by the contradictions it has created (social crises of all sort), there have been numerous studies (by Gunnar Myrdal, Raul Prebisch, John Gibson, and others) of the path of development and sources for modernization in the Third World, Neo-Malthusian and Neo-Keynesian theorists of the “Club of Rome” and the “MIT” have all attempted to demonstrate that the Third World is doomed to failure in its search for economic independence per se.

Their destructive-description methodology essentially negates the study of a key techno-economic law underlying the growth of production and the overall development of the Third World. They “believe that all the evils of capitalism are due to the fluctuations of effective demand and

believe that these can be overcome through appropriate regulation of the economy by the state”.

This is their type of argument, which they have been putting into the Third World. And from all indications, this thesis is accepted in most quarters of the developing World. This is the main reason why there is confusion in the Third World because the peoples understand the dangers of imperialism, but they decided to destroy it by changing to scientific socialism. They cover up with such doctrines as indigenisation, privatization, deregulation, etc. If they turn the other side of the coin, they will find that the social laws of development discovered by Karl Marx may be the cure to their problems. Marx observed many years ago that:

If however, society as a subject matter of scientific endeavour is a complex of relations qualitatively distinctive on its own level and not simply an amalgam of individuals who compose it, or of atomic matter to which all existence may be wisdom in methodology to presume that social relations are governed by objective laws which are not reducible to psychological and physical laws and which beyond the reach of introspection, however discerning it may be.

The Third World countries should not be deceived by the new economic theories, which are said to be based on quantitative analysis. Among the leading British theories in this regard are the economists of the Cambridge School (Piero Straffa, Joan Robinson and Nicholas Kaldor). Kurihara has attacked their position when he said that the argument of growth theory by Joan Robinson was not logical. He said “She is interested in explaining the fundamental nature of economic growth according to the capitalist rules of the game.

Most of these Keynesian and neo-Keynesian theorists are clearly related to the renowned theory of the “external push” which considers private and state monopoly investment as the only way to overcome difficulties. In any case, Marxist researchers have taken their point of departure to be the close connection of the internal processes of socio-economic development in the Third World countries with the entire course of international development. Therefore, the fundamental point of departure of the socio-economic nature and prospects of development in the Third World countries should be a truly scientific study of their socio-economic structure.

The cause of their techno-economic backwardness vis-à-vis their state of underdevelopment is the capitalist mode of production. And that way

forward for their development is only the elimination of capitalism itself. If they do not struggle to change their mode of production from private to public ownership, they will continue to remain in this 'third force'. They should face the exact nature of material reality that exists in the world economy. Failure to do so will never end their economic dependence of the imperialist powers.

### **Self Assessment Exercise**

What do you understand by the Third World? Discuss this in relation to development.

## **4.0 CONCLUSION**

Foreign policies of Africa and of the developing countries can only be understood in relation to the positions articulated in multilateral bodies representing their interests. To this extent, the group of developing countries of which there are many groups and the African Union (AU), have collectively tried to implement their foreign policies in a coordinated manner. However, oftentimes, the issues at stake determine the extent an individual country is willing to concede to a multilateral stance or position.

## **5.0 SUMMARY**

We have discussed foreign policies in relation to multilateralism. We also discussed the third world and the ideological underpinnings of capitalism and socialism in relation to the growth of the third world. However, it is important to note that in the present times, it is more psychologically satisfying to use the term 'developing countries' as this implies that there is optimism that such countries will be able to move to higher levels of development.

## **6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENTS**

- i) What is Foreign Policy? How can foreign policies of African countries be projected?
- ii) How relevant is ideology in the foreign policies of African countries?

