



**NATIONAL OPEN UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA**

**FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**COURSE TITLE:**

Ancestors of Contemporary International System



**INR 172**

**ANCESTORS OF CONTEMPORARY INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM**

**Course Team**

Course Writer: Prof. Dilichukwu A. Omemma

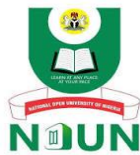
Caritas University, Amorji – Nike Enugu, Nigeria.

**Course Editors:** Professor Oli – Adeyemi, Olarewaju Oluyole gbu

Department Political Science, Adekunle Ajasin University,

Akungba Akoko/Kampala International University, Uganda.

**Programme Leader:**Dr. Ebele Angela Udeoji – NOUN



**NATIONAL OPEN UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA**

© 2022 by NOUN Press  
National Open University of Nigeria  
Headquarters  
University Village  
Plot 91, Cadastral Zone  
NnamdiAzikiwe Expressway  
Jabi, Abuja

Lagos Office  
14/16 Ahmadu Bello Way  
Victoria Island, Lagos

e-mail: [centralinfo@nou.edu.ng](mailto:centralinfo@nou.edu.ng)

URL: [www.nou.edu.ng](http://www.nou.edu.ng)

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced, in any form or by any means, without permission in writing from the publisher.

Printed 2022  
National Open University of Nigeria

Printed 2022

ISBN: 978-058-951-1

## **COURSE DESCRIPTION**

*Ancestors of Contemporary International System* is designed as a course of study to acquaint the students of International Relations with the thoughts propounded by major renowned thinkers and writers of old whose ideas have continued to fertilize the foreign policies of states and the various practices of diplomatic relations in the contemporary international system. In order to accomplish this task, the background social conditions which shaped the ideas of many of the ancestors will be examined. Instructively, the major contributions of these thinkers to the issues bordering on international conflict, international peace, international security, and international development will be highlighted.

At the end of the course, it is expected that the students will be in vantage position to understand and appreciate the sweep and flow of philosophical thoughts articulated by the best mind and sages of the contemporary international system covering the periods from the seventeenth century to twentieth century.

**CONTENTS**

**PAGE**

Introduction .....  
Course Aims .....  
Course Objectives .....  
Working through the Course .....  
Course Materials .....  
Study Units .....  
References for Further Readings .....  
Assessment Exercises .....  
Tutor-Marked Assignment .....  
Final Examination and Grading .....  
Course Marking Scheme .....  
Course Overview/Presentation .....  
What you will Need in this Course .....  
Tutors and Tutorials .....  
Assessment Exercises.....  
How to Get the Most from This Course .....  
Conclusion .....  
Summary .....

## **INTRODUCTION**

Ancestors of Contemporary International System is a collection of the rich ideas and perspectives of the various thinkers of old whose critical minds have continued to influence foreign policies of states and diplomatic practices in world politics and transnational relations of states. These ideas vary according to the prevailing social, economic and political conditions of the thinkers. Thus in this course, some of the prominent viewpoints have been collated and categorized into differentiated orientations of Idealism, Realism and Functionalism that are dominant in International Relations studies. The course is intended to acquaint the students with sources of the contending theories and approaches in the study of international relations. This is a view to sharpening minds of these students into critical thinking and logical analysis of the contemporary issues in the international system.

The broad objective of the course is to provide an in-depth review of the philosophical thoughts of the great minds that shape the development of the contemporary international system with a view to drawing from the fountain of their knowledge to equip the students with necessary tools of analyzing trends in the contemporary international system

The specific objectives of the course are to:

- i. Inspire learners on the origin of the contemporary international system;
- ii. Educate learners on the peculiar features of the contemporary international system;
- iii. Expose learners to the various ideas of the thinkers of the contemporary international system

## **WORKING THROUGH THE COURSE**

To complete the course, you are required to read the study units and other related materials. You will also need to undertake practical exercises for which you need a pen, a note-book, and other materials that will be listed in this guide. The exercises are to aid you in understanding the

concepts being presented. At the end of each unit, you will be required to submit written assignment for assessment purposes.

This will be followed by a final examination that you will write at the end of the course.

## **THE COURSE MATERIAL**

You will find the following inside the course material:

Course Guide

Study Units

Textbooks

Assignments

## **STUDY UNITS**

There are 19 study units in this course. They are:

### **MODULE 1: NATURE OF THE CONTEMPORARY INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM**

Unit 1 Historical Overview of the International System

Unit 2 The Contemporary International System

Unit 3 Dominant Features of the Contemporary International system

Unit 4 Contending Perspectives of the Contemporary International System

## **MODULE 2: THE IDEALIST (LIBERAL) ANCESTORS**

Unit 1 Hugo De Groot

Unit 2 Immanuel Kant

Unit 3 Jeremy Bentham

Unit 4 Karl Marx

Unit 5 Woodrow Wilson

Unit 6 John A. Hobson

## **MODULE 3: THE REALIST ANCESTORS**

Unit 1 Thucydides

Unit 2 Niccolo Machiavelli

Unit 3 Hans J. Morgenthau

Unit 4 Edward H. Carr

Unit 5 Reinhold Niebuhr

## **MODULE 4: THE FUNCTIONALIST (NEOLIBERAL) ANCESTORS**

Unit 1 Norman Angell

Unit 2 David Mitrany

Unit 3 Ernst B. Haas

Unit 4 Joseph S. Nye Jr. and Robert O. Keohane



As you can observe, the course begins with the basics and expands into a more elaborate, complex and detailed form. All you need to do is to follow the instructions as provided in each unit. In addition, some self-assessment exercises have been provided with which you can test your progress with the text and determine if your study is fulfilling the stated objectives.

## **TEXTBOOKS AND REFERENCES**

At the end of each unit, you will find a list of relevant reference materials which you may yourself wish to consult as the need arises, even though I have made efforts to provide you with the most important information you need to pass this course. However, I would encourage you, as a student of International Relations to cultivate the habit of consulting as many relevant materials as possible within the time available to you. In particular, be sure to consult whatever material you are advised to consult before attempting any exercise.

## **COURSE OVERVIEW PRESENTATION SCHEME**

There are 19 units in this course. You are to spend one week on each unit. One of the advantages of Open and Distance Learning (ODL) is that you can read and work through the designed course materials at your own pace, and at your own convenience. The course material replaces the lecturer that stands before you physically in the classroom.

All the units have similar features. Each unit begins with the introduction and ends with reference/suggestions for further readings.

Units	Title of Work	Week Activity	Assignment (End-of-Unit)
Course Guide			

<b>Module 1</b>	<b>Nature of the Contemporary International System</b>		
Unit 1	Historical Overview of the Contemporary International System	Week 1	Assignment 1
Unit 2	The Contemporary international System	Week 2	Assignment 1
Unit 3	Dominant Features of thr Contemporary international System	Week 3	Assignment 1
Unit 4	Contending Perspectives of the Contemporary International System	Week 4	Assignment 1
<b>Module 2</b>	<b>The Idealist (Liberal) Ancestors</b>		
Unit 1	Hugo de Groot	Week 5	Assignment 1
Unit 2	Immanuel Kant	Week 6	Assignment 1
Unit 3	Jeremy Bentham	Week 7	Assignment 1
Unit 4	Karl Marx	Week 8	Assignment 1
Unit 5	Woodrow Wilson	Week 9	Assignment 1
Unit 6	John Hobson	Week 10	Assignment 1
<b>Module 3</b>	<b>The Realist Ancestors</b>		
Unit 1	Thucydides	Week 9	Assignment 1
Unit 2	Niccolo Machiavelli	Week 10	Assignment 1
Unit 3	Hans Morgenthau	Week 11	Assignment 1

Unit 4	E. H. Carr	Week 12	Assignment 1
Unit 5	Reinhold Niebuhr	Week 13	Assignment 1
<b>Module 4</b>	<b>The Functionalist Ancestors</b>		
Unit 1	Norman Angell	Week 14	Assignment 1
Unit 2	David Mitrany	Week 15	Assignment 1
Unit 3	E. B. Haas	Week 16	Assignment 1
Unit 4	Joseph Nye Jr. and Robert Keohane	Week 17	Assignment 1
	Revision	Week 18	
	Examination	Week 19	
	Total	19 Weeks	

### **WHAT YOU WILL NEED IN THE COURSE**

There will be some recommended texts at the end of each module that you are expected to purchase. Some of these texts will be available to you in libraries across the country. In addition, your computer proficiency skill will be useful to you in accessing internet materials that pertain to this course. It is crucial that you create time to study these texts diligently and religiously.

### **TUTORS AND TUTORIALS**

The course provides fifteen (15) hours of tutorials in support of the course. You will be notified of the dates and locations of these tutorials, together with the name and phone number of your tutor as soon as you are allocated a tutorial group. Your tutor will mark and comment on your assignments, and watch you as you progress in the course. Send in your tutor-marked assignments promptly, and ensure you contact your tutor on any difficulty with your self-assessment exercise, tutor-marked assignment, and the grading of an assignment. Kindly note

that your attendance and contributions to discussions as well as sample questions are to be taken seriously by you as they will aid your overall performance in the course.

## **ASSESSMENT EXERCISES**

There are two aspects to the assessment of this course. First is the Tutor-Marked Assignments; second is a written examination. In handling these assignments, you are expected to apply the information, knowledge and experience acquired during the course. The tutor-marked assignments are now being done online. Ensure that you register all your courses so that you can have easy access to the online assignments. Your score in the online assignments will account for 30 per cent of your total coursework. At the end of the course, you will need to sit for a final examination. This examination will account for the other 70 per cent of your total course mark.

## **TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENTS (TMAs)**

Usually, there are four online tutor-marked assignments in this course. Each assignment will be marked over ten percent. The best three (that is the highest three of the 10 marks) will be counted. This implies that the total mark for the best three assignments will constitute 30% of your total course work. You will be able to complete your online assignments successfully from the information and materials contained in your references, reading and study units.

## **FINAL EXAMINATION AND GRADING**

The final examination for INR 172 *Ancestors of the Contemporary International System* will be of two hours duration and have a value of 70% of the total course grade. The examination will consist of multiple choice and fill-in-the-gaps questions which will reflect the practice exercises and tutor-marked assignments you have previously encountered. All areas of the course will be assessed. It is important that you use adequate time to revise the entire course. You may find it useful to review your tutor-marked assignments before the examination. The final examination covers information from all aspects of the course.

## HOW TO GET THE MOST FROM THIS COURSE

1. There are 19 units in this course. You are to spend one week in each unit. 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 suites 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 recommended books. You are provided exercises to do at appropriate points, just as a lecturer might give you in a class exercise.
2. 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 other units and the course as a whole. Next to this is a set of learning objectives. These objectives let you 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 chance of passing the course.
3. The main body of the unit guides you through the required reading from other sources. This will usually be either from your reference or from a reading section.
4. The following is a practical strategy for working through the course. If you run into any trouble, telephone your tutor or visit the study centre nearest to you. 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.
5. Read this course guide thoroughly. It is your first assignment.

6. Organise 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.
7. Important information; e.g. details of your tutorials and the date of the first day of the semester is available at the study centre.
8. 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.
9. Once you have created your own study schedule, do everything to stay faithful to it.
10. The major reason that students fail is that they get behind in their coursework. If you get into difficulties with your schedule, please let your tutor or course coordinator know before it is too late for help.
11. Turn to Unit 1, and read the introduction and the objectives for the unit.
12. Assemble the study materials. You will need your references for the unit you are studying at any point in time.
13. As you work through the unit, you will know what sources to consult for further information.
14. Visit your study centre whenever you need up-to-date information.

15. Well before the relevant online TMA due dates, visit your study centre for relevant information and updates. 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.
16. 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. 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 space your study so that you can keep yourself on schedule.
17. 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).

## **CONCLUSION**

This is a theoretical as well as empirical course and so, you will get the best out of it if you can read wide, observe to as well as analyse the current trends in the contemporary international system in the context of the ideas of the ancestors of the contemporary international system.

## **SUMMARY**

The Course Guide has been designed to furnish you with the information you need for a fruitful experience in the course. In the final analysis, how much you get from it depends on how much you put into it in terms of learning time, effort and planning.

I wish you all the best in INR 172 and in the entire programme!

## **MAIN CONTENTS**

### **MODULE 1: NATURE OF THE CONTEMPORARY INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM**

Unit 1 Historical Overview of the International System

Unit 2 The Contemporary International System

Unit 3 Dominant Features of the Contemporary International system

Unit 4 Contending Perspective of the Contemporary International System

### **MODULE 2: THE IDEALIST (LIBERAL) ANCESTORS**

Unit 1 Hugo De Groot

Unit 2 Immanuel Kant

Unit 3 Jeremy Bentham

Unit 4 Karl Marx

Unit 5 Woodrow Wilson

Unit 6 John A. Hobson

### **MODULE 3: THE REALIST ANCESTORS**

Unit 1 Thucydides

Unit 2 Niccolo Machiavelli

Unit 3 Hans J. Morgenthau

Unit 4 Edward H. Carr

Unit 5 Reinhold Neibuhr

### **MODULE 4: THE FUNCTIONALIST (NEOLIBERAL) ANCESTORS**

Unit 1 Norman Angell

Unit 2 David Mitrany

Unit 3 Ernst B. Haas

Unit 4 Joseph S. Nye Jr. and Robert O. Keohane



## **MODULE 1: THE NATURE OF THE CONTEMPORARY INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM**

### **Introduction**

The ancestors of the contemporary international system focus on the contributions of erudite thinkers in shaping the practices of states in the international system. Such as the ideas of the ancestors of contemporary international system were fertilized by the prevailing social, economic and political climate of their respective time of existence on earth, so are their worldviews. For ease of understanding, their divergent thoughts are here categorized into appropriate perspectives encapsulated in Realism, Idealism and Functionalism. By so doing, the course therefore, is intends to acquaint the students with the various ideas of great thinkers that have enormously influenced prevailing practices in the contemporary international system. These practices are not limited to international law, international organizations, war and peace, treaties, conventions, international trade, peaceful settlement of dispute, reprisals, diplomatic relations.

Unit I: Historical Overview of the International System

Unit II: The Contemporary International System

Unit III: Dominant Features of Contemporary International System

Unit IV: Major Ideas and Practices of Contemporary International system

You are advised to carefully study each of the units to enable you understand the various issued discussed and be equipped to answer any question that is provided to evaluate your understanding accordingly. Model answers to the questions are attached to each of the unit.

## **Unit I: Historical Overview of the Contemporary International System**

### **Unit Structure**

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Learning Outcomes
- 1.3 The Ancient International System
- 1.4 The Medieval International System
- 1.5 Revolt in the Pre – Modern International System
- 1.6 Summary
- 1.7 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 1.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

#### **1.1. Introduction**

The Unit dwells on the historical survey of the contemporary international system. This is motivated by the fact that for one to fully understand current issues, a grasp of the past will provide the needed guide. In many respects, history has stubbornly continued to repeat itself and it becomes necessary to learn from the past in order to avoid reliving similar mistakes while relying on the positive aspects of the past as jumping ground. In this regard, the unit covers the developments in the international system from the ancient through the medieval eras and the seventeenth century Europe up to the post – Cold War period.

#### **1.2. Learning Outcomes**

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

- i. Trace the origin of the contemporary international system
- ii. Analyse the city – state system in the ancient international system
- iii. Ascertain the nature of the medieval international system

### **1. 3. The Ancient International System**

The contemporary international system is as old as the evolution of the human society dating back to the band societies. The gregarious attribute of human life precludes solitude and this implies that both at the individual and group levels, there is continuous interaction. This extends to collaboration to acquire territories and defend the population against others with sinister intentions.

Each group faced the inescapable problem of coexisting with neighboring groups whom they could not ignore or avoid because they were right there next door. In an addition, each group had to deal with others who were in distant locations because had the implications of affecting them. Their geographical closeness must have come to be regarded as a zone of political proximity, if not a frontier or border of some kind. More often than not, group interaction involved mutual respect, cooperation, commerce, conciliation, dialogue, and similar friendly and peaceful relations. This perhaps may have informed the assertion by Barber (1979) that a very significant form of dialogue, and sundry friendly and peaceful relations in the form of diplomacy, has ancient roots. As such, there are recorded formal agreements among ancient political communities which date as far back as 1390 BC and records of quasi-diplomatic activity as early as 653 BC.

But at the time that society has become politically organized, the interaction began to take the dimension of struggle for power between groups and individuals to determine in the words of Laswell “who gets what, when and how”. In other words, the essence of human interactions revolves around the nature of law governing the group, and the distribution of resources. In the interaction among states, the struggle is complicated by the sheer absence of centralized authority which can enforce its decision. What therefore, prevailed in the ancient international system was survival of the fittest resulting in territorial expansion and territorial conquest. Henceforth group contacts became riddled with rivalry, disputes, threats, intimidation, intervention, invasion, conquest, and other hostile and warlike interactions. Consequently, in the ancient era, the international system became politically organized into City – State System of inter – tribal relations as was prevalent in the pre – colonial Africa.

These arrangements assumed the form of minimum rules for the loose grouping of independent communities or tribes which were free to remain apart or live their own lives. The city – system had a strong root in the Athens of ancient Greece and in parts of the present day Italy. The

system involved rules governing relations between the Greek city-states and dominated the periods between the fourth and fifth centuries B.C. This invariably means that the first relatively clear historical manifestation of a quasi – state system was that of ancient Greece (500 BC – 100 BC) which was then known as Hellas. It comprised a large number of mostly small city-states (Wight 1977; Waston 1992). Specifically, Athens was the largest and most famous, but there were also many other city-states, such as Sparta and Corinth. Together they formed the harbinger of state system in Western European history.

There were extensive and elaborate relations between the city-states of Hellas. But the ancient Greek city-states unlike the modern sovereign states were neither extensive territories nor large in population. Greek inters – city relations were more or less local since there was sheer lack of diplomatic institution. This meant that what operated as law guiding the inter – city relations was merely municipal rather than international law as is operational in the contemporary international system..

Apart from the ancient Greece, Renaissance Italy had a political structure that equaled that of the Greek city – state. This lasted for several centuries in central Italy until according to Halliday (1994), “the city expanded its authority and adapted its methods of government to bring first Italy, then the western Mediterranean and finally almost the whole of the Hellenistic world into an empire larger than any which had existed in that area before”. Consequently, the ancient Greek city – states and other related political organizations in the ancient world capitulated and become submerged into the more formidable neighbouring Roman hegemony (200 BC – 500 AD).

### **Self – Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 1**

In not more than 5 minutes, attempt these exercises to measure your understanding so far.

1. The evolution of the contemporary international system dates back to \_\_\_\_ societies?

2. The type of political organization peculiar to the ancient Greece is \_\_\_\_?

Apart from the ancient Greece, \_\_\_\_\_ had a political structure that equaled that of the city – state?

#### **1.4. The Medieval International System**

This was system where a strong tribal group or nation overrun many nations and imposed a political control on them. Thus, it has been appropriately described as empire or hegemonic international system. In this sense, the conquered territories became extensions of the nation that conquered them and the people of the conquered territories invariably became subjects of the conqueror nation. Conquest and political hegemony were therefore, the prevalent pattern of political organization in the medieval era. The period in focus witnessed the emergence of such empires as Alexander’s Empire, the Roman Empire, the Mogul Empire, the Ottoman Empire, the Chinese Empire, the Assyrian Empire, the Persian Empire, and the Graeco – Byzantine Empire (Leeds 1981; Cooper 1996).

Apart from the Roman Empire, Robert and Jackson (1999) pointed out that there existed other empires in what is today known as Asia. According to him, the oldest empire which survived under different dynasties for about 4,000 years until the early twentieth century was the Chinese Empire. If the argument is anything to count, then the empire in question has since transmuted to what is known today as the Chinese Communist state. Overall, the middle age was unarguably an era of empires which were authoritarian and brooked no equal justice and freedom and were fated to collapse when the time came.

Amongst these empires, the Roman Empire was much more powerful. Gradually, the Romans developed a huge empire in the course of conquering, occupying, and ruling most of Europe and a larger part of the Middle East and North Africa. They were brutal in suppressing the numerous political communities that fell under the Roman dominion. But as Marx had remarked, every epoch conceives within its womb the seed of its own destruction. Every epoch in the recorded human had eventually developed internal contradiction and become part of sad or memorable history. The seeming pessimistic prophecy of Karl Marx was vindicated when the misrule of the

Roman Empire could no longer be endured provoked rebellion that brought it to ruins. Eventually the groaning peripheries of the empire began to revolt and the Roman army were over – stretched that they could not suppress the revolts any longer. Instead, they began to retreat, and on several occasions the city of Rome itself was invaded and destroyed by the ‘barbarian’ tribes. In that way the Roman Empire was finally brought to an end after many centuries of political success and survival.

### **Self- Assessment Exercises 2**

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

1. The system where a strong tribal group or nation overrun many nations and imposed a political control on them existed during \_\_\_\_\_?
2. The oldest empire which survived under different dynasties for about 4,000 years until the early twentieth century was \_\_\_\_\_?

### **1.5. The Revolt and Collapse of the Pre – Modern international system**

The medieval international system was turbulence and also one in considerable disarray, disorder, conflict and violence which stemmed from the lack of clear lines of territorial political organization and control. There were no clearly defined territories with borders. This is simply because the medieval international system was not a geographically differentiated with independent countries. Instead, it was a complicated and confusing political arrangement. For, instance, power and authority were organized on both a religious and a political basis in adherence to the doctrine of Two Swords. This implies that the Pope and the Emperor were the heads of two parallel and connected hierarchies: the spiritual and temporal, one religious and the other political. Invariably, Kings and other rulers were subjects of those higher authorities and their laws, meaning that they were not fully in charge. Sometimes wars were fought between kings. A good example was the Hundred Years War between England and France (1337 – 1453). The authority and power to engage in war was not monopolized by the state: kings did not

control war as they were later able to do. Instead, war-making rights and capacities belonged to members of a distinctive caste – the armed knights and their leaders and followers- who fought sometimes for the Pope, sometimes for the Emperor, sometimes for their king, sometimes for their master, and sometimes and indeed quite regularly for themselves. There was no clear distinction between civil war and international war. Medieval wars were more likely to be fought over issues of rights and wrongs: wars to defend the faith, wars to resolve conflicts over dynastic inheritance, wars to punish outlaws, wars to collect debts, etc. (Howard 1976). Wars were less likely to be fought over the exclusive control of territory or over state or national interests. In medieval Europe there was no exclusively controlled territory, and no clear conception of the nation or the national interest.

In terms of security, the local rulers and their knights took the responsibility by operating from fortified castles and towns. Freedom was exclusively for feudal rulers and their acolytes while order was the responsibility of the emperor. In any case, there was sheer lack of capacity to enforce order and this terribly exposed the medieval Europe to intermittent turbulence and discord at all levels of society. In the area of justice, there was marked disparity in the dispensation by both political and religious rulers. For instance, those higher ups in the political and religious hierarchies had easier access to justice than those at the lower echelon of the society. There were different courts for different classes of people and justice was often meted out by people themselves in the form of revenge or reprisal. The Pope was responsible not only for ruling the Church through his hierarchy of bishops and other clergy but also for overseeing political disputes between kings and other semi-independent national rulers. Members of the clergy were often senior advisers to kings and other secular rulers. Kings were sometimes ‘Defenders of the Faith’ – such as Henry VIII of England. Knights often thought of themselves as Christian soldiers. Welfare was connected to security and was based on feudal ties between local rulers and common people in which those rulers provided protection in exchange for a share of the labor, crops and other resources and products of a local peasant economy. Peasants were not free to live wherever they wished. Instead, they were tied to feudal landlords who could be members of the nobility or the clergy or both. All these discriminatory practices and injustice attained unbearable level by the discontented subjects and eventuated into the revolt and rebellion which snowballed into the Thirty Years War (1618 – 1648) that engulfed the whole of central Europe with brutal consequences.

### Self – Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 3

The doctrine that describes the power sharing arrangement between the Pope and the Emperor as spiritual and political heads of the medieval era is called \_\_\_\_\_?

1. \_\_\_\_\_ was responsible for the turbulence of the medieval international system?

#### 1.6. Summary

The Unit carried out a historical survey of the ancient international system and traced its origin to both the ancient Greek City – States and the Medieval Roman Empire. It noted while the hegemonial authority of the Roman empire was insurmountable for many centuries, the autocratic rule and misrule associated with the system contributed in liquidated the infamous era of the Empire building and city – states.

#### 1.7. References/Further Readings/Web Resources

Barber, F. (1979). *Diplomacy: The World of the Honest Spy*. London: The British Library.

Dixon, G. History of the International System – Part 1. Online lecture.

Echezona, N. (1993). *Hegemonism or A New World Order?* Awka: Melinks

Halliday, F. (1994). *Rethinking International Relations*. London: Macmillan.

Howard, M. (1976). *War in European History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Jackson, R. and Sorensen, G. (1999). *Introduction to International Relations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Leeds, C. A. (1981). *Political Studies*. Great Britain: Macdonald and Evans.

Watson, A. (1992). *The Evolution of International Society*. London: Routelege.

Wight, M. (1977). *Systems of States*. Leicester: Leicester University Press.



## **1.8. Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)**

### **Answers to SAEs 1**

Band  
City – States and empires  
Renaissance Italy

### **Answers to SAEs 2**

1. Empire
2. The Chinese Empire

### **Answers to SAEs 3**

1. Doctrine of Two Swords
2. Lack of capacity to enforce order/ Religious unfreedoms

## **UNIT 2: THE CONTEMPORARY INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM**

### **Unit Structure**

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Learning Outcomes
- 2.3 The Rise of the Multi – State System
- 2.4 The Bipolar International System
- 2.5 The Post – Cold War International System
- 2.6 Summary
- 2.7 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 2.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

### **2.1. Introduction**

In this unit, attempt is made to acquaint you the event that shaped the post – Westphalia international system. This is to effectively relate the events of that era with the contemporary trends in the international system. This considered necessary because as Cooper (1996, p.10) had rightly suggested “to understand the present, we must first understand the past. In a sense, the past is still with us”. Thus we shall focus on the aftermath of the Thirty Years Wars and the resultant problem of managing the Peace of Westphalia through the balance of power mechanism.

### **2.2. Learning Outcomes**

At the end of this Unit, you would be exposed to the following knowledge:

- i. The historical trend that gave birth to the modern system
- ii. Understand the bipolar world structure during the Cold War
- iii. Differentiate post – Cold War order from the Cold War international system.

### **2. 3. The Rise of the Multi – State System**

The historical end point of the medieval era and the starting-point of the modern international system, speaking very generally, is usually identified with the Thirty Years War (1618-48) and the Peace of Westphalia which brought it to an end. This was the product of the conference that declared the obituary of the Holy Roman Empire. The conference was necessitated by the Thirty Years War (1618 - 1648) that ravaged much of the Europe to the point of near extinction. As Schumann (1953) quoted in Echezona (1993, p.7) had observed, the war turned Europe into “A wilderness of ruins drenched with the blood of the slain, rent with agonized cries of torment, and looted by pitiable bands of refugees among whom mass madness and cannibalism were not infrequent”. As a result, the conference of Westphalia was convened to explore an end to the raging internecine war by identifying and eliminating the factors that provoked the war in the first place. Based on the findings that the war was a consequence of revolt by Protestants over religious unfreedoms meted by the papacy in cahoots with the Roman Emperor as well as over the subjugation of the nations of Europe under Roman hegemony, the Peace of Westphalia was then signed by the statesmen at the conference to stop religion from plunging the world into future war.

The highpoints of the Treaty include that rulers should choose the religion of their country. By this is meant that no outside power can impose religion on another nation and by implication interfere in the religion and internal affairs of other states. Following from this, the Treaty unbundled the Roman Empire thereby, allowing the hitherto peripheral territories to acquire sovereign status, independent of Rome. As a result, the Westphalia Treaty became engrained in the sand of times for according a decent burial to the Roman Empire and for recognizing every geographically defined area in which people with a shared sense of common identity (i. e. nation) live as state (Dixon 2013). Against this backdrop, the Peace of Westphalia often called the Westphalia Treaty of 1648 officially midwived the birth of the contemporary international system of sovereign states. Essentially, the emergent multi – state system became a mid – course between the amorphous city – state system and the authoritarian hegemonial system of the Medieval era. Significantly, for instance, by virtue of the Treaty, European rulers liberated themselves from the overarching religious – political authority of Christendom. They also freed themselves from their dependence on the military power of barons and other local feudal leaders. On the flip side, the kings subordinated the barons and defied the Emperor and the Pope. This

enabled them to play the role of defenders of the sovereignty of their states against internal disorder and external threat.

In another development to the turn of event, peasants withdrew their loyalty to local feudal rulers and became the direct subjects of the King, thereby assuming eventually the status of ‘the people’. From then henceforth, power and authority became concentrated on the King who now ruled a territory with borders which were defended against outside interference. The King became the supreme authority over all the people in the country, and no longer had to operate via intermediate authorities and rulers. That fundamental political transformation marks the advent of the modern era.

### **Self – Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 1**

Answer the following questions correctly to demonstrate your understanding of the segment of this Unit.

1. The Treaty that gave birth to the contemporary international system is known as \_\_\_\_\_?
2. The Thirty Years War of Central Europe ended in which year?

### **2.4. The Balance of Power International System**

In the course of basking in victory of the Roman Empire, the emergent independent states were soon to be confronted with a new problem of how to win the peace. This arose from the fact that the diversity of the new nation states created competition for survival. That competition often took the form of wars which became a source of threat to their collective survival. For instance, the post – Westphalia wars among the independent states created the risk of a single power winning the wars and imposing a single hegemony on them. This ultimately occasioned the necessity for balance of power mechanism that became the essential feature of the post – Westphalia international system.

Balance of power was an arrangement between the multi – states which was intended to prevent any one state from getting out of control and making a successful bid for hegemony which would in effect re-establish an empire over the continent. Sequel to the suppression of liberty and freedoms under the hegemony of both the ancient and medieval empires, and in a dire need to prevent the post – Westphalia system from relapsing into the seventeenth century chaos, the emergent independent states resorted to balance of power stratagem. It involved building of alliances and coalitions to contain the hegemonic ambition of one state over the rest. In other words, it was a proactive mechanism adopted when one country grew too big for its boots, and then others would gang up to cut it down to size. As a war stratagem, it was based on the principle of “our enemy’s enemy is our friend”. The mechanism was able to thwart the hegemonic ambitions of some states such as Spain and France, including Germany. Consequently, the arrangement successfully thwarted several major attempts by different powers to impose their political hegemony on the continent. For example, the Habsburg Empire (Austria) made such attempt during the Thirty Years War (1618-1648) but the attempt was thwarted by a coalition led by France and Sweden. Yet France made similar attempt under King Louis XIV (1661-1714) and was equally blocked by an English – Dutch alliance. That did not deter Napoleon Bonaparte of France (1795-1815) to attempt to impose political hegemony on Europe but his ambition hit the brick wall that was jointly mounted by Britain, Russia, Prussia, and Austria.

A post-Napoleonic balance of power among the great powers otherwise known as the Concert of Europe held sway for most of the period between 1815 and 1914 but in spite of this proactive arrangement, Germany made the ambitious attempt under Hitler (1939-45) to bring the contemporary international system under German hegemony and was fiercely blocked by the combined efforts of the United States and the Soviet Union in conjunction with Britain. The balance of power mechanism therefore, featured prominently from the seventeenth century up to the later part of the nineteenth century when the German unification in 1871 made it too large and too dynamic to be contained within the confines of the traditional European balance of power system. Besides, the balance of power arrangement was inherently unstable and a system in which a war was always waiting to occur. The implication was that on two separate occasions (the First World War and the Second World War); it failed abysmally to restrain Germany, Italy and Japan from plunging the contemporary international system into brutal and devastating wars.

Instead, on these two separate occasions, it has to take the intervention of non – traditional European powers – the United States and the Soviet Union – to maintain peace in the modern international system and put an end to the balance of power in the early part of the twentieth century in place of balance of terror.

### **Self – Assessment Exercises 2**

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

1. The main attribute of the Post – Westphalia international system is called \_\_\_\_\_?
2. The two super powers of the Second World War were \_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_?

### **2.5. The Bipolar (Cold War) International System**

Both the First World War (1914 – 1918) and the Second World War (1939 – 1945) undoubtedly destroyed the post – Westphalia balance of power system in its original context and also the European empires (Cooper 1996). In particular, the Second World War unleashed fatal blow on the European overseas empires. The European powers depleted their resources and military strength and had to a fire – watching approach to the surging victors of the Second World War – United States of America and Soviet Union which took control of the proceedings of the post – Second World War international system. The raging ideological war (otherwise known as Cold War) between the two super powers since Russian Revolution of 1917 became escalated to the point of polarizing the contemporary international system into two opposing blocs. The Cold War was essentially deterred from snowballing to combat war by the mechanism of balance of terror. It lasted throughout the Cold War that predominated the period from 1945 and ended in 1989.

The Cold War was an ideological conflict between the Soviet – led Eastern bloc and the United States – led Western bloc over the spread and containment of either communism by the Eastern bloc or capitalism by the Western bloc. The Cold War period coincided with the

transformation of technology of war to the levels that portended mutually assured destruction (MAD). This therefore, automatically changed the traditional multilateral balance of power of Europe to a bilateral balance of terror worldwide. By balance of terror is meant that the battle of ideas often called the Cold War between the Union of Socialist Soviet Republic (USSR) and the United States of America (USA) was a period of wars and tension, but there was also an underlying order in the shape of a tacit understanding between the gladiators that neither they nor their allies would wage a physical battle on each other. This was in apprehension of the cataclysmic consequence of the preponderant availability of nuclear weapons – weapons with the capability of mass destruction. What then prevailed was that the Cold war was prosecuted with propaganda, bribery and subversion as much as in civil wars. In addition, it induced arms race as deterrence to belligerent states. Thus as Cooper (1996, p.13) had pointed out, “where there was fighting, it was most often for political or ideological control of a particular country ... rather than between countries. Many of the actual battles of the Cold War took place in civil wars”.

Essentially, the balance of terror system of the Cold War had certain orderliness as boundaries did not often change and major inter – state conflicts were usually outside the Cold War framework. Yet the Cold War order had its own inherent pitfalls that subjected the international system to a precarious condition and made many individuals to regard the balance of terror as repugnant. This and many other forces contributed to the end of the Cold War following the introduction of the policy of *perestroika* and *glasnot* by Mikhail Gorbachev of the USSR in 1989. These twin policies of economic restructuring and political reforms resulted in political turmoil that led to the disintegration of the Soviet Union into fifteen political entities and left the US – led Western bloc as the victor of the Cold War. Consequently, the end of the Cold War has now resulted in the re – arrangement of the international system from the bipolar world order to a unipolar world order where the United States of America asserts hegemonic power in the post – Cold War international system.

The victory of the Western ideology invariably meant the victory of its other components, particularly, liberal democratic principles. Thus, since the end of the Cold War, liberal democracy is being exported to the rest of the world under the supervision of the United States that has apparently become the lone hegemonic power in the contemporary international system. The practice of democracy has however, been generating conflicts in less developed parts of the world, especially in Africa, Eastern Europe, Asia, Middle East and Latin America. This means

that the victory against Communism has become dangerous to peace with the underlying implication of mutual vulnerability. This has given rise to many rules and treaties legitimizing mutual checks and probes in many areas. For instance, some international organizations and UN agencies now have the mandate to declare elections to fair or foul, the United Nations Human Rights Commission on Human Rights lays down rules about human rights, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank poke their noses into national accounts.

Yet, these mutual interference in the domestic affairs of states have not able to stop devastating wars that raging in parts of the, especially in Somalia and Afghanistan. In the affected conflict zones, the state seems to no longer fulfill Weber's criterion of having the legitimate monopoly on the use of force. The circumstance may have been triggered by the easy availability of conventional weapons and the weakness of the institutions. All these and other factors have combined to make the post – Cold War international system to have become more divided and insecure as the previous centuries, which inevitably stimulated the vagaries of ideas of the great thinkers of old on the international system.

### **Self –Assessment Exercises 3**

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

1. \_\_\_\_ refers to the bloodless war that succeeded the Second World War?
2. The mechanism that was employed by the United States and Soviet Union to deter each other from the use of nuclear weapon is called \_\_\_\_?

### **2.6. Summary**

This unit extensively discussed the dominant features of the contemporary international system that resulted from the Westphalia Treaty of 1648. It was observed that its turbulent character was a function of the egalitarian nature of the system since it lacked central authority to regulate the



truculence of the new states. The self – help approach of balance of power mechanism was not able to prevent the consequential many wars and international conflicts that culminated in the First and Second World Wars and the resultant balance of terror of the Cold War, including post – Cold War era.

## 2.7. Glossary

**Balance of power.** This refers to the alliance of states to thwart the hegemonic ambition of one state.

**Balance of terror.** It means an unwritten understanding by the Cold War protagonists and their allies not to fight each other directly to avoid the use of nuclear weapon in their possession.

**Cold War.** It refers to the ideological war short of armed conflict between the Soviet Union – led Eastern bloc and the United States – led Western bloc. It was basically driven to contain the spread of either capitalism or communism in their respective sphere of influence.

**Glasnot.** It refers to political reforms introduced by President Mikhail Gorbachev for the democratization of the totalitarian system of the Soviet Union.

**Perestroika.** It is the economic restructuring of the socialist economy to liberal economic system introduced by Mikhail Gorbachev in 1989.

## 2.8. References/Further Readings/Web Resources

Bull, H. (1977). *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics*. London: Macmillan,

Cooper, R. (1996). *The Post – modern state and the world order*. Demos.

Jackson, R. and Sorensen, G. (1999). *Introduction to International Relations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Leeds, C. A. (1981). *Political Studies*. Great Britain: Macdonald and Evans.

## **2.9. Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)**

### **Answers to SAEs 1**

1. Peace of Westphalia
2. 1648

### **Answers to SAEs 2**

1. Balance of Power
2. Russia (i.e. former Soviet Union and the United States of America)

### **Answers to SAEs 3**

1. Cold War
2. Balance of Terror

## **Unit 3: Dominant features of the contemporary international system**

### **Unit structure**

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2. Learning Outcomes
- 3.3 Predominance of Wars
- 3.4 Surge of Territorial Expansion and Overseas Empires
- 3.5 International Organisations
- 3.6 Summary
- 3.7 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 3.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

### **3.1. Introduction**

The problem of every post – war situation is how to manage victory on one side of the divide and how to condone defeat on the flip side of the equation. This may explain why the aftermath of major wars involves reconstruction, rehabilitation and reconciliation. This conventional wisdom was however, not case with the post – Thirty Years War that with the Westphalia Treaty of 1648. Instead, the emergent independent nation states which were apparently the victors of that war found themselves in a state of near anarchy without a central authority. Each of them resorted to self – help to assert their sovereignty, thereby plunging the contemporary international system into a miasma of endless attritional supremacy wars of the eighteenth century, nineteenth century and particularly, the two World Wars of the twentieth century.

### **3.2. Learning Outcomes**

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- i. Describe the feature of the post – Westphalia international system
- ii. Explain why the emergent nation states were always at war with each other

- iii. Understand the meaning of balance of terror in the Post – Cold War international system.

### **3.3. Predominance of wars**

Consequent upon the uniquely European contribution to the emergence of the modern international system, the emergent independent states have demonstrated the capacity to be a dynamic force in the world. For instance, their diversity created competition amongst them which has often taken the dimension of war. As such, since the advent of the sovereign statehood, the international system has been inherently turbulent. This has prompted Bull (1977) to poignantly describe it as “the anarchical society”. His lamentation derives from the perennial conflict and disorderly conducts of states which are the principal actors/players in the wilderness of the contemporary international system. Jackson et al (1999, p.15) noted that:

At various times Spain, France, Austria, England, Denmark, Sweden, Holland, Poland, Russia, Prussia and other states of the new European state system were at war. Some wars were spawned by Protestant Reformation which profoundly divided the European Christian population in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. But other wars, and increasingly most wars, were provoked by the mere existence of independent states whose rulers resorted to war as a means of defending their interests, pursuing their ambitions and, if possible, expanding their territorial holdings. War became a key international institution for resolving conflicts between sovereign states.

Thus, from the inception of the contemporary international system, the emergent states had asserted their determination to defend their independent status. One of their characteristic ways of doing this was through overt monopoly of the means of warfare. The warfare which is usually destructive in terms of human and material losses seems to be fallout of sovereign principle that

defines the relations among states. For instance, the modern world system is based on the idea that states have their *raison d'être* in being themselves rather than parts of a disciplined whole as under an associative system and that they exist to promote their own interests (Leeds 1981, p.312) , Sequel to this norm, which is in deference to the independent status of states, the international system has become a jungle where might is right as the most powerful states frequently invade and occupy territories of the much weaker states. Such belligerent behaviours are the imperative necessity of resource acquisition for the wellbeing of the citizens of the state.

### **Self- Assessment Exercises 1**

In not more than 5 minutes, attempt these exercises to measure your understanding so far.

The contemporary international has been generally described as\_\_\_\_\_?

The beneficiaries of the Westphalia settlement are\_\_\_\_\_?

### **3.4. The Surge of Territorial Expansion**

Nature did not endow every part of the state equally with natural resources such as minerals and food. As a result of the resource scarcity, some states are driven to scavenge the needed resources from the resource – rich zones of the world. In the course of this inevitable movement from resource – scarce to resource – abundant areas, the resource scavengers would in some cases, overwhelm and subdue the resource rich areas culminating in conquest and occupation of the territories by another state. The King first created order at home and became the sole centre of power within the country. Knights and barons who had formerly controlled their own armies now took orders from the King. Many kings then looked outward with an ambition for territorial expansion. As a result international rivalries developed which often resulted in wars and the enlargement of some countries at the expense of others.

In other words, the political change from medieval modern basically involved the construction and defense of the independent territorial state through the state captured of territory, which was turned it into state property. By implication, the conquering state equally captured the population of the captured territory and turned them into subjects and later citizens. In many countries,

indeed most, the Christian churches fell under state control. There was no room within modern states for semi-independent territory or people or institutions. In the modern international system, territory is consolidated, unified, and centralized under a sovereign government. The population of the territory owes their allegiance to that government and they have a duty to obey its laws. That includes bishops as well as barons, merchants as well as aristocrats. All institutions are now subordinate to state authority and public law.

From the middle of the seventeenth century, states were seen as the only legitimate political systems of Europe based on their own separate territories, their own independent governments, and their own political subjects. The emergent state system had several prominent characteristics that are not limited to the following:

- i. It consisted of adjoining states whose legitimacy and independence was mutually recognized.
- ii. The recognition of states did not extend outside of the European state system. Non-European political systems were not members of the state system. They were usually regarded as politically inferior and most of them were eventually subordinated to European imperial rule and;
- iii. The relations of European states were subject to international law and diplomatic practices. In other words, they were expected to observe the rules of the international game.

Above all, the Westphalian settlement legitimized a commonwealth of sovereign states. It marked the triumph of the state in control of its internal affairs and independence externally. This was the aspiration of princes and rulers in general – and especially of the German princes, both Protestant and Catholic, in relation to the Holy Roman or Habsburg Empire.

Thus, for over four centuries now, European states has continued to repel the main political tendency of world history, which is the ambition by strong powers to bend weaker powers to their political will and thereby establish an empire. This manifested in several conferences and treaties that focused primarily on how to procure peace among the nation states with a view to

preventing a relapse to the old order of a single power imposing a single hegemony on the international system. These concerted efforts featured prominently in the following forms.

### **Self – Assessment Exercises 2**

In not more than 5 minutes, attempt these exercises to measure your understanding so far.

1. The surge of territorial expansion in the contemporary international system was necessitated by \_\_\_\_\_?
2. The Westphalia settlement legitimized a commonwealth of \_\_\_\_\_?

### **3. 5. International Organizations**

Another critical component of the contemporary international system is international organizations. Defined simply as forum of sovereign states, it has been instrumental to ending wars and charting the course of enduring peace. Essentially, both the existing and the emerging international organizations take the responsibility of constantly identifying the structural and proximate causes of conflicts and wars both within the states and between states and move further to prescribe and supervise proactive measures to prevent and where the conflict has occurred to manage and de – escalate events that unleash human sufferings.

The idea and practice of international organizations owe its debt to the idealist and liberal thinkers who had proposed various plans to abolish wars and build peace for human security and development. Such ancestors who were passionate about peace and conceived this idea as a means of achieving it are not limited to Immanuel Kant in his Perpetual Peace and Woodrow Wilson who took the bold step to translate the idea to reality by commandeering the European statesmen into endorsing the establishment of the League of Nations in 1919 at the Versailles conference that ended the First World War.

Before then however, there had existed other international organizations. But they suffice for quasi status in the strict sense of classify international organisation. The reason is that they lacked universal outlook in terms of geographical spread of membership and were occasional as well as spontaneous in nature. According to Archer (2001), this aspect of international organisations represented the efforts to institutionalize the dominant role of the great powers of

Europe and manifested greatly at the Congress of Vienna in 1815. While the resultant Concert of Europe did not assume the character of a standing political organization, the same pattern functioned until World War I as the framework for a system of occasional great power conferences which lent some substance to the idea that the European family of states constituted an organized entity. This concept was broadened by the Hague Conference of 1899 and 1907, which admitted small states as well as great powers. Near the end of the nineteenth century the establishment of the Pan American Union and the initiation of a series of Inter-American conference reinforced the Monroe Doctrine and Simon Bolivar's pronouncements by giving institutional expression to the idea that the states of the Western Hemisphere constituted a distinct sub group within the larger multi-state system. These nineteenth century beginnings provided, in large measure, the basis for the phenomenal development of international organization since World War I.

The establishment of the League of Nations and its affiliate, the International Labour Organization, at the end of World War I represented the first attempt to combine into one general organization the disparate elements of organizational development which had emerged during the previous century. After World War II, the League was superseded by the United Nations, a general organization which derived its major features from the nineteenth century heritage and the lessons of experience, both positive and negative, provided by the League. The United Nations was conceived as the central component of a varied and decentralized system of international institutions that would include both autonomous specialized agencies; following the pattern first set by the public international unions and such regional organizations as existed or might be created by limited groups of states. The organizational design formulated in the United Nations Charter called for the active coordination of the work of the specialized agencies by the central institution, largely through the Security Council. In actuality, the organizational system of the post-World War II era has involved the operation of approximately a dozen specialized agencies, many of them newly created, and coordinated with varying degrees of effectiveness by the United Nations. The post-1945 system has also involved the proliferation of regional organizations of every sort most of them functioning quite independently, without any genuine tie to the central organization. This development falls in line with the prescriptions of the functionalist/neoliberal thinkers such as David Mitrany, Joseph Nye Jr. and Robert Keohane. Thus the term United Nations system may properly be used to refer to the United Nations and the



specialized agencies but it does not embrace the considerable number of regional organizations which have developed independently. These include, the Africa Union (AU), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), and etc.

The total network of international institutions also comprises more than one hundred intergovernmental agencies outside the scope of the United Nations system dealing with a vast range of problems and providing a variety of mechanisms for the conduct of relations among states. These are supplemented by approximately 3,500 non-governmental organizations (NGOs) which are “organisations made up not of states, but of individuals, companies, political parties, or other groups from more than one state”. Examples are not limited to Amnesty International, Federation International de Football Associations (FIFA), OXFAM. They may be classified in any of the above classification of international organisation in the previous lecture except the category that is restricted by definition only to states. In some occasions, nongovernmental organisations (NGOs) collaborate with intergovernmental organisations (IGOs) by promoting international consultation and activity in specialized fields at the unofficial level

### **3. 6. Summary**

The Unit undertook an exploration the dominant features of the contemporary international system and discovered that war predominate the system. Further exploration identified the drive for territorial expansion as the largely responsible for these wars which often took the form of resistance to invasion and conquest of territories. This compelled pacifists and peace loving statesmen and thinkers to initiative and eventually established international organisations as veritable platform for articulating and sharing of ideas to promote and sustain peace for human security and development.

#### **Self – Assessment Exercises 3**

In not more than 5 minutes, attempt these exercises to measure your understanding so far.

1. International organizations owe their existence to the ideas of \_\_\_\_\_?
2. The first international organization to attain universal outlook in terms geographical spread of membership was \_\_\_\_\_?

### **3, 7. References/Further Readings/Web Sources**

Archer, C. (2001). *International Organization*. Third Edition. London and New York: Routledge.

Bull, H. (1977). *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics*. London: Macmillan,

Jackson, R. and Sorensen, G. (1999). *Introduction to International Relations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

### **3.8. Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s)**

#### **Answers to SAEs 1**

1. The Anarchical Society
2. European nation states

#### **Answers to SAEs 2**

1. Resource Scarcity
2. Sovereign States

#### **Answers to SAE 2**

1. Idealist Ancestors
2. The League of Nations

## **UNIT 4: CONTENDING IDEAS OF THE CONTEMPORARY INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM**

### **Unit Structure**

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Learning Outcomes
- 4.3 The Idealist Ideas
- 4.4 The Realist Ideas
- 4.5 The Functionalist Ideas
- 4.6 Summary
- 4.7 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 4.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

### **4.1. Introduction**

Agitated by this bellicose character of the international system, political philosophers and peace lovers have at different times, initiated ideas and practices geared toward procuring cooperation and accommodation that is a consideration for peace and security in the contemporary system. But such ideas of the ancestors of the contemporary international system vary because they were influenced by varying social, economic, political and ideological conditions. Thus, since the thinking and behavior of men are products of their psycho-social milieu, it becomes imperative for the thinking and orientations of the forebears of the contemporary international system to diverge. For instance, their point of departure is on the frameworks for peace and security. Yet, there is overwhelming reasons to conclude that the ancestors are in the common graveyard of consensus on acknowledging the seeming malignancy of conflict and war and the need to have peace and security in the international system. For ease of understanding, their divergent views are organized into three philosophical orientations as

follows: The Idealist/Utopian view, the realist/pragmatic view and the functionalist/political economy view.

## **4.2. Learning Outcomes**

At the end of the unit, you are expected to:

- i. Ascertain the thrust of the idealist doctrine of international system
- ii. Distinguish between realist doctrine and idealist doctrine
- iii. Understand the argument of functionalist doctrine

## **4.3. The Idealist Doctrine**

This is a classical view about the international system which deplores conflict and war as evil, destructive and wasteful. It proposes peace in the international system through cooperation and accommodation in a one world international system or world federalism under world government. Idealism often derogatorily called utopianism is premised on legal approach to peace. Essentially, as a doctrine of peace through law, it “seeks to limit or prevent war by international treaty, negotiation procedures and the growth of international organizations” (Jackson et al 1999, p. 10).

The decisive push for this idea was the harrowing experience of the First World War (1914 – 1918), which recorded millions of casualties. According to Jackson et al’s (1999) account:

It was driven by a widely felt determination never to allow human suffering on such a scale to happen again. That desire not to repeat the same catastrophic mistake required coming to grips with the problem of total warfare between the mechanized armies of modern industrial states which were capable of inflicting mass destruction. The war was a devastating experience for millions of people, and particularly for young soldiers who were conscripted into the armies and were slaughtered by the million, especially in the trench warfare on the Western Front.

Some battles resulted in tens of thousands, and sometimes 100,000 casualties or even more.

The thinking by the proponents of this idea is that the First World War was in no small measure attributable to the egoistic and short-sighted calculations and miscalculations of autocratic leaders in the heavily militarized countries involved, especially Germany and Austria. In this regard, the autocratic leaders were inclined to take the fatal decisions that led their countries into war because of their apparent irrationality and power drunkenness. The antidote therefore, is to reform both the international system that is without a central ruler and the domestic structures of autocratic countries. The argument is that the lack of sovereign authority is the greatest source of violence in the international system. Schumann (1954, p.485) amplifies this by positing that “men who live without government live inescapably by the ways of violence”. This implies that the international system without a central authority is like a ‘jungle’, so to speak, where dangerous beasts roam and the strong and cunning rule. But in the idealist view, a reformed international system with a supranational authority in the form of international organization backed by international law is the appropriate place where the beasts are put into cages (i.e. into a kind of ‘zoo’) that could guarantee permanent peace. Therefore, the reform of the international system through the establishment of a kind of a world government is according to the idealist doctrine, the only path to avoid major disasters occasioned by great wars.

The summary of the idealist doctrine is that through a rational and intelligently designed international organization, it should be possible to put an end to war and to achieve more or less permanent peace. This is driven by the assumption that it may be possible to do away with states and states-people, foreign ministries, armed forces, and other agents and instruments of international conflict by taming states and states-people and subjecting them to the appropriate international organizations, institutions, and laws.

In the alternative, the idealist thinking is that state system could be overthrown or reformed in several conceivable ways. What is contemplated is a single state in the international system in the appearance of a world empire which could acquire ever-increasing power and come to dominate the whole. A world empire would then be established. By so doing, states will gradually lose their power to international organizations which will perform more and more of

the tasks of states as the world become increasingly interdependent. States may volunteer to give up their sovereignty and to establish a world government because they feel that existing 'international anarchy' makes war too probably and costly.

Proponents of this view are Hugo de Groot, Professor Woodrow Wilson, Immanuel Kant, Karl Marx, Kenneth Clinton Wheare, and many other renowned thinkers.

### **Self – Assessment Exercises 1**

Provide answers to the following teasers to measure the level of your understanding of the topic. The exercise should take you more than 5 minutes.

3. Idealism is derogatorily referred to as \_\_\_\_\_?
4. A major proposal for peace associated with idealist doctrine is \_\_\_\_\_?

### **4.4. The Realist Doctrine**

The realist thinking is a reaction against what is generally regarded by its forefathers and their progenies as the “foolish expectations” of abolishing or minimizing conflict and war in the international system through the establishment of a supranational authority. It starts from the position that states in the international system assume the character of human nature which they conceive as dangerous and untrustworthy. The realist thinkers are unanimous in emphasizing the dark side of human behavior. Thus, just like human beings, there is little expectation that interests of one state and others will be complementary. Ultimately, the realist view is that the world is made of clashing interests and the belief that a global harmony of interest exists is rejected. The realist argument runs basically to the effect that, unless a state is secure, it cannot be sure that it will survive and, if it does not survive, it will not be able to fulfill any other goals favouring its citizens' welfare. Schuman (1969: 279) reinforces this view in his assertion that “since survival is the first law of life, the first duty of diplomats is the promotion of national security”. The summary of the realist proposition is as follows.