## 7.0 REFERENCES /FURTHER READINGS

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## **UNIT 5 UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING EFFORTS**

### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 Orientation and Training
  - 3.2 Disarmament
    - 3.1 Somalia
    - 3.2 Mozambique
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
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### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

Peacemaking missions of the United Nations have changed substantially since their inception in the 1940s. Early “first generation” peacekeeping missions were aimed to terminate armed conflict. Military observers would be placed between opposing armies, with consent, pending political settlement of their dispute. Peacekeeping missions monitored truces and cease-fire and provided buffer zones while political negotiations were pursued. So-called “second generation” peacekeeping missions which date back to the late 1980s, are far larger in scope, addressing underlying causes of conflict and aiming for permanent peace. To traditional military assignments and monitoring elections, overseeing the reform of the judiciary, creating new police forces, providing humanitarian relief, repatriating refugees, reestablishing agriculture and public infrastructure, and promoting free press and independent radio stations.

This shift in UN peacekeeping has many ramifications. It raises questions of sovereignty and of UN involvement in domestic affairs. The issue of consent among all the parties also becomes central, especially as that consent may decay over the course of these extensive missions. The administration and management of complex second-generation peacekeeping missions have an important impact on the outcome of these missions. The DCR project has studied some of the implications of second-generation peacekeeping and evaluated some peacekeeping missions in its series *Managing Arms in Peace Processes*. The DCR Project’s Virginia Gamba frames the project’s findings within the basic distinction between first and second-generation peacekeeping. As the notes in her introduction to *Managing Arms Peace Processes: Training*, “Before and since the Cold War, the main objective of

international community when taking action has been the maintenance and/or recovery of stability. The main difference between then and now, however, is that then, the main objective of global action was to maintain stability in the international arena, whereas now it is to stabilize domestic situations”.

## **2.0 OBJECTIVES**

At the end of this unit you should be able to:

- i) Discuss the character of peacekeeping missions;
- ii) Distinguish first generation from second generation peacekeeping;
- iii) Discuss disarmament in relation to peacekeeping missions;
- iv) Assess the effectiveness of UN peacekeeping missions.

## **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

### **3.1 Orientation and Training**

The changes in peacekeeping generate serious challenges in conceptualizing the overall peace missions and the role of the United Nations. The conduct of missions will differ substantially depending upon the orientation of mission members towards consent of the use of force. Stephen John Stedman contributes the article “Consent, Neutrality, and Impartiality in the Tower of Babel and the Frontline: UN Peacekeeping in 1990s” to the CDR volume, *Managing Arms in Peace Processes: The issues*, Stedman notes a distinction between different nations’ approaches to peacekeeping. Countries with considerable pre-1989 peacekeeping experience (such as Finland, Sweden, and Norway) “maintain an approach to peacekeeping today that mostly echoes the concerns, concepts, and idiosyncratic doctrines the United States and France – had little pre 1989 peacekeeping experience contributed to the humility of these contributors”. When nations participating in peacekeeping missions are in agreement, as in missions for El Salvador and Mozambique, the missions have been relatively successful. When participating nations have disagreed, as in missions for Somalia and Bosnia, this has contributed to their failure. As Stedman writes, “When key contributing states differ on such issue as the importance of consent, the efficacy of forces, and the need for impartiality and neutrality, the result is likely to be an incoherent and ineffective peace operation”.

Those differences are also reflected in the handling of the training of peacekeepers. The DCR Project found immense disparity in the resource and training standards throughout the world. Military members of a

peacekeeping force need training not only for military combat, but also to control crowds, administer humanitarian relief, validate the compliance accords, negotiate, manage refugee flows, disarm and demobilize combatants, establish and administer the rule of law, interact with civilians, and coordinate their efforts with those of other actors. Civilian members of peacekeeping missions also require special training although what is available is varied, generally inadequate, and involves no joint training with military personnel. The latter fact may contribute to a lack of cooperation on the field, regardless of challenges facing peacekeeping missions.

### **3.2 Disarmament**

The disarmament component of UN peacekeeping missions is also receiving substantial attention. Successful disarmament has important post-conflict implications – not only for recurrence of armed conflict between militias, but also for the availability of weapons for other conflicts or for criminal activities. Nonetheless, according to the DCR Project, in many missions “the establishment of short-term peace took priority at the expense of disarmament”, notes Virginia Gamba in the introduction to “ regional Peacekeeping in Southern Africa”.