**4.4. 1. Power maximization.** The most central of the realist argument is that states have no choice but to maximize their power because of the anarchic character of the international political system in which they have to operate. The justification is because the international political system has no central authority to resolve disputes and to allocate scarce resource. Therefore, it then behooves each state actor in the international system to rely on itself for protection against external threat and to obtain what it can for itself. As such, all states must seek power because only with it will they be able to protect themselves and advance the well – being of their citizens. This makes power to become an inevitable feature of the international system without a central authority. In this connection, the high point of the realist perspective ‘power is the ability of state to maintain its own existence (Crabb, 1968:12).

**4.4.2. Military strength.** The belief that military strength is the most important aspect of power is also implicit or explicitly stated in the works of the realist ancestors who strongly argued that the power capability of states are essentially geared to their ability to wage war or effectively to threaten it. Belief in the importance of military strength is derived from the expectation that a state whose armies have conquered the enemy’s forces and have occupied its territory can then impose its will on the defeated people. The conqueror is seen to have what Russell called “naked power”, which according to him refers to “such... power of the butcher over the sheep, of an invading army over a vanquished nation and of the police over detected conspirators”. The use of force is viewed as the ultimate and the most serious type of state action.

**4.4.3. Inevitability of conflict.** The realist thinking starts from the position that at root one’s fellow man is a dangerous and untrustworthy creature. Moreover, there is little expectation that his interests and others will be complementary. The realist view is that the world is made of clashing interests and the belief that a global harmony of interest exists is rejected.

Internationally, the realist expects the wishes and interests of a state to be opposed by others. The things that men and states want such as wealth, prestige and, of course power do not and cannot exist in sufficient quantities for all to be satisfied and conflict is the inevitable result. Thus, Hobbes () had observed that:

Moreover, considering that men's appetites carry them to one and the same end; which end sometimes can neither be enjoyed in common, nor divideth, it followeth, that the stronger must enjoy it alone, and that it must be decided by battle that is the stronger

For the realist therefore, conflict is natural. This perhaps explains the deluge of theoretical propositions in this regard. For instance, Dutt (1956:26) described relations between states as "ceaseless conflict, sometimes breaking out into open war". The reason for this aspect of the realist contribution is that states in the international system lack harmonious interest and this makes the international system to be basically conflict-ridden. States are always on the alert for threat or potential threats. In other words, they guard against the capabilities of others rather than the intentions. Invariably, the realist doctrine acknowledges conflict and war as evil but disagrees on its abolition. According to this view, war is necessary evil that will ironically bring about peace through balance of terror and mutual deterrence otherwise the international system will be plunged into mutually assured destruction. Realists believe that war has a positive attribute and this is why they are opposed to its abolition. In the realist thinking, no state would go to war if it knows it would lose more than it would gain and that all wars could be avoided if their outcome could be discovered in advance – the loser – to – be would give in without suffering the expense of fighting. This apparently implies that the most peaceful situation should be one where one side is clearly superior in terms of military capability. Therefore, an ability to retaliate against an enemy who has struck first to the extent that he will suffer 'unacceptable damage,' is a way out of the debate about superiority and equality as sources of peace in the international system. They based their argument on the inherent selfish and dark side of human nature which is prone to violence. Therefore, the solution is violence qua violence after which, the survivor would have learnt the bitter lesson of not challenging the stronger.

A related theme in much realist writing is that the over-throw or reform of the state system as canvassed by the idealists is a utopia. Wars, it is stressed usually occur because of conflict of interests between groups. While such conflicts exist, global peace is unlikely because some groups will be willing to use violence to try to get their way. Thus the establishment of a world government might mean a simple replacement of international war with 'civil' war. According to



the realists, even “general and complete disarmament” would not substantially affect this situation because man, if he wishes, can fight with sticks and stones or even his bare hands.

Fundamentally, states accustomed to struggling for power cannot be expected to give up voluntarily as they would fear the vulnerability which would follow. They will neither trust other states also to give up their power nor allow other bodies (such as international organizations) to look after the interests of their citizens on a permanent and irrevocable basis.

The proponents therefore encourage arms buildup and arms race as a desideratum to peace and security in the international system. Major ancestors of this philosophical orientation include Thucydides, Hobbes, Niccolo Machiavelli, St. Augustine, Hans Morgenthau, E.H. Carr, etc.

### **Self- Assessment Exercise 2**

Attempt the following questions to evaluate your understanding of the lecture so far. The exercise should not take you more than 5 minutes.

1. The realist idea is that \_\_\_\_\_ is natural?
2. The realist view about the international system does not include (a) military strength, (b) inevitability of conflict, (c) accommodation, (d) power maximization?

### **4.5. The Functionalist alternative.**

The realist pessimistic view of the anarchical international system appeared to have shaped the trends of world politics between 1930s and 1950s far better than the idealist optimistic conception of the international system. Thus realism became the dominant way of thinking about the international system until in the post – Second world War era when a new thinking emerged emphasizing cooperation and international institutions instead of the realist glorification of struggle for power and survival between the United States and the Soviet Union and their political and military alliances (Jackson et al 1999). So, although realism seemingly won the contention about the nature of the international system, there are still competing perspectives that refused to accept permanent defeat. This new way of thinking became known as functionalism and is also labeled as neoliberalism. The promoters of the alternative thinking were the remnants of the earlier idealism that repudiated its utopian excesses but believed in the ideas about the

possibility of progress and change in the international system through trade and investment, travel and communication. Thus, functionalism advocates building on existing foundations, extending the network of international agencies and increasing their powers

Arguably, the practice of this idea originated in the nineteenth century as a result of the rapid technological progress and the exploitation of new sources of energy. According to Mangrove (1954), the development led to the widening of the range of international relations as nations found more and more common interests which led to the creation of numerous international organizations, both private and governmental. From the functionalist's point of view, the most significant of these institutions were the "Public Unions" or "Administrative Unions." These generally started as treaties signed by states to protect specific interests. The treaties led to the establishment of international bureaus or secretariats which coordinated the activities of the members and handled administrative matters. Periodic meetings were held at which representatives of the member states set broad policies, generally making decisions by unanimous vote only. These organizations that fostered cooperation among newly industrialized nations of the world emerged primarily in the fields of communication, transport, and commerce, and to a lesser extent in the areas of health and social welfare. Thus they represented primarily the economic and social interests of nations and were comparatively untouched by issues of war and peace despite the outbreak of both the First World War (1914 - 1918) and the Second World War (1939 - 1945). As Walters (1952) had demonstrated elsewhere, several of these public unions survived both world wars and are still functioning today as specialized agencies of the United Nations while others have however assumed independent status. That is why it is easy to understand the insistence of the functionalists on separating economic from political issues and on increasing the number of such organizations that will deepen economic cooperation and integration across territorial borders. In fact, it may be ideal to stress that many of these organizations are on the spiral and have continued to function with considerable success within their limited spheres of competence. Examples include the International Labour Organization (ILO), the World Health Organization (WHO), World Trade Organization, to mention but a few. It is doubtful who the proponent of functionalism is but activities of some individuals who occupied important positions in world affairs created the congenial atmosphere for the flowering of functionalism. Prominent among these functionalists by defaults through expressed views are Albert Thomas of the ILO, Lord Boyd Orr of the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO),

Brook Chisolm of the World Health Organization (WHO), and Asko Ording of the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) (Schumann 1962). Moreover, functionalist ideal influenced considerable number of international civil servants and even some national leaders, both before and after World War II. But this does subtract the fact the functional phenomenon was directly propagated through the works of David Mitrany, Ernest Haas, Gunnar Myrdal, James Avery Joyce, and others.

The thrust of the functionalist thinking is that certain functional activities across borders (trade, investment etc) offered mutually advantageous long term cooperation. The argument is that intensive form of cooperation in trade and investment, for instance, will eventually result in integration. In other words, cooperation in one transactional area paved the way for cooperation in other areas (Haas 1958; Keohane and Nye 1975). The view therefore, espouses a higher level of trade communication, cultural exchange and other relations and transactions across borders. One the strands of this thinking is that the impact of these expanding cross border activities such as interconnecting activities will help to create common value and identities among people from different states and paved the way for peaceful, cooperative relations by making war increasingly costly and thus more unlikely. Another strand of the neoliberal thinking is that the cooperative relations among states will dovetail into complex interdependence. This means that there will be many forms of connections between societies in addition to the political relations of governments, including transnational links between business corporations. The interdependence will also mean an 'absence of hierarchy among issues': i.e. military security does not dominate the agenda any more. Military force is no longer used as an instrument of foreign policy (Keohane and Nye 1977:25). In this circumstance, complex interdependence portrays a situation that is radically different from the realist picture of international relations. Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye are among the main contributors to this line of thinking. A third strand of the functionalist argument is that the high degree of interdependence will prompt states to set up international institutions to deal with common problems. Institutions promote cooperation across international boundaries by providing information and by reducing costs. Institutions can be formal international organizations, such as the World Trade Organisation (WTO) or European Union EU or Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) or Economic Community of West Africa (ECOWAS), or they can be less formal sets of agreements (often called regimes) which deal with common activities or issues, such as agreements about shipping, aviation,

communication, or the environment. Keohane (1989) and Oran Young (1986) are among the main contributors to his line of thinking.

The fourth and final strand of the functionalist idea is democratic peace. By this is meant that since democracies do not go to war against each other, complex interdependence will enhance and strongly influence the rapid spread of democratization in the world. Jackson et al (1999) identified three pillars of democratic peace as follows:” the first is peaceful conflict resolution between democratic states; the second is common values among democratic states – a common moral foundation; the final pillar is economic cooperation among democracies”. By so doing, the functionalists are generally optimistic that there will be a steadily expanding ‘Zone of Peace’ among liberal democracies even though there may also be occasional setbacks.

In a nutshell, the different strands of functionalism are mutually supportive in providing an overall consistent argument for more peaceful and cooperative international system. Consequently, the emergent worldview of the contemporary international system stands as a counter attack by the reformed idealist thinkers against the truculent realist assumption of the international system.

### **Self – Assessment Exercises 3**

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

1. Functionalism is also labeled as \_\_\_\_\_?
2. The central thrust of functionalism is \_\_\_\_\_?

### **4.6 Summary**

The unit explored the dominant doctrines of the international system. These include idealism which espouses a kind of a world government as a panacea for international conflict. The realist doctrine is pessimistic about the international system because of the inherent clash of interest. It therefore, canvasses conflict as a roadmap for peace. A new thinking known as functionalism however, while not reinforcing the idealist option for peace via world government did not agree with the realist pessimism about the international system. Instead, it chose eclectic position of

charting the course of peace through transnational cooperation in social and economic, including technical matters. These interdependent relations will eventually lead to political and economic integration as exemplified in the European Union.

#### **4.7 References/Further Readings/Web Resources**

Haas, E. B. (1958). *The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social and Economic Forces, 1950 – 1957*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Hobbes, T. (1946). *Leviathan*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Jackson, R. and Sorensen, G. (1999). *Introduction to International Relations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Keohane, R. O. (1989). *International and State Institutions: Essays in International Relations Theory*. Boulder: Westview Press.

Keohane, R. O. and Nye, J. S. (eds.) (1975). 'International Interdependence and Integration' in E. Greenstein and N. Polsby (eds.), *Handbook of Political Science, viii: International Politics*. Reading, Mass: Addison – Wesley, 363 – 414.

\_\_\_\_\_ (1977). *Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition*. Boston: Little Brown.

#### **4.8. Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s)**

##### **Answers to SAEs 1**

1. Utopianism
2. World Government

##### **Answers to SAEs 2**

1. Conflict
2. Accommodation

##### **Answers to SAEs 3**

1. Neoliberalism
2. Cooperation

## **MODULE 2: THE IDEALIST ANCESTORS**

### **Introduction**

In this module, the different ideas of the ancestors clubbed into the idealist stock are reviewed. The array of their ideas on how to achieve order and justice in the international systems are encapsulated into three pillars of proposals: establishment of supranational institutional structure (to constrain truculent actors), free trade and collective security. This relates to their divergent views about the causes of international conflict and war – is it imperialism, the balance of power architecture or undemocratic regimes? On the appropriate goal to pursue, the ancestors of this ideological hue are divided over whether it is peace or order. Above all, they were also ensnared in the pre – eminent dilemma of how to respond to the belligerent behaviour of undemocratic regimes: is it by conquest, conversion or tolerance? (Dunne 1997). Despite the differences of their views, these ancient thinkers are united in the graveyard of consensus that warfare was an unnecessary and outmoded way of settling disputes between states.

This position is however, pummeled by their critics as unrealistic and unachievable in a precarious international system which is inherently turbulent. As a result, propagators of this worldview have been branded rather derogatorily as utopian and castigated as idealist dreamers. But in spite of the acclaimed delusional optimism of the idealist ancestors, it is to their credit that the discipline of International Relations owes its debt of origin.

In lieu of the immense contributions by these various thinkers of idealism to providing competing explanations for the causes of war and the determinants of peace in the international system, it becomes exigent to explore some of their contributions to the development of the contemporary international system between the seventeenth and twentieth centuries.

## **UNIT 1: HUGO DE GROOT**

### **Unit Structure**

- 1.1** Introduction
- 1.2 Learning Outcomes
- 1.3 Life
- 1.4 Major Works
- 1.5 Contributions to the Contemporary International System
- 1.6 Summary
- 1.7 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 1.8. Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

### **1.1. Introduction**

This unit explores the contributions of Hugo de Groot otherwise known as Grotius to the growth and development of the contemporary international system and, particularly his ideas on acceptable practices to achieve peace in the international system through international law.

### **1.2. Learning Outcomes**

By the end of this unit, you are expected to:

- i. Discuss the life and time of Hugo Grotius
- ii. Ascertain the major influences of Hugo Grotius
- iii. Explain the major contributions of Hugo Grotius to the development of international law

### **1.3. Life**

Hugo de Groot also known as Hugo Grotius was a Dutch scholar born in April 1583 as the first child of his parents Jan de Groot and Alida van Overschie. He grew up in Delft during the Dutch Revolt under the tutelage of his father who was a man of learning, once having studied with the eminent Justus Lipsius at Leiden University as well as of political distinction. His family was considered Delft patrician as his ancestors played an important role in local government since the thirteenth century. Hugo Grotius also studied at Leiden University and was imprisoned in Loevestein Castle for his involvement in the intra-Calvinist disputes of the Dutch Republic. He however, escaped hidden in a chest of books that was transported to Gorinchem.

Hugo Grotius was a humanist and a Renaissance man (Shaw 1997). He was equally a diplomat, lawyer, theologian, jurist, poet and playwright. In fact, he was a scholar of tremendous learning who mastered history, theology, mathematics and law. The Dutch scholar towered over his time and as Shaw eloquently put it “has been celebrated, if a little exaggeratedly, as the father of international law. But his ascendancy to intellectual valour was greatly influenced by the shadows of a leading theologian and a legal philosopher. The first was the Spanish theologian, Francisco Vitoria of the University of Salamanca (1480 – 1546). Contrary to the prevalent views of that era, he stoutly condemned the Spanish conquest of the South American Indians and insisted that they should be accorded recognition as nations with their own legitimate interests. He based his opposition on the grounds that since international law was predicated on the universal law of nature, it therefore amounted to injustice to exclude the non – Europeans from its ambit. The second scholar whose works had overwhelming influence on Grotius was Alberico Gentili (1552 – 1608). He was born in northern Italy and fled to England soon after he converted to Protestantism. His flight to England was justifiably necessitated by his fear of persecution. During his self – exile in England, he published his work *De Jure Belli* in 1598 (Nussbaum 1962). His extensive thoughts in book bordering on the law of war earned him accolade as the originator of the secular school of thought in international law (Shaw 1997). For instance, he devoted a valuable portion of his work on the law of treaties, which Grotius borrowed and elaborated into his own work as *Pacta Sunt Servanda*, meaning agreement made must be kept.

Grotius died on 28 August 1645 but not until he had left an indelible legacies on the sands of international political through his works.



## Self –Assessment Exercises 1

In less than 5 minutes, answer this question to appraise your understanding of the lecture so far.

1. Hugo Grotius was greatly influenced by \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_?
2. The nationality of Grotius is \_\_\_\_\_?

### 1.4. Major Works

Grotius wrote most of his major works in exile in France. Some of them include *De Jure Belli ac Pacis* (i. e. On the Law of War and Peace) which, was published in 1625 and dedicated to his patron, King Louis XIII of France where he was then in self - exile and *De Jure Belli*, meaning the Law of War published shortly after, precisely in 1631. These two books and his third major work *Mare Liberum* (The Free Seas) have had a lasting impression on the field of international law and the views effectively fertilized the foundations of the contemporary international law. In the light of this, Adediran (1980) had noted, it will smack of ingratitude to discuss the origins of international law without making reference to Hugo de Groot, commonly known as Grotius, of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. This explains why he is often regarded as the founder of international law even though, as noted above there seems to be no one founder of international law. But it is difficult to ignore Grotius's pace – setting role in putting international law together into a single book.

## Self – Assessment Exercises 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take more than 5 minutes.

1. The host of Hugo Grotius while in exile was \_\_\_\_\_?
2. The first book that Grotius published while in exile is titled \_\_\_\_\_?

## 1, 5. Contributions to the Contemporary International System

The contributions of Grotius to the contemporary international system derive from his treatises which systematized customs usage and state practices that existed. The treatises contained three importance principles that were all preserved and developed in modern international law:

- Restitution for harm done must be made;
- Promises given must be kept (*pacta sunt servanda*);
- Freedom of the seas must be guaranteed.

In the *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*, Grotius made tremendous efforts to restrain conflicts on the basis of a broad moral consensus. Having witnessed the Eighty Years' War between Spain and the Netherlands and the Thirty Years' War (1618 – 1648) between Catholic and Protestant European nations, Grotius lamented:

Fully convinced ... that there is a common law among nations, which is valid, alike for war and in war, I have written upon the subject. Throughout the Christian world I observed a lack of restraint in relation to war, such as even barbarous races should be ashamed of; I observed that men rush to arms for slight causes, or no cause at all, and that when arms have once been taken up there is no longer any respect for law, divine or human; it is as if, in accordance with a general decree, frenzy had openly been let loose for the committing of all crimes.

The treatise advances a system of principles of natural law, which are held to be binding on all people and nations regardless of local custom. The work is divided into three books:

- i. Book I advances his conception of war and of natural justice, arguing that there are some circumstances in which war is justifiable.
- ii. Book II identifies three 'just causes' for war: self defense, reparation of injury, and punishment; Grotius considers a wide variety of circumstances under which these rights of war attach and when they do not.
- iii. Book III takes up the question of what rules govern the conduct of war once it has begun; influentially, Grotius argued that all parties to war are bound by such rules, whether their cause is just or not.

### **1. 5. 1. Government theory of atonement**

This is embedded in his treatise on restitution. Grotius developed this particular view reparation from the atonement of Christ. He theorized that Jesus sacrificial death occurred in order for the Father to forgive while still maintaining his just rule over the universe. This idea, further developed by theologians such as John Miley, became one of the prominent views of the atonement in Methodist Arminianism.

### **1. 5. 2. Freedom of the seas**

Grotius's one of the enduring contributions consists in his postulation of the freedom of the seas. In his *Mare Liberum*, he remorselessly condemned the "closed seas" concept of the Portuguese and declared a right of passage to all nations on the high seas which he labeled as a *terra nullius*, that is, a territory belonging to no one. The implication is that the nations lacked the right to appropriate to themselves the high seas because they belonged to all (Shaw 1997).

### **1. 5. 3. Pacta sunt servanda**

Grotius attributed the wars of his time to the failure to keep agreements by rulers. He therefore, formulated the principle of pacta sunt servanda to define expressly the idea of one society of states, governed not by force or warfare but by actual laws and mutual agreement to enforce those laws. That idea which he propounded was given concrete expression in the peace of Westphalia, and that may be why Grotius has been considered as the intellectual father of this first general peace settlement of modern times (Bull 1999).

### **Self – Assessment Exercises 3**

Attempt these exercises in not more than 5 minutes to test your understanding of this topic.

1. The associated with Grotius concerning right of passage on the territorial waters is called \_\_\_\_\_?
2. Pacta sunt servanda means\_\_\_\_\_?

### **1.6. Summary**

In this unit, the thoughts of Hugo Grotius were reviewed in order to understand his immense contribution to the study of international relations. It was discovered that he was optimistic about

peace in the international system if there should be a kind of a law that will be binding on all actors in the international systems. Such a control mechanism will make the seemingly anarchical international system to become an orderly world that is safe for the strong and weak powers, poor and rich nations, etc. That is why he propounded three rules of conduct that are not conducive to frictional intercourse: laws of restitution, laws of treaties and laws of the sea.

### **1.7. References/Further Readings/Web Resource**

Adeniran, T. (1980). *An Introduction to International Relations*. Ibadan: Spectrum Books Ltd.

Bull, H. (1977). *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics*. London: Macmillan,

Nasubaum, A. (1962). *A Concise History of the Law of Nations*. New York.

Shaw, M. N. (1997). *International Law*. 4<sup>th</sup> edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

### **1.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s)**

#### **Answers to SAEs 1**

1. Francisco Vitoria and Alberico Gentili
2. Dutch (Netherlands)

#### **Answers to SAEs 2**

1. King Louis XIII
2. De Jure Belli ac Pacis

#### **Answers to SAEs 3**

1. Freedom of the seas
2. Agreement reached must be kept

## **UNIT 2: IMMANUEL KANT**

### **Unit Structure**

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Learning Outcomes
- 2.3. Early Life and Academic Career
- 2.4 Major Works
- 2.5 Contributions to the Contemporary International System
- 2.6 Summary
- 2.7 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 2.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

### **2.1. Introduction**

Immanuel Kant is German philosopher whose views on both domestic and international politics earned him a characterization as an idealist. This unit reviews his thoughts on the international political system as encapsulated in one of his major works *Perpetual Peace* where he unleashed his proposal for enduring peace in the international system through the establishment of an international organization that would eventuate into a world of constitutional republics.

### **2.2. Learning Outcomes**

By the end of the unit, you are expected to:

- i. Discover why Kant was recognized as one of the central Enlightenment thinkers.
- ii. Discuss Kant notable ideas that qualified him as an idealist ancestor of the contemporary international system.
- iii. Ascertain Kant's plan for peace

### 2.3. Early Life and Academic Career

Immanuel Kant was German philosopher born in April 22, 1724 and died in February, 1804. He was brought up by a Prussian German family of Lutheran Protestant faith in Königsberg, East Prussia. This means that he grew up in a pietistic household that stressed religious devotion, humility, and a literal interpretation of the Bible. Invariably, his education was strict, punitive and disciplinary, and focused on Latin and religious instruction over mathematics and science. He was baptized Emanuel, but later changed the spelling of his name to Immanuel after learning Hebrew. Given his parental background, Kant apparently lived a very strict and disciplined and celibate life. Yet he seemed to have had a rewarding social life, having earned himself recognition as one of the central Enlightenment thinkers whose works eloquently stood him out as one of the most influential figures in modern Western philosophy.

Kant is best known for his work in the philosophy of ethics and metaphysics, but he made significant contributions to other disciplines, particularly in History and International Relations. In 1755, Kant received a license to lecture in the University of Königsberg and began lecturing on a variety of topics including mathematics, physics, logic and metaphysics. In 1757, Kant began lecturing on geography making him one of the first lecturers to explicitly teach geography as its own subject. As Rolf (2020) had observed, amongst the important works during his lifetime include the *Universal Natural History* (1755), the *Critique of Religion within the Bounds of Bare Reason* (1793), and the *Metaphysics of Morals* (1797).

#### Self – Assessment Exercises 1

1. Immanuel was Baptized as \_\_\_\_\_?
2. Kant was born in the year \_\_\_\_\_?
3. Kant earned himself recognition as one of the central \_\_\_\_\_?

### 2.4. Major Works

Kant was an exponent of the idea that perpetual peace could be secured through universal democracy and international cooperation, and that perhaps this could be the culminating stage of

world history. In his *Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch*, Kant listed several conditions that he thought necessary for ending wars and creating a lasting peace. They included a world of constitutional republics. His classical republican theory was extended in the *Science of Right*, the first part of the *Metaphysics of Morals* (1797). Kant believed that universal history leads to the ultimate world of republican states at peace, but his theory was not pragmatic. The process was described in *Perpetual Peace* as natural rather than rational:

The guarantee of perpetual peace is nothing less than that great artist, nature...In her mechanical course we see that her aim is to produce a harmony among men, against their will, and indeed through their discord. As a necessity working according to laws we do not know, we call it destiny. But, considering its designs in universal history, we call it "providence," inasmuch as we discern in it the profound wisdom of a higher cause which predetermines the course of nature and directs it to the objective final end of the human race.

Kant's political thought can be summarized as republican government and international organization. In more characteristically Kantian terms, it refers to the doctrine of the state based upon the law (*Rechtsstaat*) and of eternal peace. Indeed, in each of these formulations, both terms express the same idea: that of legal constitution or of 'peace through law'. Kant's political philosophy, being essentially a legal doctrine, rejects by definition the opposition between moral education and the play of passions as alternate foundations for social life. He conceived the state as the union of men under law. By this he meant that the state is constituted by laws which are necessary a priori because they flow from the very concept of law. He further assumed that a regime can be judged by no other criteria nor be assigned any other functions, than those proper to the lawful order as such.

Kant did fancy democracy of his time which was direct and thus resulted in the dictatorship of the majority which he argued portended a threat to individual liberty. According to him,

...democracy is, properly speaking, necessarily a despotism, because it establishes an executive power in which 'all' decide for or even against one who does not agree; that is, 'all,' who are not quite all, decide, and this is a contradiction of the general will with itself and with freedom.

## Self – Assessment Exercises 2

Attempt these exercises in not more than 5 minutes to measure what you learnt so far.

1. Among the several conditions that Kant thought necessary for ending wars and creating a lasting peace is \_\_\_\_\_?
2. Kant's classical republican theory was extended in the \_\_\_\_\_?

### 2.5. Contribution to the modern international system

Kant's influential views and contribution to the international system were articulated in his *Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch* (1795) where offered three propositions as follows:

- i. **First Definitive Article: The civil Constitution of Every State shall be Republican.** If, as is inevitably the case under this constitution, the consent of the citizens is required to decide whether or not war is to be declared, it is very natural that they will have great hesitation in embarking on so dangerous an enterprise... But under a constitution where the subject is not a citizen, and which is therefore not republican, it is the simplest thing in the world to go to war. For the head of state is not a fellow citizen, but the owner of the state, and a war will not force him to make the slightest sacrifice so far as his banquets, hunts, pleasure places and court festivals are concerned .... (Kant 1991:99-102)
- ii. **Second Definitive Article: The Right of Nations shall be based on a Federation of Free States.** Each nation, for the sake of its own security, can and ought to demand of the others that they should enter along with it into a constitution, similar to a civil one, within which the rights of each could be secured.... But peace can neither be inaugurated nor secured without a general agreement between the nations; thus a particular kind of league, which we will call a pacific federation, is required. It would be different from a peace treaty in that the latter terminates one war, whereas the



former would seek to end all wars for good... It can be shown that this idea of federalism, extending gradually to encompass all states and thus leading to perpetual peace, is practicable and has objective reality (Kant 1991: 102-5).

- iii. **Third Definitive Article: Cosmopolitan Right shall be limited to Conditions of Universal Hospitality.** The peoples of the earth have thus entered in varying degrees into a universal community, and it has developed to the point where a violation of rights in one part of the world is felt everywhere. The idea of a cosmopolitan right is therefore not fantastic and over strained; it is a necessary complement to the unwritten code of political and international right, transforming it into a universal right of humanity (Kant 1991: 105-8).

As with most writers of the time, he distinguished three forms of government i.e. democracy, aristocracy, and monarchy with mixed government as the most ideal form of it. Nevertheless, Kant contradicted his proposal for perpetual peace by his unpretentious support for racial discrimination.

### **Racism**

Kant was one of the most notable Enlightenment thinkers to defend racism, and some have claimed that he was one of the central figures in the birth of modern scientific racism. Kant produced a full-blown theory of race. Using the Four Temperaments of ancient Greece, he proposed a hierarchy of four racial categories: white Europeans, yellow Asians, black Africans, and red Amerindians.

Kant describes Whites as a race that "contains all the impulses of nature in affects and passions, all talents, all dispositions to culture and civilization and can as readily obey as govern. They are the only ones who always advance to perfection." He describes South Asians as "educated to the highest degree but only in the arts and not in the sciences". He further argued that Hindustanis can never reach the level of abstract concepts and that a "great Hindustani man" is one who has "gone far in the art of deception and has much money". He stated that the Hindus are conservative and resistant to change. Thus they can never advance. Regarding black Africans, Kant believed that "they can be educated but only as servants, that is, if they allow themselves to be trained". He quoted David Hume as challenging anyone to "cite a [single] example in which a Negro has shown talents" and asserts that, among the "hundreds of thousands" of blacks

transported during the Atlantic slave trade, even among the freed "still not a single one was ever found who presented anything great in art or science or any other praiseworthy quality". To Kant therefore, "the Negro can be disciplined and cultivated, but is never genuinely civilized. He falls of his own accord into savagery." Kant was so disdainful of the black race that when he evaluated a statement made by an African, he disdainfully dismissed the statement with the comment: "this fellow was quite black from head to foot, a clear proof that what he said was stupid" (Eze 1997). On the part of the Native Americans, Kant opined that they "cannot be educated". He calls them unmotivated, lacking effect, passion and love, describing them as too weak for labour, unfit for any culture, and too phlegmatic for diligence. He said the Native Americans are "far below the Negro, who undoubtedly holds the lowest of all remaining levels by which we designate the different races". Kant stated that "Americans and Blacks cannot govern themselves. They thus serve only for slaves.

Kant was an opponent of miscegenation, believing that whites would be "degraded" and the "fusing of races" is undesirable, for "not every race adopts the morals and customs of the Europeans". He stated that "instead of assimilation, which was intended by the melting together of the various races, Nature has here made a law of just the opposite". He believed that in the future all races would be extinguished, except that of the whites.

### **Self – Assessment Exercises 3**

In not more than 5 minutes, answer the following to appraise your level understanding so far.

1. The famous book in which listed several conditions that he thought necessary for ending wars and creating a lasting peace is titled \_\_\_\_\_?
2. The number of proposals Kant offered as a prerequisite for perpetual peace are \_\_\_\_\_?
3. Kant's nationality is \_\_\_\_\_?

### **Influence on modern thinkers**

Despite his racist proclivity, many of the ideas canvassed in Kant's *Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch* have influenced prominent scholars in psychology, philosophy, international politics and other fields.

## 2.6. Summary

In this unit, the philosophical thoughts of Immanuel Kant were discussed and this led to the discovery that his idea that has tremendous bearing on the contemporary international system was his proposal for a world republican government and international organization. This is why his critics disdainfully dismissed his view as idealist and unrealizable.

## 2.7 References/Further Readings/Web Resources

Eze, E. C. (1997). *Postcolonial African Philosophy: A Critical Reader*. Wiley. pp. 103–131. ISBN 978-0-631-20339-1

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Immanuel\\_Kant](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Immanuel_Kant)

.Kant, I. (1795). *Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch*. repr. in H. Reiss (1992) (ed.), *Kant's Political Writings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.(93-131).

## 2.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s)

### Answers to SAEs 1

1. Emmanuel
2. 1724
3. Enlightenment Thinkers

### Answers to SAEs 2

1. Constitutional Republics/International Organizations
2. Science of Rights

### Answers to SAEs 3

1. Perpetual Peace
2. Three
3. Germany

## **UNIT 3: JEREMY BENTHAM**

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Learning Outcomes
- 3.3 Early Life and Works
- 3.4 Views of the Cause of International Conflict
- 3.5 Proposal for Peace in the International System
- 3.6 Summary
- 3.7 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 3.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

### **3.1. Introduction**

This unit examines the philosophical views of Jeremy Bentham concerning the worrying trend of conflict plaguing the contemporary international system. The unit reveals that his famed prescription for the greatest happiness for the greatest number motivated his proposal for peace in the contemporary international system through the abolition of imperialism and the establishment of a “common tribunal” to regulate the savagery of states.

### **3.2. Learning Outcomes**

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- i. Establish the connection between imperialism and international conflict.
- ii. Explain Bentham’s principle of utilitarianism
- iii. Discuss Bentham’s ideas on the contemporary international system

### **3.3. Life and Works**

Jeremy Bentham was born on 15 February 1748 in Houndsditch London to a wealthy family and attended Westminster School in 1760, at age 12. He completed his bachelor's degree in 1763

and his master's degree in 1766 from The Queen's College, Oxford. He trained as a lawyer and was called to the bar in 1769 but never practiced. Bentham died on 6 June 1832 at the age of 84 at his residence in Queen Square Place in Westminster London, England. He had continued to write up to a month before his death

Bentham today is considered as the "Father of Utilitarianism which took for its "fundamental axiom" to be the notion that "it is the greatest happiness of the greatest number that is the measure of right and wrong" (Bentham). Bentham was a rare major figure in the history of philosophy to endorse psychological egoism. He was also a determined opponent of religion, as Crimmins observes: "Between 1809 and 1823 Jeremy Bentham carried out an exhaustive examination of religion with the declared aim of extirpating religious beliefs, even the idea of religion itself, from the minds of men.

### **Self – Assessment Exercises 1**

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not you more than 5 minutes.

1. Jeremy Bentham was trained as \_\_\_\_\_ which he did not practice?
2. Bentham is today considered as the father of \_\_\_\_\_?
3. Jeremy Bentham was a determined opponent of \_\_\_\_\_?

### **3.4. Bentham's view of conflict in the international system**

The cornerstone of all Bentham's thought is his principle of utilitarianism, or "greatest happiness principle". By "happiness," he implied a predominance of "pleasure" over "pain." He considered conflict as a form of pain and concerned himself with how to replace it with peace which considered as pleasure. In the light of this concern, Bentham's notable contribution to the development of the contemporary international system was his loud opposition to imperialism and his prescription for "common tribunal" to regulate the savagery of states. Bentham viewed imperialism as a disturbance of peace in the international system. He therefore, attributed

international conflict to imperialism and expressly condemned it in many of his writings from the early 1790s onwards. For instance, in his 1793 pamphlet *Emancipate Your Colonies* he critiqued France's colonial expeditions. In the early 1820s, he argued that the liberal government in Spain should emancipate its New World colonies. In the essay *Plan for an Universal and Perpetual Peace*, Bentham argued that Britain should emancipate its New World colonies and abandon its colonial ambitions. He argued that empire was bad for the greatest number in the Metropole and the colonies. According to Bentham, empire was financially unsound and entailed taxation on the poor in the metropole. He also criticized empire for unnecessary expansion in the military apparatus, which undermined the security of the metropole, simply because of what he described as the "misguided ideas of honour and glory".

### **Self – Assessment Exercises 2**

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not you more than 5 minutes.

1. \_\_\_\_\_ is what Bentham implied as a predominance of pleasure over pain?
2. Bentham attributed international conflict to \_\_\_\_\_?

### **3.5. Bentham's Proposal for Peace**

Reacting to the prevailing barbarity of the eighteenth-century international system, Bentham advocated the establishment of a common tribunal as a means of settling international disputes. Citing the federal states such as the German *Diet*, the American Confederation, and the Swiss League to buttress his position, the English legal luminary famously contended that "between the interests of nations there is nowhere any real conflict". But instead of a world government that underlines the idealist school of thought, he preferred a law – governed international system which he believed was capable of addressing the specific problem of the tendency among states to resort to war.

So to Jeremy Bentham, the establishment of a common tribunal would nullify the necessity for war which emanated from a difference of opinion (Luard 1992: 416). Like many idealist thinkers after him, Bentham showed that federal states such as the German Diet, the American Confederation, and the Swiss League were able to transform their identity from one based on conflicting interests to a more peaceful federation. Essentially, his plans for a permanent peace imply an extension of the social contract between individuals in domestic society to states in the international system. This in other words, implies subjecting the states to a system of legal rights and duties. Thus, rather than a world government, Bentham crucially differed from his idealist compeers in believing that a law-governed international society could emerge through a common tribunal.

### **Self – Assessment Exercises 3**

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not you more than 5 minutes.

1. Bentham advocated the establishment of \_\_\_\_\_ as a means of settling international disputes?
2. Instead of a world government that underlines the idealist school of thought, Bentham preferred \_\_\_\_\_?

### **3.6. Summary**

The unit examined the views of Jeremy Bentham on the contemporary international system. His characteristic utilitarian view motivated him to prescribe the elimination of imperialism which blamed for the international conflict and barbarity which to him constituted the pain of the eighteenth century international system. His proposal for peace was the establishment of a common tribunal in the form international court to regulate what he described as the savagery of states and usher in peace in the world.

### **3.7 References/Further Readings/Web Resources**

Bentham, J. (1821). . *On the Liberty of the Press, and Public Discussion*. London: Hone.

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jeremy\\_Bentham](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jeremy_Bentham).

### **3.8. Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s)**

#### **Answers to SAEs 1**

1. A Lawyer
2. Utilitarianism
3. Religion

#### **Answers to SAEs 2**

1. Happiness
2. Imperialism

#### **Answers to SAEs 3**

1. A Common Tribunal
2. A Law – Governed International System



## **UNIT 4: KARL MARX**

### **Unit Structure**

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Learning Outcomes
- 4.3 Karl Marx's Biography
- 4.4 Marx's Idea on International Conflict
- 4.5 Marx's Proposal for International Peace
- 1.6 Summary
- 1.7 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 1.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

### **4.1. Introduction**

In this unit, effort is made to establish the contribution of Karl Marx to the development of the contemporary international system. This is contrary to the view predominately held by both the realists and neo – realists who disparage Marxism as having little if anything to offer in the study of International Relations. The upshot of their assumption is that Marx's idea focused primarily on how the societies have interacted with nature rather than on how they have interacted with each other in ways that led to major wars (Linklater 2005). But this is misleading as it has since been established that the idea of Marx has exerted great influence on the contemporary international system. This relates to his position that the path to universal cooperation and freedom is for the international proletariat to lead the struggle for the reduction and eradication of alienation, exploitation and estrangement which are both the root cause and the purveyors of global inequality and conflict. Against this backdrop, this unit reveals that the contribution of Marx to the study of international relations was his emphasis on the social forces that would dismantle the structures of material inequalities and bring about the emancipation of the mass of humanity from domination and exploitation.

### **4.2. Learning Outcomes**

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

- i. Discuss the contribution of Karl Marx to the study of international relations;
- ii. Distinguish the differences between the ideas of Karl Marx and the traditional view of international relations; and
- iii. Understand the basis why the realist thinkers were largely disparaging about the Marxist ideas on the path of achieving a classless (i. e. “good”) society.

### **4.3. Brief Biography of Karl Marx**

Karl Heinrich Marx was born in Trier, Germany on 5 May 1818 as a German – Jew philosopher, economist, historian, sociologist, political theorist, journalist, critic of political economy, and socialist revolutionary. Karl Marx has a Jewish diasporic origin as his father Heinrich Marx was a Jew with a comfortably upper class income and his mother Henriette Pressburg was a Dutch Jew from a prosperous business family.

Little was known of Marx’s childhood probably because he was privately educated by his father until 1830 when he entered Trier High School (Gymnasium zu Trier [de]), whose headmaster, Hugo Wytttenbach, was a friend of his father. By employing many liberal humanists as teachers, Wytttenbach incurred the anger of the local conservative government. Subsequently, police raided the school in 1832 and discovered that literature espousing political liberalism was being distributed among the students. Considering the distribution of such material a seditious act, the government instituted reforms and replaced several staff during Marx's attendance. When Marx turned the age of 17 in October 1835, he travelled to the University of Bonn wishing to study philosophy and literature, but his father insisted on law as a more practical field (Nicolaievsky & Maenchen-Helfen 1976).

Sequel to his deteriorating academic performance, his father forced his transfer to University of Berlin where he soon afterwards, rebelled against his father’s choice of law and joined a group of radical thinkers known as the Young Hegelians in 1837. Marx was particularly fascinated by Hegel’s ideas on dialectics which he promptly adopted to criticize establishment, politics and religion from a left – wing point of view. Marx’s radical views against constituted authorities through his publications in *Rheinische Zeitung* newspaper attracted the ire of many European governments particularly the Russian monarch, Tsar Nicholas 1 and consequently led the Prussia government to banish him. Having become stateless, Marx left with his family in early June

1849 for London where they lived in exile for decades and met his intellectual comrade – in – arm Friedrich Engels who was a German philosopher. Soon, both collaborated in developing his thoughts and publishing his writings about society, economics, and politics, collectively understood as Marxism today with the underlining argument that human societies develop through class conflict.

During the last decade of his life, Marx's health declined and he became incapable of the sustained effort that had characterised his previous work. He eventually died on 14 March 1883.

Marx's ideas have had a profound impact on world politics and intellectual thought. Followers of Marx have often debated among themselves over how to interpret Marx's writings and apply his concepts to the modern world.<sup>[261]</sup> The legacy of Marx's thought has become contested between numerous tendencies, each of which sees itself as Marx's most accurate interpreter. In the political realm, these tendencies include political theories such as Leninism, Marxism–Leninism, Trotskyism, Maoism, Luxemburgism, and libertarian Marxism and Open Marxism. Various currents have also developed in academic Marxism, often under influence of other views, resulting in structuralist Marxism, historical materialism, phenomenological Marxism, analytical Marxism, and Hegelian Marxism.

Politically, Marx's legacy is more complex. Throughout the 20th century, revolutions in dozens of countries labelled themselves "Marxist"—most notably the Russian Revolution, which led to the founding of the Soviet Union. Major world leaders including Vladimir Lenin, Mao Zedong, Fidel Castro, Salvador Allende, Josip Broz Tito, Kwame Nkrumah, Jawaharlal Nehru, Nelson Mandela, Xi Jinping, Jean-Claude Juncker, and Thomas Sankara have all cited Marx as an influence. Beyond where Marxist revolutions took place, Marx's ideas have informed political parties worldwide. In countries associated with Marxism, some events have led political opponents to blame Marx for millions of deaths, while others argue for a distinction between the legacy and influence of Marx specifically, and the legacy and influence of those who have shaped his ideas for political purposes. Arthur Lipow describes Marx and his collaborator Friedrich Engels as "the founders of modern revolutionary democratic socialism."

## Self – assessment Exercises 1

Attempt the following exercises to demonstrate your understanding of taught so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

1. Karl Marx was born in the year \_\_\_\_\_?
2. Karl Marx studied \_\_\_\_\_ in the University of Bonn and \_\_\_\_\_ in the University of Berlin?
3. In 1837, Marx joined a group of radical thinkers known as \_\_\_\_\_ at the University of Berlin?

### 4.4. Marx's Idea on International Conflict

Karl Marx began his diagnosis of international conflict in the *Communist Manifesto* (1848) where in collaboration with Engels they asserted that:

The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebian, lord and serf, guild – master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes.

By this he meant that conflict has being integral part of the recorded history of human society and attributed the persistence of conflict to the problem of alienation arising from the exploitation of labour and aggravated by the capitalist mode of production. According to him, the possibility that one may give up ownership of one's own labour – one's capacity to transform the world – is tantamount to being alienated from one's own nature and it is a spiritual loss. The process of alienation is fostered by capitalist mode of production which “mediates social relationships of production (such as among workers or between workers and capitalists) through commodities, including labour that are bought and sold on the market”.

Marx's idea on material inequalities as the underlining cause of conflict largely influenced the dependency theory of International Relations which consequently forced students of the discipline to “analyse the material inequalities which are at least partly the result of the

organization of the capitalist world economy and to argue for a moral engagement with the problem of global inequality” (Linklater 2005, p.126). In addition, the theory has been instrumental to the raging voices for a critical engagement with the world – for not only interpreting the world but with trying to understand how to change it. Essentially, the inquiry into global inequality may be considered as one of the contributions of Marx and his many disciples from the far – right European states and the third world countries.

The emphasis of the Marxist ideas on conflict is that internationalization of relations of production in the modern capitalist era and the forms of global governance perpetuate inequalities of power and wealth. As such, hegemony in the contemporary international system is maintained through forms of close cooperation between powerful elites, otherwise called international ruling class inside the core regions of the world system and through the growing network of international economic and political which responsible global governance. Such international economic and political institutions of global governance are not restricted to the United Nations and the World Trade organizations, including the Bretton Woods institutions – International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. From this standpoint, international organizations and other related institutions of global governance are considered significant by the Marxists in the contemporary international systems based on the following grounds:

- i. They act as a tool for the enhancement of the interest of the international ruling class, which in the contemporary global society is represented by the bourgeoisie class in the advanced capitalist societies. It does this by espousing policies that are most often favourable to this ruling class. The argument becomes portent when we x-ray for instance, the roles of the United Nations in the Gulf War vis-à-vis the economic interest of the West in the Gulf Region.
- ii. They provide the needed mechanism for cushioning intra – class rivalry among the dominant bourgeois class located in various states. They do this in the areas of trade, monetary and collective security fields. Thus, the essence of peacekeeping is to prevent a potential clash between the international bourgeois classes. In the area of trade, international organizations ensure through the structure of trading rules and regulations, that the competition among the various bourgeois class located in different territories does not become mutually destructive.

- iii. International Organizations from the Marxist perspective have also become important in International Relations by providing the international peripheral bourgeois class located in the Third World societies with the necessary forum to mount pressure and extract concessions from the dominant international bourgeois class.

By implication, the Marxists argue that this international peripheral bourgeoisie class sees international organization such as the United Nations as an opportunity to parley with their imperial masters at a presumed level of equality. Therefore from the Marxist view, international organization represents nothing but the balance of class forces in international arena.

### **Self – Assessment Exercises 2**

Attempt the following exercises to demonstrate your understanding of taught so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

1. Karl Marx began his diagnosis of international conflict in his work titled \_\_\_\_\_?
2. Marx's intellectual comrade – in – arm with whom he authored many of his writings is known as \_\_\_\_\_?
3. Marx attributed international conflict to \_\_\_\_\_?

### **4.5. Karl Marx's Idea on International Peace**

Based on his diagnosis of international conflict, Karl Marx forged ahead to prescribe enduring remedies that will create a path for international peace. He was particularly interested in the social forces that would not only bring about the downfall of modern capitalism but also dismantle the structures of domination, alienation and exploitation. According to the Marxists, these social forces that would focus on the role of counter – hegemonic political forces in the global order will essentially consist of various groups which are opposed to a world system which produces among other things massive global inequalities and damaged to the natural environment (Gamble 1999). Karl Marx identifies the counter – hegemonic political forces as the

international proletariat who he urged to unite and overthrow the international ruling class to paved the way for the entrenchment of the Enlightenment ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity in an entirely new world order which would free all human beings from exploitation and domination (Marx and Engels 1985). In other words, the Marxist thinking is that a united international working class would successfully launch a revolutionary action against the structures of global inequality and should therefore not hesitate in doing so just that as they have nothing to lose but the chain of their oppression, exploitation, subjugation, domination, poverty, and persistent conflict.

The Marxist thinking is that the triumph of capitalism would be short – lived as it conceives within its womb the seed of its destruction. In other words, the inexorable internal contradiction of capitalism in the form conflict and competition will eventually erode the foundations of the international system which the Marxist consider as a precondition for a universal emancipation characterized by not only the reduction of class inequalities but the democratization of all dimensions of social, economic and political life (Habermas 1979). The projection by the Marxists is that capitalism like “all that is solid eventually melts into air” (Marx and Engels 1985, p.224). The demise of capitalism would then create the desired fertile ground for creating a cosmopolitan world in which human beings enjoy greater freedom. Essentially, the Marxist thinking is that the proletarian revolutionary action is the sure path to global peace through the elimination of gross material inequalities and end to notion of racial or ethnic superiority. The revolutionary action by the international proletariat would also entail the dismantling of structures which perpetuate the subjection of some nations in the capitalist world economy, such as the international law, international organizations and global economic and financial institutions – the international Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the world trade Organization, etc. Above all, the proletarian revolution would lead to the abolition of private property, the end of the commodification of labour, the joint, if you like, communal ownership of the means of production and so forth (Linklater 2005).

Expectedly, the radical views of Karl Marx which geared changing the world through class struggle between the international bourgeois class and the international working class attracted sharp criticism from the mainstream international theorists who dismissed it simply because of its acclaimed economic reductionism and utopianism. More so, the Marxist tradition has been accused by the Frankfurt School of overestimating the importance of ‘labour’ for social structure

and historical change and of underestimating the role of ‘interaction’ – that is, the forms of communication which enable human beings to live together. Also, the critics are quick to observe that the Marxists are delusional to ignore the evolution of modern capitalism, its dominance across the world and its impact on international institutions and international law. They also brag that the Marxists cannot understand the structures and dynamics of global hegemony, the growth of economic inequalities and the changing fortunes of counter – hegemonic movements which defend visions of a more just world order. Consequently, the critics are assertive that Marxists were wrong in thinking that international proletarian revolutionary action is a prelude to a more peaceful, cosmopolitan world.

### **Self – Assessment Exercises 3**

Attempt the following exercises to demonstrate your understanding of what has been taught so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

1. Karl Marx identified \_\_\_\_\_ as the social forces that will bring about the downfall of modern capitalism?
2. Karl Marx recommended \_\_\_\_\_ as the means of dismantling the structures of alienation, exploitation and estrangement in the international system?
3. The Marxist thinking is the end of capitalist production will lead to \_\_\_\_\_?

### **4.6. Summary**

The unit explored the contribution of Karl Marx to the study of international relations and arrived at the conclusion that his major concern was in the area of international political economy which is characterized by asymmetries and inequalities. He attributed this to capitalist production which engenders the polarization of the world into the rich and poor through the processes of alienation of labour, exploitation of labour and estrangement. These processes have provoked a seeming endless class struggle in the form of conflict between the international bourgeois class and the international proletariat. But Marx was optimistic that a united revolutionary action by the international working class would overthrow the capitalist system and usher in a good society, a classless society guided by principle “from each according to his abilities, to each according to his need” (Sabirov 1987, p.276). The end of global capitalist production will give a decent burial



to international division of labour and give rise to a transform international society of positive peace.

#### 4.7. Reference/Further Readings/Web Resources

Gamble, A. (1999). “Marxism and Communism: Beyond Realism and Historicism”, *Review of International Studies*, 25.

Habermas, J. (1979). *Communication and the Evolution of Society*. Boston: Routledge.

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Karl\\_Marx](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Karl_Marx)

Linklater, A. (2005). “Marxism” in Scott Burchill et al (eds.), *Theories of International Relations*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Marx, K. Engels, F. (1985). “*Communist Manifesto*” in E. F. Borisov and G. I. Liman (eds.), *A Reader on Social Sciences*. Moscow: Progress Publishers.

Nicolaievsky, B. and; Maenchen-Helfen, O. (1976). *Karl Marx: Man and Fighter*. trans. Gwenda David and Eric Mosbacher. Harmondsworth and New York: Pelican. ISBN 978-1-4067-2703-6.

Sabirov, K. (1987). *What is Communism?* Moscow: Progress Publishers.

#### 4.8. Possible Answers to Self – Assessment Exercises

##### Answers to SAEs 1

1. 1818
2. Law and Philosophy
3. Young Hegelians

##### Answers to SAEs 2

1. Communist Manifesto
2. Fredrich Engels
3. Modern Capitalism

### **Answers to SAEs 3**

1. International Proletariat
2. Revolutionary Action
3. Universal Emancipation

## **UNIT 5: WOODROW WILSON**

### **Unit Structure**

- 5.1 Introduction
- 5.2 Learning Outcomes
- 5.3 Life and Works
- 5.4 Political Activism
- 5.5 Contributions to the Contemporary International System
- 5.6 Summary
- 5.7. References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 5.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

### **5.1. Introduction**

This unit is an examination of the major perspectives of Woodrow Wilson and his initiatives towards peace in the international system. The criteria he suggested as a roadmap for enduring peace in the world was repudiated as utopia in a contemporary international system of sovereign states with hegemonic and clashing interests. Nevertheless, Wilson is well remembered for his relentless efforts that ended the First World War through his initiation of the Versailles Conference that gave birth to the League Nations in 1919.

### **5.2. Learning Outcomes**

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

- i. Explain the role Woodrow Wilson played in ending the First World War
- ii. Evaluate his ideas for world peace
- iii. Analyse the foreign policy under Woodrow Wilson

### **5.3. Life and Works**

Woodrow Thomas Wilson was born in December 28, 1856 and died in February 3, 1924. He grew up in the American South, mainly in Augusta, Georgia, during the Civil War and

Reconstruction. Wilson attended Davidson College in North Carolina for the 1873–74 school year, but transferred as a freshman to the College of New Jersey (now Princeton University). He studied political philosophy and history, joined the Phi Kappa Psi fraternity, and was active in the Whig literary and debating society. He was admitted to the Georgia bar and made a brief attempt at establishing a legal practice in Atlanta in 1882. Though he found legal history and substantive jurisprudence interesting, he abhorred the day-to-day procedural aspects. After less than a year, he abandoned his legal practice to pursue the study of political science and history.

In late 1883, Wilson enrolled at the recently established Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore for doctoral studies. Wilson studied history, political science, German, and other areas. Wilson spent much of his time at Johns Hopkins writing *Congressional Government: A Study in American Politics*, which grew out of a series of essays in which he examined the workings of the federal government. He received a Ph.D. in history and government from Johns Hopkins in 1886, making him the only U.S. president who has possessed a Ph.D. After earning a Ph.D. in political science from Johns Hopkins University, Wilson taught at various colleges before becoming the president of Princeton University and a spokesman for progressivism in higher education. From 1885 to 1888, Wilson accepted a teaching position at Bryn Mawr College, a newly established women's college near Philadelphia. Wilson taught ancient Greek and Roman history, American history, political science, and other subjects.

Wilson published several works of history and political science and was a regular contributor to *Political Science Quarterly*. Wilson's textbook, *The State*, was widely used in American college courses until the 1920s. In *The State*, Wilson argued that governments could legitimately promote the general welfare "by forbidding child labour, by supervising the sanitary conditions of factories, by limiting the employment of women in occupations hurtful to their health, by instituting official tests of the purity or the quality of goods sold, by limiting the hours of labour in certain trades, (and) by a hundred and one limitations of the power of unscrupulous or heartless men to out-do the scrupulous and merciful in trade or industry. He also posited that charity efforts should be removed from the private domain and "made the imperative legal duty of the whole," a position which, according to historian Robert M. Saunders, seemed to indicate that Wilson was laying the groundwork for the modern welfare state. His third book, *Division and Reunion* (1893) became a standard university textbook for teaching mid- and late-19th century U.S. history.