While disarmament may include many straightforward tasks – organization of cantonments, registration, collection and control of weapons, observation and reporting of compliance, and investigation into violation – it is rarely a straightforward process. The most significant element in a process of disarmament is the continued consent of the parties. Fred Tanner contributes the article “Consensual Versus Coercive Disarmament” to the DCR project. Tanner notes that while consent to peacekeepers may encounter refusal at the tactical level as they try to disarm combatants. Tanner identifies these factors that cause consent to erode. First is the security dilemma. If combatants fear that disarming will leave them vulnerable to attack, they may renege on earlier agreements. Second, economic concerns are an issue, particularly if disarmament can be used to bargain for greater concessions or compensation in the form of land, tools, or job training. A third factor is anticipation electoral loss. Those who consented to disarmament initially may go back on their agreement if they see themselves losing in post-conflict elections. Coercive disarmament may be necessary where consent is withheld. Coercive disarmament is not used against aggressors, writes Tanner, “but against non-complaint forces who act with or without hostile intent against the peacekeeping force”. Coercive disarmament brings particular risks, especially that the peacekeeping force will become a de facto party to the conflict.

While Tanner explores the difference between consensual and coercive disarmament, he is also aware that the distinction is often not so clear: “A close look at the various cases of disarmament in conflict resolution indicates that it is neither conceptually nor operationally possible to establish where consensual disarmament stops and where coercive disarmament begins. There is a grey area in between”. Further research appears to be necessary on this issue. As Tanner notes, “Extensive evaluations of UN peace operation have been unable to provide conclusive answers as to whether missions with coercive authority are more or less successful than operations based solely on consensual disarmament”. Tanner concludes that there is a place for a degree of coercion, or “compel lance”, within an overall consensual framework of a peacekeeping mission:

The strategy of compel lance represents an alternative to passivity and consternation of peace support forces faced with the eroding consent to disarmament programmes. Compel lance is a show of force with the confinement of peace support missions that operate under the strategic consent of the parties. Thus, enforcement of weapons control is conceivable from the bottom – up, whereas consent must be preserved at any price from top down.

Grantees have evaluated several UN peacekeeping operations in great details. ‘The unsuccessful missions in Somalia and the more successful missions in Mozambique and Cambodia provide lessons for future peacekeeping operations.

### **3.2.1 Somalia**

The UN peacekeeping missions in Somalia (UNOSOM 1 and 11) are generally considered unmitigated disasters. Their many goals in peacekeeping, disarmament, humanitarian relief, and political reconciliation – often worked at cross-purpose. For example, the concentration of relief workers and humanitarian aid protected those workers from attack by local armed bands and facilitated food distribution but dislocated the population that came for food and aid and severed their connection with their land, livelihood, and kin. Moreover, declaring General Mohammed Fara Aided a fugitive and offering a bounty for information leading to his arrest was a signal failure. In managing Arms in Peace Process: Somalia, the ACR Project concludes that this action was a political “painful reminder of the memories of slavery and, not surprising, (the bounty offer) bonded Somalia together to resist ‘foreign invasion’.

The sheer size and bureaucracy of the UNOSOM missions also generated problems. The volume 'Mending Rips in the Sky: Options for Somalia Communities in the 21<sup>st</sup> century', edited by Hussein M. Adam and Richard Ford, includes a chapter by Charles Geshekter which summarizes a host of problems and the sour relations they engendered.

The UN was hampered by bureaucratic bickering, overt hostility towards Somalis, poor political intelligence, and misguided attempts to rehabilitate warlords into political leaders and then later efforts to imprison them. Somalis wondered if the UN was an occupation force that intended to turn the country into a trusteeship run by foreign experts and young westerners. As few Somalis got UN jobs, many charged that UNOSOM suspiciously resembled the Siyad regime by intercepting funds from abroad. Somalis around Mogadishu viewed the UN's multinational bureaucracy that was backed by armed forces who fired civilians, as the "New White Warlords", just another faction siphoning off money. Eventually, even American military officers adopted the Somali view of the UN bureaucracy as a "self-licking ice cream cone".