## Self- Assessment Exercises 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not you more than 5 minutes.

5. Professor Woodrow was a President of \_\_\_\_\_?
  
6. Wilson abandoned his legal practice to pursue the study of \_\_\_ and \_\_\_?

### 5.4. Political activism

He was an American politician and academic who served as the 28<sup>th</sup> president of the United States from 1913 to 1921. He was a member of the Democratic Party and served as the president of Princeton University and as the governor of New Jersey before winning the 1912 presidential election. As president, Wilson changed the nation's economic policies and led the United States into World War I in 1917. He was the leading architect of the League of Nations, and his progressive stance on foreign policy came to be known as Wilsonianism.

As governor of New Jersey from 1911 to 1913, Wilson broke with party bosses and won the passage of several progressive reforms. To win the presidential nomination he mobilized progressives and Southerners to his cause at the 1912 Democratic National Convention. Wilson defeated incumbent Republican William Howard Taft and third-party nominee Theodore Roosevelt to easily win the 1912 United States presidential election, becoming the first Southerner to do so since 1848. During his first year as president, Wilson authorized the widespread imposition of segregation inside the federal bureaucracy

At the outbreak of World War I in 1914, the U.S. declared neutrality as Wilson tried to negotiate a peace between the Allied and Central Powers. He narrowly won re-election in the 1916 United States presidential election, boasting how he kept the nation out of wars in Europe and Mexico. In April 1917, Wilson asked Congress for a declaration of war against Germany in response to its policy of unrestricted submarine warfare that sank American merchant ships. Wilson nominally presided over war-time mobilization and left military matters to the generals. He instead concentrated on diplomacy, issuing the Fourteen Points that the Allies and Germany accepted as a basis for post-war peace. He wanted the off-year elections of 1918 to be a referendum endorsing his policies, but instead the Republicans took control of Congress. After the Allied victory in November 1918, Wilson went to Paris where he and the British and French leaders dominated the Paris Peace Conference. Wilson successfully advocated for the establishment of a multinational organization, the League of Nations. It was incorporated into the Treaty of Versailles that he signed. Wilson had refused to bring any leading Republican into the Paris talks, and back home he rejected a Republican compromise that would have allowed the Senate to ratify the Versailles Treaty and join the League.

### **Self – Assessment Exercises 2**

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not you more than 5 minutes.

3. Woodrow Wilson's was the leading architect of \_\_\_\_\_?
4. Wilson's progressive stance on foreign policy was popularized as \_\_\_\_?

### **5.5. Contributions to the Contemporary International System**

Wilson sought to move away from the foreign policy of his predecessors, which he viewed as imperialistic, and he rejected Taft's Dollar Diplomacy. Nonetheless, he frequently intervened in Latin American affairs, saying in 1913: "I am going to teach the South American republics to

elect good men. The 1914 Bryan–Chamorro Treaty converted Nicaragua into a de facto protectorate, and the U.S. stationed soldiers there throughout Wilson's presidency. The Wilson administration sent troops to occupy the Dominican Republic and intervene in Haiti. Wilson also authorized military interventions in Cuba, Panama, and Honduras.

Wilson took office during the Mexican Revolution, which had begun in 1911 after liberals overthrew the military dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz. Shortly before Wilson took office, Conservatives retook power through a coup led by Victoriano Huerta. Wilson rejected the legitimacy of Huerta's "government of butchers" and demanded Mexico hold democratic elections. After Huerta arrested U.S. Navy personnel who had accidentally landed in a restricted zone near the northern port town of Tampico, Wilson dispatched the Navy to occupy the Mexican city of Veracruz. A strong backlash against the American intervention among Mexicans of all political affiliations convinced Wilson to abandon his plans to expand the U.S. military intervention, but the intervention nonetheless helped convince Huerta to flee from the country. A group led by Venustiano Carranza established control over a significant proportion of Mexico, and Wilson recognized Carranza's government in October 1915.

Carranza continued to face various opponents within Mexico, including Pancho Villa, whom Wilson had earlier described as "a sort of Robin Hood. In early 1916, Pancho Villa raided the village of Columbus, New Mexico, killing or wounding dozens of Americans and causing an enormous nationwide American demand for his punishment. Wilson ordered General John J. Pershing and 4,000 troops across the border to capture Villa. By April, Pershing's forces had broken up and dispersed Villa's bands, but Villa remained on the loose and Pershing continued his pursuit deep into Mexico. Carranza then pivoted against the Americans and accused them of a punitive invasion, leading to several incidents that nearly led to war. Tensions subsided after Mexico agreed to release several American prisoners, and bilateral negotiations began under the auspices of the Mexican-American Joint High Commission. Eager to withdraw from Mexico due to tensions in Europe, Wilson ordered Pershing to withdraw, and the last American soldiers left in February 1917.

### **5.5.1. Policy of neutrality in World War I**

World War I broke out in July 1914, pitting the Central Powers (Germany, Austria-Hungary, the Ottoman Empire, and later Bulgaria) against the Allied Powers (Britain, France, Russia,

Serbia, and several other countries). The war fell into a long stalemate with very high casualties on the Western Front in France. Both sides rejected offers by Wilson and House to mediate an end to the conflict. From 1914 until early 1917, Wilson's primary foreign policy objectives were to keep the United States out of the war in Europe and to broker a peace agreement. He insisted that all U.S. government actions be neutral, stating that Americans "must be impartial in thought as well as in action, must put a curb upon our sentiments as well as upon every transaction that might be construed as a preference of one party to the struggle before another. As a neutral power, the U.S. insisted on its right to trade with both sides. However, in January 1917, the Germans initiated a new policy of unrestricted submarine warfare against ships in the seas around the British Isles, which expectedly provoked U.S. entrance into the war after Wilson had asked Congress for a declaration of war against Germany, arguing that Germany was engaged in "nothing less than war against the government and people of the United States".

### **5.5.2. The Fourteen Points**

Wilson sought the establishment of "an organized common peace" that would help prevent future conflicts. In this goal, he was opposed not just by the Central Powers, but also the other Allied Powers, who, to various degrees, sought to win concessions and to impose a punitive peace agreement on the Central Powers. On January 8, 1918, Wilson delivered a speech, known as the Fourteen Points, wherein he articulated his administration's long term war objectives. Wilson called for the establishment of an association of nations to guarantee the independence and territorial integrity of all nations—a League of Nations. Other points included the evacuation of occupied territory, the establishment of an independent Poland, and self-determination for the peoples of Austria-Hungary and the Ottoman Empire.

### **5.5.3. Midwifing the League of Nations (Versailles Peace Conference)**

After the signing of the armistice, Wilson traveled to Europe to lead the American delegation to the Paris Peace Conference, thereby becoming the first incumbent president to travel to Europe. Although Republicans now controlled Congress, Wilson shut them out. Senate Republicans and even some Senate Democrats complained about their lack of representation in the delegation. Save for a two-week return to the United States, Wilson remained in Europe for six months, where he focused on reaching a peace treaty to formally end the war. Wilson, British Prime Minister David Lloyd George, French Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau, and Italian



Prime Minister Vittorio Emanuele Orlando made up the "Big Four," the Allied leaders with the most influence at the Paris Peace Conference. Wilson had an illness during the conference, and some experts believe the Spanish flu was the cause.

Unlike other Allied leaders, Wilson did not seek territorial gains or material concessions from the Central Powers. His chief goal was the establishment of the League of Nations, which he saw as the "keystone of the whole programme. Wilson himself presided over the Committee that drafted the Covenant of the League of Nations. The Covenant bound members to respect freedom of religion, treat racial minorities fairly, and peacefully settle disputes through organizations like the Permanent Court of International Justice. Article X of the League Covenant required all nations to defend League members against external aggression. Japan proposed that the conference endorse a racial equality clause; Wilson was indifferent to the issue, but acceded to strong opposition from Australia and Britain. The Covenant of the League of Nations was incorporated into the conference's Treaty of Versailles, which ended the war with Germany, and into other peace treaties.

Aside from the establishment of the League of Nations and solidifying a lasting world peace, Wilson's other main goal at the Paris Peace Conference was that self-determination be the primary basis used for drawing new international borders. However, in pursuit of his League of Nations, Wilson conceded several points to the other powers present at the conference. Germany was required to permanently cede territory, pay war reparations, relinquish all of her overseas colonies and dependencies and submit to military occupation in the Rhineland. Additionally, a clause in the treaty specifically named Germany as responsible for the war. Wilson agreed to allowing the Allied European powers and Japan to essentially expand their empires by establishing de facto colonies in the Middle East, Africa, and Asia out the former German and Ottoman Empires; these territorial awards to the victorious countries were thinly disguised as "League of Nations mandates". The Japanese acquisition of German interests in the Shandong Peninsula of China proved especially unpopular, as it undercut Wilson's promise of self-government. Wilson's hopes for achieving self-determination saw some success when the conference recognized multiple new and independent states created in Eastern Europe, including Poland, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia.

The conference finished negotiations in May 1919, at which point the new leaders of a Democratic Germany viewed the treaty for the first time. Some German leaders favored repudiating the peace due to the harshness of the terms, though ultimately Germany signed the treaty on June 28, 1919. Wilson was unable to convince the other Allied powers, France in particular to temper the harshness of the settlement being leveled at the defeated Central Powers, especially Germany.

#### **5.5.4. Ratification debate and defeat**

Ratification of the Treaty of Versailles required the support of two-thirds of the Senate, a difficult proposition given that Republicans held a narrow majority in the Senate after the 1918 elections. Republicans were outraged by Wilson's failure to discuss the war or its aftermath with them, and an intensely partisan battle developed in the Senate. Republican Senator Henry Cabot Lodge supported a version of the treaty that required Wilson to compromise. Wilson refused. Some Republicans, including former President Taft and former Secretary of State Elihu Root, favored ratification of the treaty with some modifications, and their public support gave Wilson some chance of winning the treaty's ratification.

The debate over the treaty centered on a debate over the American role in the world community in the post-war era, and senators fell into three main groups. The first group, consisting of most Democrats, favored the treaty. Fourteen senators, mostly Republicans, were known as the "irreconcilables" as they completely opposed U.S. entrance into the League of Nations. Some of these irreconcilables opposed the treaty for its failure to emphasize decolonization and disarmament, while others feared surrendering American freedom of action to an international organization. The remaining group of senators, known as "reservationists," accepted the idea of the League, but sought varying degrees of change to ensure the protection of American sovereignty and the right of Congress to decide on going to war. Article X of the League Covenant, which sought to create a system of collective security by requiring League members to protect one another against external aggression, seemed to force the U.S. to join in any war the League decided upon. Wilson consistently refused to compromise, partly due to concerns about having to re-open negotiations with the other treaty signatories. When Lodge was on the verge of building a two-thirds majority to ratify the Treaty with ten reservations, Wilson forced his supporters to vote Nay on March 19, 1920, thereby closing the issue. Cooper says that

"nearly every League advocate" went along with Lodge, but "This effort failed solely because Wilson admittedly rejected all reservations proposed in the Senate. Thomas A. Bailey calls Wilson's action "the supreme act of infanticide".

The treaty was slain in the house of its friends rather than in the house of its enemies. In the final analysis it was not the two-thirds rule, or the "irreconcilables," or Lodge, or the "strong" and "mild" reservationists, but Wilson and his docile following who delivered the fatal stab.

### **5.5.5. Race relations**

Wilson was born and raised in the South by parents who were committed supporters of both slavery and the Confederacy. Academically, Wilson was an apologist for slavery and the southern redemption movement, and one of the foremost promoters of lost cause mythology. Wilson was the first Southerner elected president since Zachary Taylor in 1848 and the only former subject of the Confederacy. Wilson's election was celebrated by southern segregationists. At Princeton, Wilson actively dissuaded the admission of African-Americans as students. Several historians have spotlighted consistent examples in the public record of Wilson's overtly racist policies and the inclusion of segregationists in his Cabinet. Other sources claim Wilson defended segregation on "scientific" grounds in private and describe him as a man who "loved to tell racist 'darky' jokes about black Americans.

### **Accomplishments**

Wilson's idealistic foreign policy, which came to be known as Wilsonianism, also cast a long shadow over American foreign policy, and Wilson's League of Nations influenced the development of the United Nations. Saladin Ambar writes that Wilson was "the first statesman of world stature to speak out not only against European imperialism but against the newer form of economic domination sometimes described as 'informal imperialism.

Notwithstanding his accomplishments in office, Wilson has received criticism for his record on race relations and civil liberties, for his interventions in Latin America, and for his failure to win ratification of the Treaty of Versailles.

### Self – Assessment Exercises 3

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not you more than 5 minutes.

7. Wilson sought the establishment of \_\_\_\_\_ that would help prevent future conflicts?
8. Notwithstanding his accomplishments in office, Wilson has received criticism for failing to win the ratification of \_\_\_\_\_?
9. Wilson’s speech, wherein he articulated his administration's long term war objectives is known as \_\_\_\_\_

### 5.6 Summary

The unit explored the major views and contributions to the contemporary international system. There is no doubt that he was a pacifist who ignored his fragile health condition to mediate peace between the Allied Powers and the Axis Challengers who were the protagonists of the First World War. His statesmanship and commitment to world peace resulted in the establishment of the League of Nations and the end of that catastrophic war. Yet, his views were classified as utopia because of the polarized nature of the international system.

### 5.7.References/Further Readings/Web Resources.

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Woodrow\\_Wilson](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Woodrow_Wilson)

### 5.8. Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s) within the content

#### Answers to SAEs 1

5. United States of America
6. Political Science and History

## **Answers to SAEs 2**

1. The League of Nations
2. Wilsonianism

## **Answers to SAEs 3**

1. An Organised Common Peace
2. The League of Nations
3. The Fourteen Points

## **UNIT 6: JOHN A. HOBSON**

- 6.1 Introduction
- 6.2 Learning Outcomes
- 6.3 Life and Works
- 6.4 Political Activism
- 6.5 Contributions to the Contemporary International System
- 6.6 Summary
- 6.7 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 6.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

### **6.1. Introduction**

John Atkinson Hobson was an English economist and social scientist. He is well remembered for both his incisive writing on imperialism, which tremendously influenced Vladimir Lenin, and his theory of underconsumption (Hobson 1987). After covering the Second Boer War as a correspondent for *The Manchester Guardian*, he condemned British involvement in the war and in a series of publications, he explored the associations between imperialism and international conflict and concluded that imperial expansion is driven by a search for new markets and investment opportunities overseas. Later, he argued that maldistribution of income resulted, through oversaving and underconsumption, in unemployment and that the remedy was in eradicating the "surplus" by the redistribution of income by taxation and the nationalization of monopolies. He remorselessly opposed the First World War and advocated the formation of a world political body to prevent future wars.

### **6.2. Learning Outcomes**

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- i. Explain Hobson's proposal for peace in the contemporary international system,

- ii. Discover the suggestion by Hobson to prevent future wars, and
- iii. Discuss the alleged connection between colonial imperialism and international conflict.

### **6.3. Early life and Academic Career**

Hobson was born on 6 July 1858 in Derby to a rather prosperous newspaper proprietor William Hobson and Josephine Atkinson. He studied at Derby Grammar School, before winning an open scholarship to Lincoln College, Oxford, where he read classics and Modern Greats, graduating in 1880. After his graduation, Hobson then embarked on a teaching career in classics, English Literature and economics at schools in Faversham and Exeter. J. A. Hobson was married to an American woman, Florence Edgar, and eventually settled in London in 1887.

John Hobson relocated to London in 1887 when England was in the midst of a major economic depression and soon befriended several of the prominent Fabians who would found the London School of Economics, some of whom he had known at Oxford (Coats 1993). However, none of these groups proved persuasive enough for Hobson; rather it was his collaboration with a friend, the businessman and mountain climber Albert F. Mummery that would produce Hobson's contribution to economics: the theory of under-consumption in 1889, which was a scathing criticism of Say's law and classical economics' emphasis on thrift.

#### **Self – Assessment Exercises 1**

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

1. John Hobson's incisive writing on imperialism, tremendously influenced \_\_\_\_\_?
2. The thrust of Hobson's argument is that \_\_\_\_\_ is driven by a search for new markets and investment opportunities overseas?

### **6.4. Association of imperialism with international conflict**

During his coverage of the Second Boer War as the South African correspondent of *The Manchester Guardian* newspaper, Hobson began to form the idea that imperialism was the direct result of the expanding forces of modern capitalism. He accused the mine owners, led by Cecil Rhodes of wanting to control the Transvaal by manipulating the British into fighting the Boers so that they could maximize their profits from mining.

Consequently, in his subsequent publications Hobson strongly condemned the conflict and demonstrated an exploration of the associations between imperialism and international conflict. These works included *War in South Africa* (1900) and *Psychology of Jingoism* (1901). In what is arguably his magnum opus, *Imperialism* (1902), he espoused the view that imperial expansion is driven by a quest for new markets and investment opportunities overseas. As a result, the explosive content of the book *Imperialism* earned Hobson an international reputation, and influenced such notable thinkers as Vladimir Lenin and Leon Trotsky, and Hannah Arendt's *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (1951). In his next major work, *The Industrial System* (1909), he argued that maldistribution of income resulted, through oversaving and underconsumption, in unemployment and that the remedy was in eradicating the "surplus" by the redistribution of income by taxation and the nationalization of monopolies.

### **Self – Assessment Exercises 2**

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not you more than 5 minutes.

1. Hobson's idea is that \_\_\_\_\_ was the direct result of the expanding forces of modern capitalism?
2. In his several publications Hobson strongly demonstrated an exploration of the associations between imperialism and \_\_\_\_\_?



### 6.5. Proposal for world peace

Hobson strongly opposed the First World War but ironically did not support the League of Nations. Instead, he advocated the formation of a world political body to prevent future wars. This was categorically embedded in his piece *Towards International Government* published during the onset of First World War in 1914. In addition to a world political body, Hobson also advocated free trade as a footpath to peace among nations.

John Hobson distinguished himself as a prolific writer through several publications during the very late 19th century. Prominent amongst these works included *Problems of Poverty* (1891), *Evolution of Modern Capitalism* (1894), *Problem of the Unemployed* (1896) and *John Ruskin: Social Reformer* (1898). In both his nineteenth century and twentieth century writings, Hobson did not hesitate to expose his quality as a voracious commentator and staunch critic of territorial expansion for economic exploitation and social inequality as precipitants of conflict. John Hobson died on April 1, 1940.

### Self – Assessment Exercises 3

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not you more than 5 minutes.

1. Hobson strongly opposed the First World War but ironically did not support \_\_\_\_\_?
2. Hobson's proposal to prevent future wars was \_\_\_\_\_?

### 6.6 Summary

John Hobson attributed war to exploitation and imperialism and this informed his proposal for peace which he anchored on a world political body, such as a world government to prevent future wars.

## 6.7 References/Further Readings/Web Resources

Coats, A. W. (1993) (1967). *"Alfred Marshall and the Early Development of the London School of Economics"*. *The sociology and professionalization of economics*. Vol. 2. Routledge. ( p. 195)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/J.\\_A.\\_Hobson](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/J._A._Hobson)

## 6.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s)

### Answers to SAEs 1

1. Vladimir Lenin
2. Imperial expansion

### Answers to SAEs 2

1. Imperialism
2. International conflict

### Answers to SAEs 3

1. The League of Nations
2. The formation of a world political body

## **MODULE 3: THE REALIST ANCESTORS**

### **Introduction**

In this module, attempt was made to walk through some ancient thinkers whose thoughts tremendously influenced the events and the development of the contemporary international system. The realist kind of thinking in the international system is essentially a counterposition of the idealist postulations. It is based on the assumption that the international system is anarchy and that security and survival of states are dependent on military strength translated in raw power to maximize supremacy through invasion and occupation of territories. The contemporary international system has been characterized by a precarious order and the sheer absence of justice and this compelled the realist to insist that “there can be no progress, no law, and no justice where there is no common power” (Dunne 1997). As a result, the realist ancestors and even their progenies have not been hospitable to the idealist ancestors. The views of some of the ancestors who represent the mouthpiece of realist thinking are examined below.

### **UNIT I: THUCYDIDES**

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Learning Outcomes
- 1.3 Empires and City – States
- 1.4 The Rise of Independent Nation Sates
- 1.5 The Twentieth Century International System
- 1.6 The Post – Cold War International System
- 1.6 Summary
- 1.7 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 1.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

## 1.1. Introduction

Thucydides (c. 460 – c. 400 BC) was an Athenian historian and general. His thoughts were embedded in his *History of the Peloponnesian War* where he recounted the fifth-century BC war between Sparta and Athens until the year 411 BC. His arguments in that writing made him to be christened as both the father of "scientific history" by those who accept his claims to have applied strict standards of impartiality and evidence-gathering and analysis of cause and effect, without reference to intervention by the deities, as outlined in his introduction to his work and the father of the school of political realism, which views the political behavior of individuals and the subsequent outcomes of relations between states as ultimately mediated by, and constructed upon, fear and self-interest (Strauss 1964). Harloe et al (2012) opine that his text, *The Melian Dialogue* regarded as a seminal work of international relations theory is still today being studied across universities and military colleges in the worldwide. More generally, Thucydides developed an understanding of human nature to explain behavior in such crises as plagues, massacres, and civil war. All these have formed the foundation stone of realist perspectives of the contemporary international system.

## 1.2. Learning Outcomes

By the end of this unit, you will be in a position to:

- i. Explain the thrust of the realist ancestors of contemporary international system,
- ii. Distinguish the realist ancestors from the idealist ancestors, and
- iii. Assess the applicability of the views of the realist ancestors in the contemporary international system.

## 1.3. Life

Thucydides had a doubtful and controversial background. Thus, there is no straight account about his biography. The most reliable information available is contained in his own *History of the Peloponnesian War*, in which he introduced himself as an Athenian born in Halimous (the present Alimos) and his father, Olorus. He was born in c. 460 BC and died in c. 400 BC. Thucydides was a general of the Peloponnesian War and was exiled by the democracy.

According to his account, while still a youth of 10–12 years, he and his father had gone to the agora of Athens where the young Thucydides heard a lecture by the historian Herodotus. He was greatly touched that the young Thucydides wept with joy after hearing the lecture, deciding that writing history would be his life's calling. The same account also claims that after the lecture, Herodotus told the lad's father, Oloros "your son yearns for knowledge". In all essence, the episode is most likely from a later Greek or Roman account of his life.

### **Self – Assessment Exercises 1**

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not you more than 5 minutes.

1. Thucydides' thoughts were embedded in his book titled\_\_\_\_\_?
2. Thucydides (c. 460 – c. 400 BC) was an Athenian \_\_\_\_\_?
3. Thucydides has been as the father of the school of \_\_\_\_\_?

#### **1.4. Prevailing international system that shaped Thucydides' ideas**

What we call international relations Thucydides saw as the inevitable competitions and conflicts between ancient Greek city-states (which together composed the cultural-linguistic civilization known as Hellas) and between Hellas and neighbouring non-Greek empire, such as Macedonia or Persia. Neither the states of Hellas nor their non-Greek neighbours were in any sense equal. On the contrary, they were substantially unequal: there were few 'great powers'-such as Athens, Sparta, the Persian empire-and many smaller and lesser powers-such as the tiny island statelets of the Aegean sea. That inequality was considered to be inevitable and natural. A distinctive feature of Thucydides brand of realism is thus its naturalist character. For instance, when Aristotle said that "man is a political animal", Thucydides added in effect that political animals are highly unequal in their powers and capabilities to dominate others and to defend themselves. He argued that all states, large and small, must adapt to that natural, given reality of unequal power and conduct themselves accordingly. He believed that if states do that, they will survive and perhaps even prosper but if states fail to do that, they will place themselves in harm's way

and may even be annihilated. Ancient history is full of many examples of states and empires, small and large, which experience such tragic end.

Every thinker is a product of his social milieu and is therefore, greatly by the existential imperative of their time. As such the thoughts of Thucydides were shaped by the international relations in the Ancient Greece. The account by Holsti (1998, p. 38 – 39) revealed that:

The Greeks established the Hellenic league....and placed it under the leadership of Sparta and Athens. Despite the semblance of Greek unity during the Persian Wars (492 – 477 BC) there were serious conflicts between members of the League, many occasioned by the smaller city – states’ fear of Athenian imperialism and expansion. Thus, after the Greek victories over the Persians, Athens’ competitors, led by Sparta, formed a rival organization, the Peloponnesian League, an intricate alliance and collective security system designed to deter further Athenian expansion.... A bitter competition over trade and naval supremacy between Corinth and Athens led ultimately to the Peloponnesian Wars involving the two military alliances.

So based on this uncanny international climate, Thucydides had to his thoughts on the conduct of relations among states in the international system.

### **Self – Assessment Exercises 2**

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not you more than 5 minutes.

1. Thucydides described international relations as the inevitable \_\_\_\_\_and \_\_\_\_\_?
2. Thucydides’ thoughts were shaped by the international relations in the ancient

### **1.5. Foreign policy decisions**

Thucydides emphasizes the limited choice and the restricted sphere of maneuver available to states people in the conduct of foreign policy. He also emphasizes that decisions have consequences. Thus, before any final decision is made a decision maker should have carefully thought through the likely consequences, had as well as good. In pointing that out, Thucydides is also emphasizing the ethics of caution and prudence in the conduct of foreign policy in an international system of great inequality, of restricted foreign-policy choices, and of ever-present danger as well as opportunity.

In view of this admonition by this sage, foresight, prudence, caution, and judgment have become the characteristic political ethics of realism which Thucydides and most other classical realists are at pains to distinguish from private morality and the principle of justice. The bottom line however, is that if a country and its government wishes to survive and prosper in the wilderness of the international system, they had better pay attention to these fundamental political maxims.

Just like Greek compeers, Thucydides abhors equality principle. He stressed this point in his famous study of the Peloponnesian War (431-404 BC) where he put his realist philosophy into the mouths of the leaders of Athens – a great power – in their dialogue with the leaders of Melos – a minor power – during a moment of conflict between the two city – states in 416 BC. Robert et al (1999) however pointed out that the Melians made an appeal to the principle of justices, which to them meant that their honour and dignity as an independent state should be respected by the powerful Athenians. But according to Thucydides, justice is of a special kind in international relations. It is not about equal treatment for all; it is about knowing your proper place, about adapting to the natural reality of unequal power. Thucydides therefore let the Athenians reply to the Melian appeal in the following words:

The standard of justice depends on the equality of power to compel and that in fact the strong do what they have to do and the weak accept what they have to accept ... this is the safe rule – to stand up to one's equals, to behave with deference to one's superiors, and to treat one's inferiors with moderation. Think it over again, then, when we have withdrawn from the meeting, and let this be a point that constantly, recurs to your minds – that you are discussing the fate of your country, that

you have only one country, and that its future for good or ill depends on this one single decision you are going to make.

That is probably the most famous example of the classical realist understanding of international relations as basically anarchy of separate states that have no real choice except to operate according to the principles and practices of power politics in which security and survival are the primary values and war is the final arbiter.

### Self – Assessment Exercises 3

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

1. Thucydides perceived international system as an arena of \_\_\_\_\_?
2. Thucydides abhors \_\_\_\_\_ principle?

### 1.6. Summary

The thoughts of Thucydides were based on practical experience as a general during the Peloponnesian Wars where he witnessed perpetrated by man against man for survival. As a result, he arrived at the conclusion that power is the driving force in state relations and state leaders should be guided in choice of foreign policy decision making to emphasize security and power dominance.

### 1.7. References/Further Readings/Web Resources

<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thucydides>.

Strauss, L. (1964). *The City and Man* Chicago: Rand McNally,

Thucydides (1972). *History of the Peloponnesian War*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.,



## **1.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s)**

### **Answers to SAEs 1**

1. History of the Peloponnesian War
2. Historian and General
3. Political Realism

### **Answers to SAEs 2**

1. Competitions and conflicts
2. Greek City – States

### **Answers to SAEs 3**

1. Great inequality
2. Equality

## **UNIT 2: NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI**

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Learning Outcomes
- 2.3 Life and Political Career
- 2.4 Perspective on Foreign Relations
- 1.5 Perspective on the imperative of Military Strength
- 1.6 Summary
- 1.7 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 1.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

### **2.1. Introduction**

The unit examines the thoughts of Niccolò Machiavelli who was born in May 3, 1469 at Florence, Italy and died June 21, 1527 at the same Florence. He was an Italian Renaissance political philosopher and statesman, as well as secretary of the Florentine republic, whose most famous work, *The Prince (Il Principe)*, popularized him as an atheist and an immoral cynic. The central thrust of his ideas is that military strength is a major determinant of power which is prerequisite for survival in a world of betrayal and treachery.

### **2.2 Learning Outcomes**

By the end of this unit, you are expected to:

- i. Discover the political background of Machiavelli's philosophical thoughts,
- ii. Analyse Machiavelli's political philosophy, and
- iii. Explain the power politic view of Machiavelli.

### 2.3. Life and political career

Niccolo Machiavelli's father Bernardo was a doctor of laws but little is known of Niccolò's education and early life in Florence, which was at that time a thriving centre of philosophy and a brilliant showcase of the arts. He attended lectures by Marcello Virgilio Adriani, who chaired the Studio Fiorentino. He learned Latin well and probably knew some Greek, and he seems to have acquired the typical humanist education that was expected of officials of the Florentine Chancery.

Emerging from obscurity at the age of 29, Machiavelli became head of the second chancery (*cancelleria*), a post that placed him in charge of the republic's foreign affairs in subject territories. He held the post until 1512, having gained the confidence of Piero Soderini (1452–1522), the gonfalonier (chief magistrate) for life in Florence from 1502.

During his tenure at the second chancery, Machiavelli persuaded Soderini to reduce the city's reliance on mercenary forces by establishing a militia (1505), which Machiavelli subsequently organized. He also undertook diplomatic and military missions to the court of France; to Caesar Borgia (1475/76–1507), the son of Pope Alexander VI (reigned 1492–1503); to Pope Julius II (reigned 1503–13), Alexander's successor; to the court of Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I (reigned 1493–1519); and to Pisa (1509 and 1511). Altogether, Machiavelli embarked on more than 40 diplomatic missions during his 14 years at the chancery.

In 1512 the Florentine republic was overthrown and the gonfalonier deposed by a Spanish army that Julius II had enlisted into his Holy League. The Medici family returned to rule Florence, and Machiavelli, suspected of conspiracy, was imprisoned, tortured, and sent into exile in 1513 to his father's small property in San Casciano, just south of Florence. There he wrote his two major works, *The Prince which* arguably is the most famous book on politics ever written, the work that was to give the name Machiavellian to the teaching of worldly success through scheming deceit and *Discourses on Livy*, both of which were published after his death.

While he was in office, Machiavelli wrote a number of short political discourses and poems (the *Decennali*) on Florentine history. It was while he was out of office and in exile, however, that the "Florentine Secretary," as Machiavelli came to be called, wrote the works of political

philosophy, *The Prince* for which he is remembered. Other writings by Machiavelli are *Discourses on Livy*, *The Art of War* (1521), *The Life of Castruccio Castracani of Lucca* (1520), and Florentine *Histories* (*Istorie Fiorentine*, 1521).

### Self – Assessment Exercises 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not you more than 5 minutes.

1. The position that Machiavelli held which placed him in charge of foreign affairs in subject territories was known as \_\_\_\_\_?
2. Machiavelli's most famous book on politics that focused on the teaching of worldly success through scheming and deceit is titled \_\_\_\_\_?

#### 2.4. Perspective on Foreign Relations

In *The Prince* where he unleashed political philosophy, Machiavelli was metaphorical in his postulations. He employed the concept of lion to describe power and the concept of fox to refer to deception. He believes that the two phenomena are the two essential means for the conduct of foreign relations (1984, p.66). Because the supreme political value is national freedom, i.e. independence, Machiavelli is of the view that the main responsibility of rulers is always to seek the advantage and to defend the interests of their state and thus ensure its survival. But such can only be achievable if a state has the required strength. Machiavelli warned that, if a state is not strong it will be a standing invitation for others to prey upon it. Thus, the ruler must be a lion. He also stressed that diplomacy requires cunning and – if necessary – ruthlessness by statesmen in the pursuit of national interest. Aggressive disposition in his view should be complemented with deception. Thus, the ruler must also be a fox because if rulers are not astute, crafty and adroit they might miss an opportunity that could bring great advantages or benefits to them and their state. Above all, statesmen who are not deceptive might fail to notice a menace or threat which if not guarded against might harm or even destroy them, their regime, and possibly even the state as well. That is why the advice that statesmen and stateswomen must be both lions and foxes is at the heart of Machiavelli's realist postulation (1984: 66). It is also on the basis of this thinking

that classical realist perspective of the international system is essentially a theory of survival (Wight 1966).

### **Self –Assessment Exercises 2**

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not you more than 5 minutes.

1. In The Prince, Machiavelli employed the concept of lion to describe \_\_\_\_ and the concept of fox to refer to \_\_\_\_\_?
2. Machiavelli sees the adherence to Christian moral maxims by state leaders as the height of \_\_\_\_\_?

### **2.5. Perspective on the imperative of military strength**

The overriding Machiavellian assumption is that the world is a dangerous place. But it is also, by the same token, an opportune place too. If anybody hopes to survive in such a world, he or she must always be aware of dangers, must anticipate them, and must take the necessary precautions against them. And if they hope to prosper, to enrich themselves, and to bask in the reflected glory of their accumulated power and wealth, it is necessary for them to recognize and to exploit the opportunities that present themselves and to do that more quickly, more skillfully and if necessary-more ruthlessly than any of their rivals or enemies. The conduct of foreign policy is thus an instrumental or ‘Machiavellian’ activity based on the intelligent calculation of one’s power and interests as against the power and interests of rivals and competitors.

The shrewd outlook is reflected in some typical Machiavellian maxims of realist statecraft, including the following: Be aware of what is happening. Do not wait for things to happen. Anticipate the motives and actions of others. Do not wait for others to act. Act before they do. The prudent state leaders act to ward off any threat posed by his or her neighbors. He or she should be prepared to engage in pre-emptive war and similar initiatives. The realist state leader is alert to opportunities in any political situation, and is prepared and equipped to exploit them.

Above all, according to Machiavelli, the responsible state leader must not operate in accordance with the principles of Christian ethics: love thy neighbor, be peaceful, and avoid war except in self-defense or in pursuit of a just cause; be charitable, share your wealth with others,

always act in good faith, etc. Machiavelli sees these moral maxims as the height of political irresponsibility: if political leaders act in accordance with Christian virtues they are bound to come to grief and they will lose everything. He rationalized his position on his perception of worse aspects of human behaviour and so stressed that those who wish to be successful must protect themselves against the evil which others may and probably will commit. The power politics view of Machiavelli also does not believe in honouring treaties that do not protect the national interest. In advising the Prince not to keep agreements which have ceased to be in his interest, he explained that:

If men were all good, this precept would not be a good one; but as they are bad and would not observe their faith with you, so you are not bound to keep faith with them (1958:64).

He therefore argued further that in addition to losing everything, complacent state leaders will equally sacrifice the property and perhaps the freedom and even the lives of their citizens, who depend upon their statecraft. The implication is clear: if a ruler does not know or respect the maxims of power politics, his or her statecraft will fail and with it the security and welfare of the citizens who depend absolutely upon it. In other words, political responsibility flows in a very different vein than ordinary, private morality. The fundamental, overriding values are the security and the survival of the state: that is what must guide foreign policy.

Machiavelli's realist writings are sometimes portrayed (Forde 1992, p.64) as 'manuals on how to thrive in a completely chaotic and immoral world'. But that view is misleading. It overlooks the responsibilities of rulers not merely to themselves or to their personal regimes but also to their country and its citizens: what Machiavelli, thinking of Florence, refers to as 'the republic'. This is the civic virtue aspect of Machiavellian realism: rulers have to be both lions and foxes because their people depend upon them for their survival and prosperity. That dependence of the people upon their ruler, and specifically upon the wisdom of his or her foreign policy, is owing to the fact that their fate is entangled in the same state: that is the normative heart not only of Machiavellian realism but of classical realism generally.

### Self – Assessment Exercises 3

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not you more than 5 minutes.

1. The overriding Machiavellian assumption is that the world is a \_\_\_\_\_?
2. The power politics view of Machiavelli does not believe in honouring treaties that do not protect\_\_\_\_\_?

### 2.6 Summary

The unit reviewed the philosophical thoughts of Niccolo Machiavelli which stands him out as a classical realist. The thrust of his realist writings is that the world is a dangerous place which requires the art of diplomacy to survive based on the application of the tactics of power and deception. In the final analysis, what matters is that the end justifies the means.

### 2.7. References/Further Readings/Web Resources

Forde, S. (1992). “Classical Realism”, in Nardin, T and Mapel, D. (eds.), *Law, Morality and the Relations of States*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hans\\_Morgenthau](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hans_Morgenthau).

Machiavelli, N. (1961). *The Prince*. trans. G. Bull. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

### 2.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s) within the content

#### Answers to SAEs 1

1. Head of the second chancery
2. *The Prince*

### **Answers to SAEs 2**

1. Power and Deception
2. Political irresponsibility

### **Answers to SAEs 3**

1. Dangerous place.
2. The national interest



## **UNIT 3: HANS MORGENTHAU**

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Learning Outcomes
- 3.3 Life and Political Career
- 3.4 Morgenthau's Realism
- 3.5. Morgenthau's Notion of the Statecraft
- 3.6. Summary
- 3.7. References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 3.8. Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

### **3.1. Introduction**

The unit explores the ideas of Hans Joachim Morgenthau on the international system. He became one of the major twentieth-century figures in the study of international relations whose works belong to the tradition of realism. As Specter (2022) noted he is usually considered among the most influential realists of the post-World War II period. His *Politics Among Nations* (1948) made landmark contributions to international relations theory and the study of international law. This is sequel to his emphasis on the centrality of power and "the national interest," the subtitle of *Politics Among Nations* -- "the struggle for power and peace" -- indicates his concern not only with the struggle for power but the ways in which it is limited by ethics, norms, and law (Morgenthau 1967).

### **3.2. Learning Outcomes**

At the end of this unit, you will be to:

- i. Describe Morgenthau's realist view of the international system,
- ii. Establish the relationships between Morgenthau's realism and Machiavelli's political realism,
- iii. Discuss Morgenthau's notion of statecraft.

### **3.3. Life and political career**

Morgenthau was born in an Ashkenazi Jewish family in Coburg, Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, Germany in February 17, 1904. Before his death in July 19, 1980, he became a jurist and political scientist. After attending the Casimirianum, he continued his education at the universities of Berlin, Frankfurt, and Munich. He received his doctorate in 1929 with a thesis entitled *International Jurisdiction: Its Nature and Limits*, and pursued postdoctoral work at the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva, Switzerland.

He taught and practiced law in Frankfurt before relocating to the United States in 1937, after several interim years in Switzerland and Spain. One of his first jobs in the U.S. was teaching night school at Brooklyn College. From 1939 to 1943, Morgenthau taught in Kansas City and taught at Keneseth Israel Shalom Congregation there (Behr and Roesch 2012). Morgenthau then was a professor at the University of Chicago until 1973, when he took a professorial chair at the City University of New York (CUNY).

On moving to New York, Morgenthau separated from his wife, who remained in Chicago partly because of medical issues. He is reported to have tried to initiate plans to start a new relationship while in New York, with Ethel Person (ibid. 2012), a psychiatrist at Columbia University.

On October 8, 1979, Morgenthau was one of the passengers on board Swissair Flight 316 destined for Bombay and Peking, which crashed while trying to land at Athens – Ellinikon International Airport. He died on July 19, 1980, shortly after being admitted to Lenox Hill Hospital in New York with a perforated ulcer and was buried in the Chabad section of Montefiore Cemetery, in proximity to the Lubavitcher Rebbe, with whom he had a respectful relationship (Wikipedia 5 June, 2022).

In addition to his books, Morgenthau wrote widely about international politics and U.S. foreign policy for general-circulation publications such as *The New Leader*, *Commentary*, *Worldview*, *The New York Review of Books*, and *The New Republic*. He

knew and corresponded with many of the leading intellectuals and writers of his era, such as Reinhold Niebuhr, George F. Kennan, Carl Schmitt and Hannah Arendt (Rösch 2013). At one point in the early Cold War, Morgenthau was a consultant to the U.S. Department of State when Kennan headed its Policy Planning Staff, and a second time during the Kennedy and Johnson administrations until he was dismissed by Johnson when he began to publicly criticize American policy in Vietnam. For most of his career, however, Morgenthau was esteemed as an academic interpreter of U.S. foreign policy.

### Self – Assessment Exercises 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not you more than 5 minutes.

1. Hans Morgenthau was both a \_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_ by profession?
2. Morgenthau's book that emphasized the centrality of power and national interest is titled \_\_\_\_\_?

### 3.4. Morgenthau's Realism

Morgenthau argues slightly differently in that he stresses power rather than security as the central content of the national interest. According to Morgenthau (1965), men and women are by nature political animals that are born to pursue power and to enjoy the fruits of power. By this he meant *animus dominandi*, the human 'lust' for power (Morgenthau 1965: 192). According to him, the craving for power dictates a search not only for relative advantage but also for a secure political space within which to maintain oneself and to enjoy oneself free from the political dictates of others. That is the security aspect of the *animus dominandi*. The ultimate political space within which security can be arranged and enjoyed is, of course, the independent state. Thus, to Morgenthau, security beyond the state is impossible.

The human *animus dominandi* inevitably brings men and women into conflict with each other. That creates the condition of power politics which is at the heart not only of Morgenthau's realism but of all classical and neoclassical realist conceptions of international relations. Morgenthau (1965) argues that 'politics is a struggle for power over men, and whatever its ultimate aim may be, power is its immediate goal and the modes of acquiring, maintaining, and

demonstrating it determine the technique of political action' . Here Morgenthau is clearly echoing Machiavelli and Hobbes. If people desire to enjoy a political space free from intervention or control of foreigners, they will have to mobilize their power and deploy their power for that purpose. This simply means they will have to organize themselves into a capable and effective state by means of which they can defend their interests. The system of states in turn leads to the problem of justifying power in human relations. Here again, we arrive at the central normative doctrine of classical and neoclassical realism. Morgenthau follows in the tradition of Thucydides and Machiavelli, by trying to separate morality for the private sphere from morality for the public sphere. In his view, political ethics allows some actions that would not be tolerated by private morality. This explains his disagreement the idealist theorists and practitioners, such as American President Woodrow Wilson, who believed that it was necessary for political ethics to be brought into line with private ethics (Robert and Jackson 1999). For example, in a famous address to the US Congress in 1917 President Wilson said he could discern 'the beginning of an age in which it will be insisted that the same standards of conduct and of responsibility for wrong shall be observed among nations and their governments that are observed among the individual citizens of civilized states' (Morgenthau 1965: 180).

Morgenthau considers that outlook to be not only ill-advised but also irresponsible. According to him, it is a gross intellectual mistake because it fails to appreciate the important difference between the public sphere of politics, on the one hand, and the private sphere or domestic life, on the other hand. As the classical realists had insisted, the difference is fundamental. In this regard, Machiavelli had to warn that if a ruler operated in accordance with Christian private ethics he or she would come to grief very quickly because political rivals could not be counted on to operate in the same Christian way. Thus, it would be an ill-advised and irresponsible foreign policy; and all the people who depended on the policy would suffer from the disaster it created.

Such a policy would be reckless in the extreme, and would thus constitute a moral failure because political leaders bear a very heavy responsibility for the security and welfare of their country and its people. They are not supposed to expose their people to unnecessary perils or hardship. This may be the reason why during crises or emergencies sometime for example, it may become necessary to carry out foreign policies and engage in international activities that would clearly be wrong according to private morality such as spying, lying, cheating, stealing, conspiring, etc. (Robert and Jackson 1999). These are only a few of the many activities that

would be considered at best dubious and at worst evil by the standards of private morality. Sometimes during war, for example, it may be necessary to trample on human rights for the sake of the national interest just as it may sometimes be necessary to sacrifice a lesser good for a greater good and to choose between evils. Such a tragic situation for the realists is virtually a defining feature of international politics especially during times of war. Here Morgenthau is reiterating an insight into the ethically compromised nature of statecraft that was noted by the ancient Greek philosopher Plato (1974, pp. 82- 121), who approved of the ‘noble’ lie by proposing that ‘our rulers will probably have to make considerable use of lies and deceit for the good of their subjects’. Morgenthau (1985, p. 12) echoes this point by stressing.

Realism maintains that universal moral principle cannot be applied to the actions of state in their abstract universal formulation, but that they must be filtered through the concrete circumstances of time and place. The individual may say for himself: ‘fiat justitia, pereat mundas (let justice be done even if the world perish)’, but the state has no right to say so in the name of those who are in its care.

### **Self – Assessment Exercises 2**

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not you more than 5 minutes.

1. Hans Morgenthau stresses power rather than \_\_\_\_\_ as the central content of the national interest?
2. Morgenthau defined \_\_\_\_\_ the human ‘lust’ for power?

### **3.5. Morgenthau’s Notion of the Statecraft**

For Morgenthau the heart of statecraft is thus the clear-handed knowledge that political ethics and private ethics are not the same, that the former cannot be and should not be reduced to the

latter, and that the key to effective and responsible statecraft is to recognize this fact of power politics and to learn to make the best of it. That involves statecraft of the kind that Machiavelli advocated, as well as action in defense of the state and the national interest such as Hobbes recommended.

It also involves the distinctive political ethics associated with responsible statecraft. Responsible statesmen and stateswomen are not merely free, as sovereign rulers, to act in an expedient way. They must act in full knowledge that the mobilization and exercise of political power in foreign affairs inevitably involves moral dilemmas, morally tainted acts, and sometimes evil actions. The awareness that political ends (i.e. defending the national interest during times of war) must sometimes justify morally questionable or morally tainted means (i.e. the targeting and bombing of cities) leads to situational ethics and the dictates of ‘political wisdom’ such as prudence, moderation, judgment, resolve, courage, etc. Those are the cardinal virtues of political ethics. They do not preclude evil actions. Instead, they underline the tragic dimension of international ethics: they recognize the inevitability of moral dilemmas in international politics, which indicates that evil actions must sometimes be taken to prevent a greater evil. Based on the foregoing, Morgenthau’s idea of realist statecraft that departs from that of Thucydides and Machiavelli could be summarized as follows:

### **Morgenthau’s concept of statecraft**

<b>Human nature (basic condition)</b>	<b>Political situation (means and context)</b>	<b>Political conduct (goals and values)</b>
<i>Animus dominandi</i>	Power politics	Political ethics (prudence, etc)
Self – interest	Political power	Human necessities (security, etc)
	Political circumstances	National interest
	Political skills	Balance of power

These Morgenthau’s idea of statecraft form the building block of his theory of International Relations as embedded in the ‘six principles of political realism’ (1985, p.4-7) outlined below.

- Politics is rooted in a permanent and unchanging human nature which is basically self-centered, self-regarding, and self-interested.

- Politics is ‘an autonomous sphere of action’ and cannot therefore be reduced to economics (as Marxist scholars are prone to do) or reduced to morals (as Kantian or liberal theorists are prone to do). State leaders should act in accordance with the dictates of political wisdom.
- Self-interest is a basic fact of the human condition: all people have an interest at a minimum in their own security and survival. Politics is the arena for the expression of those interests which are bound to come into conflict sooner or later. International politics is an arena of conflicting state interests. But interests are fixed: the world is in flux and interests change over time and over space. Realism is a doctrine that responds to the fact of a changing political reality.
- The ethics of international relations is a political or situational ethics which is very different from private morality. A political leader does not have the same freedom to do the right thing that a private citizen has. That is because a political leader has far heavier responsibilities than a private citizen: he is responsible to the people (typically of his country) who depend on him; he is responsible for their security and welfare. The responsible state leader should strive not to do the best but, rather, to do the best that circumstances on that particular day permit. That circumscribed situation of political choice is the normative heart of realist ethics.
- Realists are therefore opposed to the idea that particular nations – even great democratic nations such as the United States – can impose their ideologies on other nations and can employ their power in crusades to do that. Realists oppose that because they see it as a dangerous activity that threatens international peace and security. Ultimately, it could backfire and threaten the crusading country.
- Statecraft is a sober and uninspiring activity that involves a profound awareness of human limitations and human imperfections. That pessimistic knowledge of human beings as they are and not as we might wish them to be is a difficult truth that lies at the heart of international politics.

### Self – Assessment Exercises 3

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not you more than 5 minutes.

1. According to Morgenthau, the key to effective and responsible statecraft is to recognize the fact of \_\_\_\_\_?
2. One of Morgenthau's six principles of political realism' is that politics is rooted in a permanent and unchanging \_\_\_\_ which is basically self-centered, self-regarding, and self-interested?

### 3.6 Summary

Morgenthau's postulation is slightly different from the classical realist assumption in that he stresses power rather than security as the central content of the national interest. But for others this is not a significant distinction as they seem to find it difficult to distinguish between the two. The view that security is the main goal of foreign policy and the most important aspect of the national interest is, of course, shared by those who believe that the primary purpose of the state as an internal and external danger.

A further assumption is the belief that it is possible to discern where the national interest whether it be defined in terms of power or security lies. The scholar is expected to be able to see what the statesmen ought to do or ought to have done in a particular situation. This is the implication of Morgenthau's second principle of political realism which reads:

We assume that statesmen think and act in terms of interest defined as power and the evidence of history bears that assumption out. The assumption allows us to retrace and anticipate, as it were, the steps a statesman – past, present or future – has taken or will take on the political scene (Morgenthau, 1973:5).



### 3.7 References/Further Readings/Web Resources

Behr, H. and Roesch, F. (2012). Intro. to Hans Morgenthau, *The Concept of the Political*, trans M. Vidal, p. 19

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hans\\_Morgenthau](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hans_Morgenthau).

Jackson, R. and Sorensen, G. (1999). *Introduction to International Relations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Morgenthau, H. J. (1960). *Politics Among Nations*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn. New York: Knopf.

Morgenthau, H. J. (1973). "The Geopolitics of Israel's Survival," *The New Leader*, vol. 56, issue 25 December 24, pp. 4–6.

Rösch, F. (2013). "Pouvoir, Puissance, and Politics: Hans Morgenthau's Dualistic Concept of Power?" *Review of International Studies* 40, no. 2, 349-65. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0260210513000065>

Rösch, F. (2015). *Power, Knowledge, and Dissent in Morgenthau's Worldview*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan,

### 3.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s)

#### Answers to SAEs 1

1. A Jurist and Political Scientist
2. Politics Among Nations

#### Answers to SAEs 2

1. Security
2. animus dominandi,

### Answers to SAEs 3

1. Power politics
2. Human nature

## **UNIT 4: E. H. CARR**

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Learning Outcomes
- 4.3 Empires and City – States
- 4.4 The Rise of Independent Nation States
- 4.5 The Twentieth Century International System
- 4.6 Summary
- 4.7 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 4.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

### **4.1. Introduction**

In this unit, the realist views of Edward Hallett Carr in the contemporary international system were examined. The aim is to have a firm grasp of his line of thought in the discussion of the contemporary issues in world politics. He was a British historian, diplomat, journalist and international relations theorist. Carr was best known for his three explosive publications, *A History of Soviet Russia: From 1917 to 1929*, *The Twenty Years' Crisis*, and *What Is History?* He was educated at the Merchant Taylors' School, London, and then at Trinity College, Cambridge.

### **4.2. Learning Outcomes**

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- i. Ascertain the factors that influence Carr's realist orientation,
- ii. Describe Carr's realist perspective of the international system, and
- iii. Explain Carr's contribution to the theory of international relations.

### 4.3. Life and education

Carr was born in London to a middle-class family in 28 June, 1892 and died at the age of exactly 90 years in 3 November 1982. He was educated at the Merchant Taylors' School in London and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he was awarded a First Class Degree in Classics in 1916. Carr's family had originated in northern England, and his parents were Francis Parker and Jesse (née Hallet) Carr. They were initially Conservatives, but went over to supporting the Liberals in 1903 over the issue of free trade. When Joseph Chamberlain proclaimed his opposition to free trade and announced in favour of Imperial Preference, Carr's father, to whom all tariffs were abhorrent, switched his political loyalties.

From his parents, Carr inherited a strong belief in progress as an unstoppable force in world affairs, and throughout his life a recurring theme in Carr's thinking was that the world was progressively becoming a better place. In 1911, Carr won the Craven Scholarship to attend Trinity College at Cambridge. At Cambridge, Carr was much impressed by hearing one of his professor's lectures on how the Greco-Persian Wars influenced Herodotus in the writing of the *Histories*. Eventually, this great discovery by Carr was later to influence his 1961 book *What Is History?*

#### Self – Assessment Exercises 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not you more than 5 minutes.

1. Carr the historian, diplomat, journalist and international relations theorist was from \_\_\_\_\_?
2. Carr's 1961 book *What Is History?*, was influenced by the works of \_\_\_\_\_?

#### 4.4. Academic and Diplomatic Careers

In 1936, Carr became the Woodrow Wilson Professor of International Politics at the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, and is particularly known for his contribution on international relations theory. Carr's last words of advice as a diplomat were a memo urging that Britain accept the Balkans as an exclusive zone of influence for Germany. In most publications and lectures, Carr argued that the Soviet Union and France were not working for collective security but rather "a division of the Great Powers into two armored camps", supported non-intervention in the Spanish Civil War, and asserted that King Leopold III of Belgium had made a major step towards peace with his declaration of neutrality of 14 October 1936. He believes in the need to combine morality with realism. He organized anti-League lectures which began on 14 October 1936 Carr and declared that the League was ineffective.

Carr is known for his vociferous attack on idealism as a hopeless dream that could never achieve anything practical (Haslam 1999). Thus, he has unequivocally expressed a strong disagreement with what he referred to as Idealism. He juxtaposes realism and idealism and pointed out that such a belief had credibility in the nineteenth century because of expanding markets and the availability of territories for colonization. But from the start of the twentieth century there were fewer and fewer markets and states struggled to maintain their prosperity against foreign threats. The complex phenomenon known as economic nationalism swept over the world and the hollowness of the glib nineteenth century platitude that nobody can benefit from what harms another was revealed. As such the basic presupposition of Utopianism had broken down (Carr 1946, p. 62).