The UNOSOM missions failed blatantly in their main goals of establishing a central government and a system of law and order – to the detriment not only of Somalia but also of the image of the United Nations in the eyes of the international community. As the DCR Project concluded in *Managing Arms in Peace Processes: Somalia*, "Not only was the UN unable to restore hope in Somalia, it scurried exist form a stateless society without an organized arm, crushed hopes regarding the ability of the world body to meet credible threats to international peace and security".

There were some isolated successes. Another study on peacekeeping, 'South Africa and Peacekeeping in Africa', edited by Mark Shaw and Jakkie Cilliers of the Institute for Defense Policy, includes an article by Lieutenant Colonel Martin Rupiah on the experience of the Zimbabwean contingent in Somalia for the UNOSOM 11 mission. The contingent felt it had inadequate advance information about many aspects of its mission – everything from the availability of potable water to the diversity of religious belief in Somalia. It also found, however, that prior experience in the Bush war in Rhodesia was highly relevant to the Somalia development. For all the failures of the mission as a whole, the Zimbabwean contingent did experience some successes, and became particularly aware of the dynamic nature of their relations with the local population. At first the local community distrusted it, but each small success on its part engendered greater trust on the part of the community, and the cooperation thereby gained (such as information on bandits, ambush, and mines) became very helpful in its next stage of action.

An account of one particular aspect of the operations of the Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA) reveals the difficult relations among different national contingents with any UN mission, as well as between any contingent and the local population. In Rupiah's account,

Children in the area where the ZNA operated followed UNITAF (United Task Force, a UN empowered, US led multinational force) patrols begging for food and snacks that were usually part of the ration packs of First World Force. However, for the ZNA, surviving on a workman's "rat-pack", these luxuries were absent. When the children failed to procure any "goodies", they became aggressive, throwing stones and harassing the patrols continually. In exasperation, it was suggested that the establishment of a school might get the children off the streets and stop them from pestering the patrols. When this idea was broached with trepidation to the Elders Committee, the commanders were pleasantly surprised at the enthusiasm of parents who proceeded to implement the idea with a minimum of delay, much to the relief of the soldiers.

This incident suggests the resentment that may be latent between differently endowed national contingents. It also underscores the importance of good relations and cooperation with the local population. In the instance, the ZNA's activities were hindered not by committed armed combatants rejecting a peace plan but children throwing stones. The account also draws attention to how little public infrastructure UN troops can expect to encounter when deployed into a situation of conflict not only roads and bridges, but even schools may be lacking. Regardless to superb efforts at management of complex second-generation peacekeeping missions, such obstacles can continue to obstruct success.

### **3.2.2 Mozambique**

The UN peacekeeping mission in Mozambique, ONUMOZ, is credited with much greater success. That success was built in part on the failure of the UN peacekeeping mission in Angola, where fighting was resuming even as the mission for Mozambique was being planned. In part, it would appear no amount of planning or coordination would have led to peace in Angola. The parties to the conflict there were both committed to and capable of continuing the violence. Nonetheless, the scale of the fiasco was sharp defeat for the United Nations and had a direct effect on its subsequent engagements.

In 'Mozambique: UN Peacekeeping in Action, 1992-94', Richard Synge considers the impact of the experience in Angola on the mission for Mozambique. According to Synge, the failure of UN peacekeeping in Angola persuaded the UN Security Council of the need for a much more

substantial and comprehensive mission in Mozambique. Following, “the catastrophic aftermath of the Angolan elections, (the international community) could ill afford a further conflagration in Southern Africa”, notes Synge. “The Angola precedent fed directly into planning for Mozambique”. The ONUMOZ mission was therefore a much larger undertaking than earlier efforts in Angola.

ONUMOZ was successful in many respects, including stopping the parties from returning to conflict, organizing elections, reestablishing a democratic political structure, and resettling refugees and displaced population. The mission’s achievement in demobilization was particularly notable, but here credit goes also to the war-weary nation and to the parties to the conflict. Whose ranks were ready to stop the conflict? Indeed, when demobilization met with logistical or political obstacles, it was often the combatants themselves who insisted on its continuation. They staged protest, mutinies, and riots, demanding immediate demobilization whenever this process stalled. Synge gives considerable credit to the actions of soldiers from both sides of the civil wars, “whose desire to rejoin civilian life was most effective limitation on the parties’ chance returning to war”.

Despite its overall success, however, the UN mission in Mozambique did suffer some shortcomings. One of the greatest was the failure to undertake effective disarmament. Synge notes that, “The collection of weapons clearly had a power priority than other aspects of the peace process, and ONUMOZ units were given neither the responsibility nor means to oversee comprehensive disarmament until demobilization was drawing to a close”. This failure in disarmament had implications not only for Mozambique but for its neighbours as well. “ONUMOZ clearly missed the opportunity to reduce the millions of weapons at large in Mozambican society”. Writes Synge, “Crime levels in Mozambique continued to be disturbing after ONUMOZ departed. The easy availability of AK-47 type weapons fueled a flourishing cross-border trade in South Africa and other countries, with an impact upon security and stability throughout the region”.

The immense size of ONUMOZ contributed to its important achievements – but also ultimately to its failings. The disparity in resources between the well-endowed peacekeeping mission and the nation of Mozambique generated resentment. While Mozambique could not tax ONUMOZ, it did refuse all exemptions requested for non-governmental organizations imports of medicine, seed, tools, vehicles, and computers. Synge also argues that the scale of ONUMOZ may have had a detrimental effect on Mozambique’s capacity to manage its own problems and long-term development needs. Determined to prevent another failure like that experienced in Angola, the UN had crafted a

mission that was as far-reaching and comprehensive as possible and that therefore “tended to be invasive and destabilizing to, rather than creative and supportive of, the shaky structures of the Mozambican state and society” Syngde notes that from December 1993 to December 1994, ONUMOZ and the international community “effectively displaced the normal functions of government. The short-term priorities of that period diverted attention from Mozambique’s longer-term requirements for social and economic reconstruction and ironically – and perhaps inadvertently – derailed the government’s own efforts to reform and restructure the state and economy. The undermining of the already weak authority of the state spurred corruption and further weakened the capacities of state agencies”.

In Syngde’s assessment, by the end of the peacekeeping mission Mozambique “had increased rather than shaken off its dependence on international financial and humanitarian assistance, and the voice of ordinary Mozambicans were in danger of being drowned out by the agendas of international development agencies”.

From his assessment of many discrete components of ONUMOZ. Syngde is left with a few fundamental questions on the need for and impact of such a large peacekeeping mission.

One of the most persistently difficult questions to answer relates to the actual need for an operation of the ambitious size, scope, and expense of ONUMOZ, which cost at least \$700 million, to resolve the political, military, and humanitarian problems of a poor country with a national gross domestic product of only \$1.5 billion. By the time it was withdrawn, ONUMOZ had come to be seen by many as a sledgehammer employed to crack a relatively small nut, and its disengagement was broadly accepted and welcomed by both its paymasters and its beneficiaries.

#### **4.0 CONCLUSION**

Peacekeeping missions remain one of the more effective ways of quickly bringing conflicts and warring entities to the peace table and terminating wars. However, this is usually done at the price of human lives, massive financial inputs and time. Sometimes, these missions succeed, often they fail. While extensive planning and synergy is required during implementation, getting the locals to support the peace efforts has remained one of the most difficult aspects of peacekeeping. Somalia and Mozambique presented two cases of failure and success that have been of immense lessons for the UN and the peacekeeping community.

## 5.0 SUMMARY

We have examined the United Nations peacekeeping efforts and the kinds of problems usually associated with peacekeeping. We also examined issues of military orientation and training, disarmament and the lessons from the missions in Somalia and Mozambique.

## 6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

- i) “Consent is the most significant element in a disarmament process” Discuss.
- ii) Examine the UN Peacekeeping missions to Somalia and Mozambique. What are the lessons from these missions?

## 7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

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