Carr began his political career as a diplomat in 1916. Three years later, he participated at the Paris Peace Conference as a member of the British delegation. He resigned from the Foreign Office in 1936 to begin an academic career focusing on the study of international relations and of the Soviet Union . From 1941 to 1946, Carr worked as an assistant editor at *The Times*, where he was noted for his editorials urging a socialist system and an Anglo-Soviet alliance as the basis of a post-war order

Like many of his generation, Carr found World War I to be a shattering experience as it destroyed the world he had known before 1914. He joined the British Foreign Office in 1916,

resigning in 1936 (Hughes – Warrington 2000). Carr was excused from military service for medical reasons (Haslam 1999). He was at first assigned to the Contraband Department of the Foreign Office, which sought to enforce the blockade on Germany, and then in 1917 was assigned to the Northern Department, which amongst other areas dealt with relations with Russia.

Although, at first, Carr knew nothing about the Bolsheviks, in 1919 he became convinced that the Bolsheviks were destined to win the Russian Civil War. In this regard, he expressed his approval of the Prime Minister David Lloyd George's opposition to the anti-Bolshevik ideas of the War Secretary Winston Churchill on the grounds of *realpolitik*. In 1919, Carr was part of the British delegation at the Paris Peace Conference and was involved in the drafting of parts of the Treaty of Versailles that gave birth to the League of Nations. During the conference, Carr was much offended at the Allied, especially French, treatment of the Germans, writing that the German delegation at the peace conference were "cheated over the 'Fourteen Points', and subjected to every petty humiliation". Besides working on the sections of the Versailles treaty relating to the League of Nations, Carr was also involved in working out the borders between Germany and Poland.

After the peace conference, Carr was stationed at the British Embassy in Paris until 1921, and in 1920 was awarded a CBE (Davies 1983). At first, Carr had great faith in the League, which he believed would prevent both another world war and ensure a better post-war world (Haslam 1982). In the 1920s, Carr was assigned to the branch of the British Foreign Office that dealt with the League of Nations before being sent to the British Embassy in Riga, Latvia, where he served as Second Secretary between 1925 and 1929. In 1925, Carr married Anne Ward Howe, by whom he had one son (Cobb 1999).

Because of his status as a diplomat (until 1936), most of Carr's book reviews which appeared in The Times between the period of 1929–36 were published either anonymously or under the pseudonym "John Hallett" (Colini 2008). In the early 1930s, Carr found the Great Depression to be almost as profoundly shocking as the First World War. Further increasing Carr's interest in a replacement ideology for liberalism was his reaction to hearing the debates in January 1931 at the General Assembly of the League of Nations in Geneva, Switzerland, and especially the

speeches on the merits of free trade between the Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vojislav Marinkovich and the British Foreign Secretary Arthur Henderson. It was at this time that Carr started to admire the Soviet Union.

As a diplomat in the 1930s, Carr took the view that great division of the world into rival trading blocs caused by the American Smoot–Hawley Act of 1930 was the principal cause of German belligerence in foreign policy, as Germany was now unable to export finished goods or import raw materials cheaply. So in his thinking, the only way the peace of the world could be assured was for Germany to be given its own economic zone to dominate in Eastern Europe—comparable to the British Imperial preference economic zone, the US dollar zone in the Americas, the French gold bloc zone, and the Japanese economic zone (Haslam 1999). In an essay published in February 1933 in the *Fortnightly Review*, Carr blamed what he regarded as a punitive Versailles treaty for the Adolf Hitler’s accession to power. Carr's views on appeasement caused much tension with his superior, the Permanent Undersecretary Sir Robert Vansittart, and played a role in Carr's resignation from the Foreign Office later in 1936. Because of his strong antagonism to the Treaty of Versailles, which he viewed as unjust to Germany, Carr was very supportive of the Nazi regime's efforts to destroy Versailles through moves such as the remilitarisation of the Rhineland in 1936.

#### Self – Assessment Exercises 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not you more than 5 minutes.

1. Carr is known for his vociferous attack on \_\_\_\_\_?
2. Carr blamed \_\_\_\_\_ for the Adolf Hitler’s accession to power?

#### 4.5. Contribution to the theory of international relations

Carr contributed to the foundation of what is now known as classical realism in international relations theory. Based on the works of Thucydides and Machiavelli, he expressed a strong

disagreement with what he referred to as Idealism and juxtaposed it with realism. His scholarly efforts in this was commended by Hans Morgenthau, a fellow realist, who noted that it "provides a most lucid and brilliant exposure of the faults of contemporary political thought in the Western world... especially in so far as it concerns international affairs". Some of his notable theoretical contributions include:

#### **4.5.1. Inevitability of war in the international system**

Carr described the effort to prevent future wars as pretentious and argued that only by removing the "scourge" of unemployment could one also remove the "scourge" of war. That is why he was a leading supporter of appeasement and criticized the Czechoslovak President Edvard Beneš for clinging to the alliance with France, rather than accepting that it was his country's destiny to be in the German sphere of influence. His famous work *The Twenty Years' Crisis* was published in July 1939, which dealt with the subject of international relations between 1919 and 1939. In that book, Carr defended appeasement on the ground that it was the only realistic policy option. He used the book *The Twenty Years' Crisis* to attack Norman Angell as a utopian thinker on international relations and went further to divide thinkers on international relations into two schools, which he labeled the utopians and the realists (Laqueur 1987). He based his conclusion on the fact that the "utopians" such as Norman Angell were delusional to believe that a new and better international structure could be built around the League. According to him, the entire international order constructed at Versailles was flawed and the League was a hopeless dream that could never do anything practical. Carr described the opposition of utopianism and realism in international relations as a dialectic progress (Ibid p. 115). He argued that in realism there is no moral dimension, so that for a realist what is successful is right and what is unsuccessful is wrong (Ibid, p. 114). Carr contended that the relations among nations were an incessant struggle between the economically privileged "have" powers and the economically disadvantaged "have not" powers. In this economic understanding of international relations, "have" powers like the United States, Britain and France were inclined to avoid war because of their contented status whereas "have not" powers like Germany, Italy and Japan were inclined towards war as they had nothing to lose (Jones 1998 ). He argued that all major social changes had been caused by revolutions or wars, both of which Carr regarded as necessary but unpleasant means of accomplishing social change. He attributed World War II to what he described as a flawed



economic system and believed that the only way to prevent another world war was for the have – Western powers to avoid further exploitation of the have – not areas of the world, which is unlikely. Carr was defensive of the Munich Agreement as the overdue recognition of changes in the balance of power and criticized Winston Churchill in *The Twenty Years' Crisis* as a mere opportunist interested only in power for himself. Expectedly, Carr's views were attacked by his contemporaries as an "active danger".

#### **4.5.2. Imperative of military power**

Carr (1946:109) observes that “the supreme importance of the military instrument lies in the fact that the *ultimo ratio* of power in international relations is war. This according to him lies in the fact that the world is made of clashing interests. Therefore, he rejects the belief that a global harmony of interest exists and pointed out that such a belief had credibility in the nineteenth century because of expanding markets and the availability of territories for colonization. But from the start of the twentieth century there were fewer and fewer markets and states struggled to maintain their prosperity against foreign threats. Consequently, the complex phenomenon known as economic nationalism swept over the world and the hollowness of the glib nineteenth century platitude that nobody can benefit from what harms another was revealed. Ultimately, the basic presupposition of Utopianism had to break down (Carr 1946:62)

These observations about expansion and territory lead to a further feature of realist thinking that in international politics it is military strength which is the most important source of power.

#### **Self – Assessment Exercises 3**

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not you more than 5 minutes.

1. Carr argued that only by removing the "scourge" of unemployment could one also remove \_\_\_\_\_?
2. The famous book published by Carr which dealt extensively with the subject of international relations between 1919 and 1939 is titled \_\_\_\_\_?

## 4.6 Summary

The unit revealed Edward H. Carr as a die – hard realist who disdainfully regard the idealist ancestors as dreamers. The central thrust of his political philosophy is that the international system is a world of evil and requires no brooking of weakness but military power to navigate the inherent clashing of interests.

## 4.7 References/Further Readings/Web Resources

Carr, E. H. (1939). *The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919–1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations*. (Revised edition), 1946, London: Macmillan,

Laqueur, W. (1987). *The Fate of the Revolution: Interpretations of Soviet History from 1917 to the Present*, New York: Scribner,

Cobb, A. (1999). "Carr, E.H." (pp. 180–181), *The Encyclopedia of Historians and Historical Writing* (ed.), Kelly Boyd, Volume 1, Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn,

Collini, S. (5 March 2008). "E. H. Carr: historian of the future". *Times*. London.

Davies, R. W. (1983). "Edward Hallett Carr, 1892–1982" (pp. 473–511) from *Proceedings of the British Academy*, Volume 69,

Haslam, J. (1999). *The Vices Of Integrity: E.H. Carr, 1892–1982*, London; New York: Verso,

“<https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=E.H. Carr &oldid=1092594619>”

Hughes-Warrington, M. (2000). *Fifty Key Thinkers on History*, London: Routledge,.

## 4.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s)

### Answers to SAEs 1

1. Britain
2. Herodotus

### **Answers to SAEs**

1. Idealism
2. Versailles Treaty

### **Answers to SAEs 3**

1. The "scourge" of war
2. The Twenty Years' Crisis

## **UNIT 5: REINHOLD NEIBUHR**

- 5.1 Introduction
- 5.2 Learning Outcomes
- 5.3 Early Life and Education
- 5.4 Odyssey to Political Realism
- 5.5 International Political activism and Influences
- 5.6 Summary
- 1.7 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 1.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

### **5.1 Introduction**

Karl Paul Reinhold Niebuhr was an American Reformed theologian, ethicist, commentator on politics and public affairs. He was also a professor at Union Theological Seminary for more than 30 years. Niebuhr was one of America's leading public intellectuals for several decades of the 20th century and received the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 1964. A public theologian, he wrote and spoke frequently about the intersection of religion, politics, and public policy, with his most influential books including *Moral Man and Immoral Society*, *The Nature and Destiny of Man* and *The Irony of American History*, which dwelt extensively on U.S. foreign policy" (Urquhart 2009).

Given his background as a theologian, he originally demonstrated commitment to pacifism but in the early part of 20<sup>th</sup> century, his thinking evolved to neo-orthodox realism as he attacked utopianism as ineffectual for dealing with reality. According to him, "Man's capacity for justice makes democracy possible but man's inclination to injustice makes democracy necessary" (1944), Niebuhr's realism deepened after 1945 and led him to support American efforts to confront Soviet communism around the world. A powerful speaker, he was one of the most influential thinkers of the 1940s and 1950s in public affairs (Schlesinger 2005).

## 5.2. Early life and education

Niebuhr was born on June 21, 1892, to German immigrant parents, Gustav Niebuhr and his wife, Lydia (née Hosto) in Wright City, Missouri, United States of America. His father was a German Evangelical pastor with the American branch of the established Prussian Church Union in Germany, now part of the United Church of Christ. The family spoke German at home.

Niebuhr attended Elmhurst College in Illinois and graduated in 1910. He then moved Missouri where studied at Eden Theological Seminary in Webster Groves, Missouri and was deeply influenced by Samuel D. Press in "biblical and systematic subjects". Thereafter, intellectual liberation from Yale Divinity School where he earned a Bachelor of Divinity degree in 1914 and a Master of Arts degree the following year with the thesis *The Contribution of Christianity to the Doctrine of Immortality* (Leatt 1973).

In 1931 Niebuhr married Ursula Keppel-Compton who was a member of the Church of England and was educated at the University of Oxford in theology and history. Their marriage was blessed with two children, Elisabeth Niebuhr Sifton and Christopher Niebuhr.

### Self – Assessment Exercises 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not you more than 5 minutes.

1. In the early part of 20<sup>th</sup> century, Niebuhr's thinking evolved to \_\_\_\_\_?
2. Niebuhr attacked \_\_\_\_\_ as ineffectual for dealing with reality?
3. Niebuhr's book *The Irony of American History*, dwelt extensively on \_\_\_\_\_?
4. Niebuhr's father was a \_\_\_\_\_?

## 5.3. Odyssey to political realism

Niebuhr's contributions to political philosophy include utilizing the resources of theology to argue for political realism. His work has also significantly influenced international relations

theory, leading many scholars to jettison idealism and embrace realism. A large number of scholars, including political scientists, political historians, and theologians, have noted his influence on their thinking. As Urquhart (2009), Hoffman (2008) and Tippet (2007) in their separate studies had noted, the thoughts of Niebuhr also influenced activists such as Myles Horton and Martin Luther King Jr. and numerous politicians including Hillary Clinton, Hubert Humphrey, Dean Acheson, James Comey, Madeleine Albright, and John McCain, as well as former presidents Barack Obama and Jimmy Carter.

Niebuhr was also one of the founders of both Americans for Democratic Action and the International Rescue Committee and also spent time at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, while serving as a visiting professor at both Harvard and Princeton.

Sequel to the entry of United States into the First World War in 1917, Niebuhr consistently emphasized the need to be loyal to America. His drive won him an audience in national magazines for his appeals to the German Americans to be patriotic. Theologically, he went beyond the issue of national loyalty as he endeavored to fashion a realistic ethical perspective of patriotism and pacifism. He endeavored to work out a realistic approach to the moral danger posed by aggressive powers, which many idealists and pacifists failed to recognize. Thus in the course of the First World War, he expressed willingness to support war in order to find peace (Chrystal 1977).

At the domestic level, Niebuhr became a prominent leader of the militant faction of the Socialist Party of America in the 1930s, and in 1941, he co-founded the Union for Democratic Action, a group with a strongly militarily interventionist, internationalist foreign policy and a pro-union, liberal domestic policy. He was the group's president until it transformed into the Americans for Democratic Action in 1947.

## Self – Assessment Exercises 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not you more than 5 minutes.

1. Reinhold Niebuhr was the president of \_\_\_\_\_ until it transformed into the Americans for Democratic Action in 1947?
2. In the course of the First World War, Niebuhr expressed willingness to support war in order to find \_\_\_\_\_?

### 5.4. International Political Activism and Influences

Niebuhr did not stop at the domestic political activism. He also actively involved in the international ferment. For instance, Niebuhr became a supporter of American action in the Second World War, anti-communism, and the development of nuclear weapons. Consequently, Niebuhr became a staunch advocate for the war and one of the harshest critics of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a peace-oriented group of theologians and ministers. By so doing, Niebuhr supported the Allies during the Second World War and argued for the engagement of the United States in the war. Niebuhr feared that a victory by Germany and Japan would threaten Christianity and rationalized his position on the Protestant beliefs that sin is part of the world, that justice must take precedence over love, and that pacifism is a symbolic portrayal of absolute love but cannot prevent sin (Deonecke 1998).

Kammaing (2012) and Korab – Karpowicz (1013) in their separate recognized the influence of Niebuhr on the thinking of many political scientists, such as George F. Kennan, Hans Morgenthau, Kenneth Waltz, and Samuel P. Huntington, and political historians, such as Richard Hofstadter, Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., and Christopher Lasch, Elie (2007) equally noted that Niebuhr's thoughts have also exerted a significant influence on the thinking of contemporary political leaders and politicians in the United States. Such individuals include both major – party candidates in the 2008 presidential election: Senator John McCain who in his book *Hard Call*, "celebrated Niebuhr as a paragon of clarity about the costs of a good war". Former President Barack Obama also acknowledged that Niebuhr was his "favourite philosopher" and

"favorite theologian". To crown it all, Kenneth Waltz's seminal work on international relations theory, *Man, the State, and War*, includes many references to Niebuhr's thought. Waltz emphasizes Niebuhr's contributions to political realism, especially "the impossibility of human perfection". Other contemporary leaders of American foreign policy who have acknowledged Niebuhr's importance to them, include Jimmy Carter, Madeleine Albright, and Hillary Clinton

Before his death on June 1, 1971, in Stockbridge, Massachusetts, Niebuhr became an awardee of several honours, including the Presidential Medal of Freedom awarded to him in 1964 by President Lyndon B. Johnson

### **Self – Assessment Exercises 3**

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not you more than 5 minutes.

1. During the Second World War, Niebuhr was staunch advocate for the war and one of the harshest critics of a peace-oriented group of theologians and ministers known as \_\_\_\_\_?
2. Waltz identified \_\_\_\_\_ as Niebuhr's contributions to political realism?

### **5.6. Summary**

From the foregoing, what could be drawn from Niebuhr's postulations is that like other realist ancestors, he was pessimistic of pacific approach to managing conflict. Instead, he espoused a realistic approach to the moral danger posed by aggressive powers, which many idealists and pacifists failed to recognize. Thus the central thrust of his perspective is that war is a necessary evil in order to find peace.



## 5.7. References/Further Readings/Web Resources

Chrystal, W. G. (1977). "Reinhold Niebuhr and the First World War". *Journal of Presbyterian History*. 55 (3): 285–298. ISSN 0022-3883. JSTOR 23327895.

Doenecke, J. D. (1995). "Reinhold Niebuhr and His Critics: The Interventionist Controversy in World War II". *Anglican and Episcopal History*. 64 (4): 459–481. ISSN 0896-8039. JSTOR 42611736.

Elie, P. (November 2007). "A Man for All Reasons". *The Atlantic*.

Hoffman, C. (2013). "Under God: Spitzer, Niebuhr and the Sin of Pride". *The Washington Post*. September 21,

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reinhold\\_Niebuhr](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reinhold_Niebuhr)

Kamminga, M. R. (2012). "Structure and Sin: The Niebuhrian Roots of Waltz's Neorealist Theory of International Politics". *Philica*. ISSN 1751-3030.

Korab-Karpowicz, W. J. (2013). "Political Realism in International Relations". In Zalta, E. N. (ed.). *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (summer 2013 ed.)*. Stanford, California: Stanford University

Leatt, J. V. (1973). *History in the Theological Method of Reinhold Niebuhr: A Study of the Relationship Between Past and Contemporary Events in Niebuhr's Theological Method* (PhD thesis). Cape Town: University of Cape Town. hdl:11427/17723.

Niebuhr, R. (1932). *The Moral Man and Immoral Society*. New York: Scribner's

Tippett, K. (October 25, 2007). "Reinhold Niebuhr Timeline: Opposes Vietnam War". *On Being*.

Urquhart, B. (March 26, 2009). "What You Can Learn from Reinhold Niebuhr". *The New York Review of Books*.

## **5.8. Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s)**

### **Answers to SAEs 1**

1. Neo – Orthodox realism
2. Utopianism
3. U.S. foreign policy
4. German Evangelical pastor

### **Answers to SAEs 2**

1. Union for Democratic Action
2. Peace

### **Answers to SAEs 3**

1. The Fellowship of Reconciliation
2. "The impossibility of human perfection".

## **MODULE 4: THE FUNCTIONALIST ANCESTORS**

The ancestors of functionalism are the great thinkers of old who chose a middle course between idealism and realism. The thrust of their worldview of the international system is that the world is interconnected in such a manner that whatever affects one part equally has a spillover and “spill – around” effect. Therefore, they espouse integration and interdependence through transnational cooperation and transactions in technical and economic matters. This may have been informed by their acknowledgement of the inherent inequality among nations of the world, especially in the area of resource endowment but believe that the resource imbalance could not be solved through territorial expansion and invasion which usually provoke war but through cooperation and free trade which will promote peace in the international system. Essentially, the protagonists of functionalism hold that international cooperation between states is feasible and sustainable, and that such cooperation can reduce conflict and competition. The thinkers of this hue are modified idealists of the contemporary international relations. This Module explores the views of some of the ancestors whose views formed the foundation stone of this alternative thought. Notable among them are Norman Angell, David Mitrany, Ernst B. Haas, Joseph Nye, and many others.

### **UNIT 1: NORMAN ANGELL**

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Learning Outcomes
- 1.3 Norman Angell’s Biography
- 1.4 Angell’s Political Career
- 1.5 The Twentieth Century International System
- 1.6 The Post – Cold War International System
- 1.6 Summary
- 1.7 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 1.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

## **1.1. Introduction**

This unit presents the ideas of Sir Ralph Norman Angell which seems to have pioneered functionalist alternative to managing the conflicts of the international system. The thrust of his argument is that economic integration will promote peace and make war among nations futile.

## **1.2. Learning Outcomes**

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- i. Explain the central thrust of the Norman Angell's functionalist argument,
- ii. Examine the prevailing social condition that motivated his line of thought, and
- iii. Assess the impact of his thought on the international system of his time.

## **1.3. Biography**

Norman Angel was an English Nobel Peace Prize winner and distinguished himself as a lecturer, journalist, author and Member of Parliament for the Labour Party. Angell was one of the principal founders of the Union of Democratic Control and served on the Council of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. He was equally, an executive for the World Committee against War and Fascism, a member of the executive committee of the League of Nations Union, and the president of the Abyssinia Association. He was made a Knight Bachelor in 1931 and was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1933.

Angell was born in 26 December 1872 and died in 7 October 1967. He was one of six children, born to Thomas Angell Lane and Mary (née Brittain) Lane in Holbeach, Lincolnshire, England. He was born Ralph Norman Angell Lane, but later adopted Angell as his sole surname. He attended several schools in England, the Lycée Alexandre Ribot at Saint-Omer in France, and the University of Geneva, while editing an English-language newspaper published in Geneva.

In Geneva, Angell felt that Europe was "hopelessly entangled in insoluble problems" and this compelled him then at the age of 17, to emigrate to the West Coast of the United States where he

for several years worked as a vine planter, an irrigation-ditch digger, a cowboy, a California homesteader (after filing for American citizenship), a mail-carrier, a prospector, and then, closer to his natural skills, as a reporter for the St. Louis Globe-Democrat and later the San Francisco Chronicle.

Due to family matters he returned to England briefly in 1898, then moved to Paris to work as a sub-editor on the English-language Daily Messenger, and then as a staff contributor to the newspaper *Éclair*. Throughout this period, he also acted as French correspondent for some American newspapers, to which he sent dispatches on the progress of the Dreyfus case. Between 1905 and 1912, Angell became the Paris editor for the Daily Mail.

He was married to Beatrice Cuvellier but they separated and he lived his last 55 years alone. He purchased Northey Island, Essex, which is attached to the mainland only at low tide, and lived in the sole dwelling on the island.

His Nobel Peace Prize medal and accompanying scroll are held by the Imperial War Museum.

### **Self – Assessment Exercises 1**

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not you more than 5 minutes.

1. Norman Angell emigrated to the West Coast of the United States at age of \_\_\_\_\_?
2. Angell was an executive for the World Committee against \_\_\_\_\_?

### **1.4. Political career**

In 1914, Norman Angell returned to England and became one of the founders of the Union of Democratic Control. He joined the Labour Party in 1920 and was parliamentary candidate for Rushcliffe in the general election of 1922 and for Rossendale in 1923. He was MP for Bradford North from 1929 to 1931, and after the formation of the National Government, he announced his decision not to seek re-election on 24 September 1931. That same year, he was knighted for his public and political services, and in 1933 he was presented with the Nobel Peace Prize.

From the mid-1930s, Angell actively campaigned for collective international opposition to the aggressive policies of Germany, Italy, and Japan. He went to the United States in 1940 to lecture

in favour of American support for Britain in World War II, and remained there until after the publication of his autobiography in 1951. He later returned to Britain and died at the age of 94 in Croydon, Surrey.

### **Self – Assessment Exercises 2**

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not you more than 5 minutes.

1. Norman Angell actively campaigned for collective international opposition to the aggressive policies of which countries?
2. Between 1929 to 1931, Angell was \_\_\_\_\_ for Bradford North?

### **1.5. Major Thoughts**

Angell is most widely remembered for his 1909 book, *The Great Illusion*. The thesis of the book was that the integration of the economies of European countries had grown to such a degree that war between them would be entirely futile, making militarism obsolete. He establishes this apparent paradox, in so far as the economic problem is concerned, by showing that wealth in the economically civilized world is founded upon credit and commercial contract (these being the outgrowth of an economic interdependence due to the increasing division of labour and greatly developed communication). If credit and commercial contract are tampered with in an attempt at confiscation, the credit-dependent wealth is undermined, and its collapse involves that of the conqueror; so that if conquest is not to be self-injurious it must respect the enemy's property, in which case it becomes economically futile. Thus the wealth of conquered territory remains in the hands of the population of such territory. This may explain when Germany annexed Alsace, no individual German secured a single mark's worth of Alsatian property as the spoils of war.

### Self – Assessment Exercises 3

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not you more than 5 minutes.

1. Norman Angell is most widely remembered for his 1909 book titled\_\_\_\_\_?
2. Angell’s thesis is that \_\_\_\_ is a product of increasing division of labour and greatly developed communication?

#### 1.6. Summary

Based on Angell’s point of view, war in whatever ramification is destructive and counter – productive. Thus, he was of the view that since most of these wars were driven by territorial acquisition for resources, it would benefit both resource – endowed territories and the aggressive resource seekers to cooperate in the interest of the population and to protect rather than destroy such resources sought as has been the fallout of both the old and raging wars in the contemporary international system.

#### 1.7. References/Further Readings/Web Resources

Angell, N. (1909). *The Great Illusion*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Norman\\_Angell](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Norman_Angell)

#### 1.8. Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s)

##### Answers to SAEs 1

1. 17
2. War and Fascism

### **Answers to SAEs 2**

1. Germany, Italy, and Japan.
2. Member of Parliament

### **Answers to SAEs 3**

1. The Great Illusion
2. Economic Interdependence



## **UNIT 2: DAVID MITRANY**

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Learning Outcomes
- 2.3 Biography and Professional Life
- 2.4 Major Thoughts
- 2.5 Idea of Non – Governmental Organisations (NGOs)
- 2.6. Summary
- 2.7. References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 2.8. Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

### **2.1. Introduction**

This unit focuses on David Mitrany who is also one of the identified ancestors of the contemporary international system. His basic argument is that international cooperation in social, economic, technical and cultural issues is the best means of softening antagonism and tension in the international system.

### **2.2. Learning Outcomes**

By the end of this unit, you will able to:

- i. Analyse David Mitrany’s functionalism perspective of the international system,
- ii. Evaluate the thrust of Mitrany’s idea of cooperation, and
- iii. Discuss the contribution of Mitrany to the development of Non – Governmental Organisations (NGOs).

### **2.3. Biography and Professional life**

David Mitrany was born in 1888 in Bucherest, Romania but naturalized in Britain as scholar, historian and political theorist. As Alexandrescu (2017) had noted, there some ambiguities surrounding Mitrany’s biography. Invariably, the richest source of information concerning his

life and intellectual activity are the memoirs he published in 1975 in *The Functional Theory of Politics*.

On 1 September 1933 Mitrany joined the original Faculty of the School of Economics and Politics at the Institute for Advanced Study (IAS) in Princeton, New Jersey where he served along with Edward M. Earle, Winfield W. Riefler, Walter W. Stewart, and Robert B. Warren. In 1953 however, he left the Institute and worked on international relations and on issues of the Danube region. He is considered as the creator of the theory of functionalism in international relations, also classified as a part of liberal institutionalism. He pioneered modern integrative theory, which is the third main liberal approach to international relations (along with international liberalism and idealism). Its basic principle maintains that international cooperation is the best means of softening antagonism in the international environment. The idea of this international cooperation was elaborated upon by Leonard Hobhouse, and then by Leonard Woolf and G. D. H. Cole. The main rationale behind it was that “peace is more than the absence of violence”. Cornelia Navari wrote that the British pluralist doctrine had become the lifeblood of Mitrany’s theory.

### **Self – Assessment Exercises 1**

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not you more than 5 minutes.

1. David Mitrany is considered as the creator of the theory of \_\_\_\_ in international relations?
2. The memoir that Mitrany published in 1975 is titled \_\_\_\_\_?
3. The principle of integrative theory which Mitrany pioneered maintains that \_\_\_\_\_ is the best means of softening antagonism?

### **2.4. Major Thoughts**

Following a series of conferences held at Harvard and Yale, Mitrany published two of his theoretical studies concerning the international system: *The Political Consequences of Economic Planning* and *The Progress of International Government*. The first public presentation of his functionalist approach to international relations occurred during a series of conferences held at Yale University in 1932. Mitrany got famous eventually with his pamphlet *A Working Peace*

System, which was published in 1943 as part of his contribution to charting the end of the Second World War.

He was opposed to what he described as “illusionary federation projects” because of their tendency to hinder a quick and effective re-establishment of peace. Mitrany therefore, criticized the “European” federalists who have been so fascinated by a readily convenient formula without seeking to ascertain how it works where it exists, and without bothering to find out whether its origins bear any relation to the problem of uniting a group of states in the present social ambience.

### **Self – Assessment Exercises 2**

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not you more than 5 minutes.

1. David Mitrany got famous with his pamphlet \_\_\_\_\_, which was published in 1943 as part of his contribution to charting the end of the Second World War?
2. Mitrany described as federation projects as \_\_\_\_\_ because of their tendency to hinder a quick and effective re-establishment of peace?

### **2.5. The Idea of Non – Governmental Organisations (NGOs)**

Thus, instead of those illusory federation projects, Mitrany recommended lean functional agencies for the execution of international cooperation on all issue-related, mainly technical and economic sectors. But Mitrany’s functionalism also referred to intrastate combinations: to special-purpose associations like the Tennessee Valley Authority or the London Transport Board, in which partly independent union states or co-equal municipal authorities coordinated their interests. And Mitrany listed private cartels, e.g. the former rationalization cartels of the British shipping, cotton and steel industry, among his functional agencies. In his argument, it can be noticed the presence of elements inspired by his liberal pluralist contemporaries.

The working peace system was built around international agencies. They had functional responsibilities in managing those problems for which there was a consensus to cooperate. These international agencies were to assume some of the attributions of nation-states, within the so-called ramification process which involved a constant transfer of functions and authority from

states to agencies. The phenomenon in question made no distinction between protagonists. The consequence of ramification was a domino effect, as cooperation in one field could lead to a new cooperation in another field.

The best known tenet of political functionalism form follows function does actually not originate from Mitrany, but from the functionalism of industrial design. It was just used to popularize Mitrany's concept.

### **Self – Assessment Exercises 3**

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not you more than 5 minutes.

1. David Mitrany recommended lean functional agencies for the execution of international cooperation on all issue-related, mainly to \_\_\_\_\_?
2. Mitrany built his working peace system around \_\_\_\_\_?

### **2.6. Summary**

The summary of David Mitrany's perspective is that "peace is more than the absence of violence". In other words, he was concerned with positive peace which comes with economic development through cooperation in areas other than military alliances that fuel wars.

### **2.7. References/Further Readings/Web Resources**

Alexandrescu, M. (2007). David Mitrany: From Federalism to Functionalism, in *Transylvanian Review*, 16, No. 1, p. 25.

Alexandrescu, Mihai (30 December 2017). "David Mitrany during the First World War. Some Ambiguities in His Biography". *Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai Historia*. 62 (1): 48–59. doi:10.24193/subbhist.2017.2.04.

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/David\\_Mitrany](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/David_Mitrany)

Mitrany, D. (1966). *A Working Peace System*, repr. With introd. By H. J. Morgenthau. Chicago: Quadrangle.

Mitrany, D. (1968). The Prospect of Integration: Federation or Functional? In Nye, J. S. Jr. (ed.), *International Regionalism: Readings*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company,, p. 52

Navari, C. (1995), David Mitrany and International Functionalism, in David Long and Peter Wilson (eds.), *Thinkers of the Twenty Years. Crisis: Inter-War Idealism Reassessed*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, p. 218

## **2.8. Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s)**

### **Answers to SAEs 1**

1. Functionalism
2. The Functional Theory of Politics
3. International Cooperation

### **Answers to SAEs 2**

1. A Working Peace System
2. Illusionary

### **Answers to SAEs 3**

1. Technical and Economic Sectors
2. International Agencies

## **UNIT 3: ERNST B. HAAS**

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Learning Outcomes
- 3.3 Biography and Academic Career
- 3.4 The Rise of Independent Nation States
- 3.5. The Twentieth Century International System
- 3.6. Summary
- 3.7 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 3.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

### **3.1. Introduction**

This unit surveys the tremendous theoretical contributions of the erudite German-American political scientist, Ernst Bernard Haas to the field of international relations. He was a leading authority on international relations theory and was the founder of neofunctionalism, which emphasizes political integration as a catalyst for free movement of goods, capital and people across territorial boundaries. Haas was equally a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and acted as a consultant to many national and international organizations before his death in 2003.

### **3.2. Learning Outcomes**

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- i. Explain Haas' interest of international integration,
- ii. Analyse the thrust of neo –functionalism
- iii. Distinguish the difference between fuctionalism and neo – functionalism.

### 3.3. Biography and Academic Career

Haas was born in Frankfurt, Germany, in 1924 to a secular Jewish family. At the age of 14, he migrated to the United States due to the rise of anti-semitism in Germany. There he attended the University of Chicago and then worked in the U.S. Army Military Intelligence Service from 1943 to 1946 where he studied Japanese and Japanese weapons. After the Second World War, Haas studied at Columbia University, where he received his BS, followed by an MA. In 1952, he also obtained his PhD in public law and government from that same University. Haas was married to the late Hildegard Vogel Haas for 57 years and they had a son named, Peter M. Haas, who has risen to the rank of a professor of political science at the University of Massachusetts-Amherst.

Ernst Haas began his academic career in 1951 at University California, Berkeley, where he remained until his death in 2003. During his stay at the University of California, Berkeley, he became director of the UC Berkeley Institute for International Studies from 1969-73 and later he was Robson Professor of Government in the University of California, Berkeley, political science department. After he retired in June 1999, he continued as a researcher and teacher at Berkeley.

It is to the credit of Haas, that he supervised many graduate students who also became successful in their careers.

#### Self – Assessment Exercises 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not you more than 5 minutes

1. E. B. Hass migrated from Germany to the United States due to the rise of \_\_\_\_\_?
2. Haas studied Japanese and Japanese weapons while working in \_\_\_\_\_ from 1943 to 1946?

### **3.4. Theoretical interests and contributions**

The scholarly interest of E. B. Haas was largely shaped by his sad experience in his birthplace Germany where he was victimized and segregated because of his origin. He summarizes his motivation in the following remarks:

The one theme that sort of underlies everything I've done... is the conditions under which the state as we understand it disappears, disintegrates, weakens, changes... why the interest in the state? Because I grew up under a system of an extraordinarily powerful state that victimized me. So my idea was; how in the future do we get rid of states of that kind? (Haas 2002)

Essentially, Haas became mainly interested in international integration. This was informed by his realization that traditional European politics could be dramatically changed by liberalizing movement of goods capital, and persons.

This however, significantly separated his views from classical liberalism. Hence, he is assumed the founder of neofunctional approach to the study of integration. The remarkable difference between functionalism and Neofunctionalism lies in the fact the latter not only recognizes the importance of national states but also stresses the roles of regional interest groups and the bureaucracy of regional organizations. Though the member states create the initial conditions, regional interest groups and international bureaucrats push the process forward, and national governments increasingly solve conflicts of interest by conferring more authority on the regional organizations, and citizens increasingly look to the regional organization for solutions to their problems.

Haas published numerous books, monographs and articles and solidified his campaign for international integration in his book, *The Uniting of Europe* published in 1997 which was chosen as one of the 50 most significant books in international relations in the twentieth century by the journal *Foreign Affairs*.



## Self – Assessment Exercises 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not you more than 5 minutes

1. E. B. Haas' penchant for international integration separated his views from \_\_\_\_?
2. Haas solidified his campaign for international integration in his book titled\_\_\_\_\_?

### 3.5. Highpoint of his ideas

E.B. Haas is the forerunner of neo functionalism. He takes off from the functionalist strategy and examines its international applicability. He finds that the motivation towards integration comes from national governments. It may be for technical as well as for power political reasons. In many of these, he found that it is impossible not to come into confrontation with the nation-state. Power and welfare are inseparable issues. Moreover, in integration, there is no gradual approach. Once the process starts, spill-over occurs from one sector to the other. Neo-functionalists assume that in advanced industrial societies, no sector is discrete from other sector. Once you get involved in the coal sector, you also get involved in the steel sector. Once the issue of capital arises, other issues such as financial markets, banks, financial institutions and labour arise and an interdependent web is created in society. At every stage of this, you face choices of withdrawal or continuation. According to Haas, the logic for governments is to move forward because if they do not do so, it may lead to unintended consequences (Haas, 1971, pp.3-42).

According to Haas, those who initiate sectoral integration are not capable of seeing its consequences. There is likely to emerge a core of people with career aspirations who are interested in seeing things moving. This core of people is likely to go beyond institution building in order to perform an elite network which keeps integration moving. As sectoral integration takes place, new issue areas are politicized by interest groups and transnational constituencies are created thus getting political groups interested in decision making beyond the nation state. As more and more people get interested in what is going on, a new political centre begins to emerge. Even groups who are ideologically or pragmatically opposed to integration are unable to fight

this logic of things. Such groups find that they have to work within the system if they have to make an impact on policy making. This causes a change in the role of national governments. Sovereignty erodes and more tasks are assigned to regional institutions rather than to national ones.

### **Self – Assessment Exercises 3**

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not you more than 5 minutes

1. E.B. Haas is touted as the forerunner of \_\_\_\_\_?.
2. Haas justifies his argument for political integration on the ground that \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_ are inseparable issues?.

### **3.6. Summary**

The highpoint of view in this unit is that Haas did not believe in the functionality of socio – cultural, economic and technical cooperation not driven and moderated by the state, which is the personification of sovereignty and the provider of the enabling environment in the form of security for the transnational transactions by the technical experts and non – governmental organizations (NGOs). This explains the assertion by Haas that power and welfare are inseparable issues.

### **3.7. References/Further Readings/Web Resources**

E. B. Haas (1958). *The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social and Economic Forces, 1950 – 1957*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

"[https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Ernst\\_B.\\_Haas&oldid=1095647737](https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Ernst_B._Haas&oldid=1095647737)"

### **3.8. Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s)**

#### **Answers to SAEs 1**

1. Anti-Semitism
2. The U.S. Army Military Intelligence Service

#### **Answers to SAEs 2**

1. Classical liberalism
2. The Uniting of Europe

#### **Answers to SAEs 3**

1. Neo – functionalism
2. Power and welfare

## **UNIT 4: JOSEPH S. NYE AND ROBERT O. KEOHANE**

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Learning Outcomes
- 4.3 Early Life and education of Joseph Nye Jr.
- 4.4 Early Life and education of Robert Keohane
- 4.5 Distinguished Contributions of Robert Keohane
- 4.6 Summary
- 4.7 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 4.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

### **4.1. Introduction**

This unit deliberately breaks the tradition in this kind of study to separately present each subject and his notable accomplishments. This is informed by the fact that adherence to such convention in this particular undertaking may become bankrupted with facts since there is no hard and fast ways of isolating Joseph Samuel Nye Jr. for scholarly attention without recognizing and including his great intellectual comrade – in – arms , Robert Owen Keohane. The reason is that since both scholars collaborated in 1977 book *Power and Interdependence* to produce the theory of complex interdependence and propagate the idea of neoliberalism in international relations studies, the two contemporay giants of United States extraction have staunchly continued to feather the nest of functionalism through transnational cooperation as the roadmap to peace in international system. Therefore, in recognition of their apparent coincidence of ideas, this Unit has been reserved for the dicussion of their contributions to the study of international relations as eloquently demonstrated in the legion of their separate and joint publications.

### **4.2. Learning Outcomes**

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- i. Discuss the thrust of complex interdeoendence ,
- ii. Distinguish the difference between the neoliberalism of Haas and that of the neoliberalism as propagated by Joseph Nye and Robert Keohane, and

- iii. Evaluate the contributions of Joseph Nye Jr. and Robert Keohane to the study of international relations.

### **4.3. Early Life and Education of Joseph Nye Jr.**

Joseph Samuel Nye Jr. is an American political scientist born in January 19, 1937. He and his comrade – in – in arms Robert Keohane co-founded the international relations theory of neoliberalism, which they developed in their 1977 book *Power and Interdependence*. Together with Keohane, Nye developed the concepts of asymmetrical and complex interdependence. They equally explored transnational relations and world politics in an edited volume in the 1970s. More recently, Nye pioneered the theory of soft power and explained the distinction between soft power and hard power. In addition, he developed the notion of "smart power" which he defines as "the ability to combine hard and soft power into a successful strategy"(Nye 2007). He ebulliently popularized this concept during both the Clinton Administration and the Obama Administration.

Nye attended Morristown Prep (now the Morristown–Beard School) in Morristown, New Jersey and graduated in 1954. He then attended Princeton University, from where he graduated *summa cum laude* with a B.A. in History in 1958. He was a member of Phi Beta Kappa and won the Myron T. Herrick Thesis Prize. His senior thesis was titled "Death of a Family Firm: An Entrepreneurial History of the American Preserve Company". During his time at Princeton, Nye was vice president of the Colonial Club, a columnist for The Daily Princetonian, and a member of the American Whig–Cliosophic Society's Debate Panel. After studying Philosophy, Politics and Economics (PPE) as a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford University's Exeter College, he obtained his PhD in Political Science from Harvard University in 1964. According to Cohen (2008), Nye's doctoral dissertation was on regional integration in East Africa. Nye is a member of a Unitarian Universalist Association Church and his marriage with Molly Harding Nye is blessed with three adult sons. He was greatly influenced by Karl Deutsch and Ernst Hass.

#### **4.3.1. Academic Political Career**

Joseph Nye Jr. joined the Harvard faculty in 1964 and served as Director of the Center for Science and International Affairs at John F. Kennedy School of Government from 1985 to 1990 and as Associate Dean for International Affairs at Harvard University from 1989 to 1992. Nye also served as Director of the Center for International Affairs at Harvard University from 1989 to 1993 and Dean of John F. Kennedy School of Government from 1995 to 2004.

From 1977 to 1979, Nye was Deputy to the Undersecretary of State for Security Assistance, Science, and Technology and chaired the National Security Council Group on Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons. In 1993 and 1994, he was Chairman of the National Intelligence Council, which coordinates intelligence estimates for the President, In the Clinton Administration from 1994 to 1995, Nye also served as Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, and was considered by many to be the preferred choice for National Security Advisor in the 2004 presidential campaign of John Kerry.

He is the chairman of the North American branch of the Trilateral Commission and the co-chair of the Aspen Strategy Group. He is also a member of the Atlantic Council's Board of Directors.<sup>1</sup> Nye has also served as a trustee of Radcliffe College and Wells College. He was on the Board of Directors of the Council on Foreign Relations, the Guiding Coalition of the Project on National Security Reform, the Advisory Board of Carolina for Kibera, and the Board of the Center for Strategic and International Studies.

In October 2014, Nye was appointed by Secretary of State John Kerry to the Foreign Affairs Policy Board. Nye serves as a Commissioner for the Global Commission on Internet Governance and served on the Global Commission on the Stability of Cyberspace from 2017 until its conclusion in 2019.

Nye is the former Dean of the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, where he currently holds the position of University Distinguished Service Professor, Emeritus.

The 2011 Teaching, Research, and International Policy (TRIP) survey of over 1,700 international relations scholars ranked Nye as the sixth most influential scholar in the field of

international relations in recent time. He was also ranked as one of the most influential figures in American foreign policy. In 2011, *Foreign Policy* magazine named him on its list of top global thinkers (Pavgi 2011).

#### **4.4.Awards**

In recognition of his service, he was awarded many honours such as:

The State Department's Distinguished Honor Award in 1979;

The Intelligence Community's Distinguished Service Medal in 1994;

The Department's Distinguished Service Medal with Oak Leaf Cluster in 1995;

The Woodrow Wilson Prize by Princeton University;

The Charles E. Merriman Prize by the American Political Science Association;

The Honorary Patronage of the University Philosophical Society of Trinity College Dublin In 2005;

Honorary degrees by ten colleges and universities;

A Theodore Roosevelt Fellow of the American Academy of Political and Social Science in 2009 (Nye 2021); and

The Foreign Policy Distinguished Scholar Award from the International Studies Association in 2010;

The Order of the Rising Sun Award, Gold and Silver Star Award in recognition of his "contribution to the development of studies on Japan – United States security and to the promotion of the mutual understanding between Japan and the United States (Lynch and Wilke 2014).

## Self – Assessment Exercises 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not you more than 5 minutes

1. Joseph Nye and Robert Keohane collaborated in the first book to produce the theory of \_\_\_\_\_?
2. The scholars who greatly influenced Joseph Nye Jr. were \_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_?
3. Nye conceives the notion of \_\_\_\_\_ as "the ability to combine hard and soft power into a successful strategy"?

### 4.4. Early life and education of Robert Keohane

Robert Owen Keohane was born at the University of Chicago Hospitals in October 3, 1941. He is a renowned American scholar within the precinct of International Relations and International Political Economy. Since his first major publication *After Hegemony* (1984), he has become widely associated with the theory of neoliberal institutionalism in international relations, as well as transnational relations and world politics in international relations in the 1970s.

He is Professor Emeritus of International Affairs at the Princeton School of Public and International Affairs, and has also taught at Swarthmore College, Duke University, Harvard University and Stanford University. In terms of influence and quality of scholarship in recent times, Keohane has been rated the second best. This may be justified by the fact that he is the most frequently cited author on college syllabi for political science courses (Open Syllabus Project 2011).

Keohane began his education from the fifth grade at the University of Chicago Laboratory Schools. At the age of 10, the family moved to Mount Carroll, Illinois, where he attended public school and his parents taught at Shimer College. Thereafter the 10th grade, Keohane enrolled at Shimer College through the school's early entrance programme. He gained a Bachelor of Arts (BA), with honors, from Shimer College in 1961 and moved ahead to obtain his doctorate degree (PhD) from Harvard University in 1966. Before accomplishing this rare academic feat, he had already joined the Faculty of Swarthmore College in the preceding year. Presently, Keohane



serves on the Board of Trustees of Shimer College. His major intellectual influences were Professor Stanley Hoffmann, Judith Shklar, Kenneth Waltz and Karl Polanyi (Keohane 2020).

Keohane is married to Nannerl O. Keohane, former president of Duke University and Wellesley College and herself a noted political scientist. Their marriage is blessed with four grown children – a daughter and three sons.

### **Academic career**

As has been earlier noted at the preceding section, Keohane has taught at Swarthmore, Stanford, Brandeis, Harvard, and Duke. He was also a Stanfield Professor of International Peace at Harvard as well as the James B. Duke Professor of Political Science at Duke.

In the course of his academic career, he has authored many works, including *Transnational Relations and World Politics* (1972) which he co – authored with Joseph S. Nye, *Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition* (1977) which he also co – authored with Joseph S. Nye and his first solo work *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy* (Princeton University Press, 1984), for which he was awarded the second annual University of Louisville Grawemeyer Award in 1989 for "Ideas Improving World Order" (Wikipedia 2022).

### **Self – Assessment Exercises 2**

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not you more than 5 minutes

1. Robert Keohane is not only widely associated with the theory of neoliberal institutionalism but also with \_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_ in international relations?
2. Apart from Professor Stanley Hoffmann, Judith Shklar Karl Polanyi, another major intellectual influence of Keohane was \_\_\_\_\_?
3. Keohane's first work published in 1984 is titled \_\_\_\_\_?

#### **4.5. Keohane's Distinguished contribution**

Keohane has contributed immensely to the development of a discipline of International Political Economy in the United States, since his joint work with Joseph Nye, Keohane coined the concept of complex interdependence to capture the ways in which power had been fragmented and diffused in economic affairs (Cohen 2008). In a 1980 solo article, Keohane coined the phrase “Hegemonic stability” theory to argue the notion that the international system is more likely to remain stable when a single nation-state is the dominant world power, or hegemon. But in his 1984 book, Keohane drew insights from the new institutional economics to rebut the hegemonic stability theory and instead championed the idea that the international system could remain stable in the absence of a hegemon. In all his works, Keohane relentlessly makes case for the activation and sustenance of international cooperation through consisted interactions, transparency, and monitoring (Norriof 2010).

Keohane began to show his creative character in the field of international relations when he joined the journal *International Organization* in 1968 and played an important role in steering the focus of the journal from scholarship focused on international organizations to a general International Relations journal. In fact, as Cohen (2008) has admitted that effort yielded in positioning the journal as one of the leading scholarly works in the field of International Relations. That role was rewarded with his appointment as the journal editor between 1974 and 1980.

He was president of the International Studies Association, 1988–1989, and of the American Political Science Association, 1999–2000. Keohane is a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the American Academy of Political and Social Science and has held a Guggenheim Fellowship and fellowships at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences and the National Humanities Center. He was awarded the Johan Skytte Prize in Political Science in 2005, and elected to the National Academy of Sciences that same year. In 2007, he was elected to the American Philosophical Society. He was listed as the most influential scholar of international relations in a 2005 *Foreign Policy* poll.

## Awards

Robert Keohane is an awardee of several honours in recognition of his academic prowess and contributions to the development of international relations studies. Some of his notable awards are not limited to:

The Harvard Centennial Medal in 2012;

The Allianz Distinguished Visitor at the American Academy in Berlin in the fall of 2013;

The James Madison Award of the American Political Science Association in 2014; and

The Balzan Prize for International Relations: History and Theory in 2016.

## Self – Assessment Exercises 3

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not you more than 5 minutes

1. Robert Keohane has contributed immensely to the development of a discipline of \_\_\_\_\_ in the United States?
2. Keohane was listed as the most influential scholar of \_\_\_\_\_ in a 2005 *Foreign Policy* poll?
3. Keohane's formulated the theory of \_\_\_\_\_ to argue that the international system is more likely to remain stable when a single nation-state is the dominant world power?

## 4.6. Summary

The unit was to explore the joint and individual theoretical discussions of both Joseph Nye Jr. and Robert Keohane which have continued to influence perspectives and current trends in the contemporary international system. Their notable contributions include the propagation of the neoliberal idea of complex interdependence to de – emphasized the old order of economic

protectionism and nationalism which provoke war and to espouse international cooperation and interdependence in the contemporary information and technology – driven international system.

#### 4.7 References/Further Readings/Web Resources

Cohen, B. J. (2008). *Intellectual Political Economy: An Intellectual History*. Princeton: University Press.

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joseph\\_Nye](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joseph_Nye)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Robert\\_Keohane&ddid=1095208810](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Robert_Keohane&ddid=1095208810)

Keohane, R. O. (2020). “Understanding Multilateral Institutions in Easy and Hard Times ”, *Annual Review of Political Science*. 23 (1): 1-18.

Lynch, S. M. and Wilke, S. (November 5, 2014). “Harvard’s Joseph Nye Receives Honor in Japan” (<https://www.belfercenter.org/publication/harvards-joseph-nye-receives-honor-japan>). *Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs*.

Norriof, C. (2010). *America’s Global Advantage: US Hegemony and International Cooperation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Nye, J. S. (November 29, 2007). “Smart Power” ([https://www.huffpost.com/entry/smart-power\\_b\\_74725](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/smart-power_b_74725)). *The Huffington Post*.

“Open Syllabus Project” (<https://opensyllabus.org/results-list/authors?size=50&ielids=Politics%20Science>)

Pavgi, K. (November 28, 2011). “The 100 Global Thinkers”. *Foreign Policy*.

Shimmer College. “Early Entrance Program” (<https://web.archive.org/web/20130602055849/http://shimer.edu/academicprograms/undergraduate/earlyentrantprogram.cfm>.)

## **4.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s)**

### **Answers to SAEs 1**

1. Complex Interdependence
2. Karl Deutsch and Ernst Hass.
3. "Smart Power"

### **Answers to SAEs 2**

1. Transnational Relations and World Politics
2. Kenneth Waltz
3. After Hegemony

### **Answers to SAEs 3**

1. International Political Economy
2. International Relations
3. Hegemonic Stability

## SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Archer, C. (2001). *International Organizations* Third Edition: London and New York: Routledge.

Adeniran, T. (1980). *An Introduction to International Relations*. Ibadan:

Alexandrescu, M. (2007). David Mitrany: From Federalism to Functionalism, in *Transylvanian Review*, 16, No. 1, p. 25.

Alexandrescu, Mihai (30 December 2017). "David Mitrany during the First World War. Some Ambiguities in His Biography". *Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai Historia*. 62 (1): 48–59. doi:10.24193/subbhist.2017.2.04.

Angell, N. (1909). *The Great Illusion*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.

Barber, F. (1979). *Diplomacy: The World of the Honest Spy*. London: The British Library.

Behr, H. and Roesch, F. (2012). Intro. to Hans Morgenthau, *The Concept of the Political*, trans M. Vidal, p. 19.

Bentham, J. (1821). . On the Liberty of the Press, and Public Discussion. London: Hone.

Bull, H. (1977). *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World*

Chrystal, W. G. (1977). "Reinhold Niebuhr and the First World War". *Journal of Presbyterian History*. 55 (3): 285–298. ISSN 0022-3883. JSTOR 23327895.

Coats, A. W. (1993) (1967). "*Alfred Marshall and the Early Development of the London School of Economics*". *The sociology and professionalization of economics*. Vol. 2. Routledge. ( p. 195)

Cohen, B. J. (2008). *Intellectual Political Economy: An Intellectual History*. Princeton: University Press.

Cooper, R. (1996). *The Post – modern state and the world order*. Demos.

Dixon, G. *History of the International System – Part 1*. Online lecture.

Doenecke, J. D. (1995). "Reinhold Niebuhr and His Critics: The Interventionist Controversy in World War II". *Anglican and Episcopal History*. 64 (4): 459–481. ISSN 0896-8039. JSTOR 42611736.

Echezona, N. (1993). *Hegemonism or A New World Order?* Awka: Melinks

Elie, P. (November 2007). "A Man for All Reasons". *The Atlantic*.

Eze, E. C. (1997). *Postcolonial African Philosophy: A Critical Reader*. Wiley. pp. 103–131. ISBN 978-0-631-20339-1

Forde, S. (1992). "Classical Realism", in Nardin, T and Mapel, D. (eds.), *Law, Morality and the Relations of States*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Gamble, A. (1999). "Marxism and Communism: Beyond Realism and Historicism", *Review of International Studies*, 25.

Haas, E. B. (1958). *The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social and Economic Forces, 1950 – 1957*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Habermas, J. (1979). *Communication and the Evolution of Society*. Boston: Routledge.

Halliday, F. (1994). *Rethinking International Relations*. London: Macmillan.

Hobbes, T. (1946). *Leviathan*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Hoffman, C. (2013). "Under God: Spitzer, Niebuhr and the Sin of Pride". *The Washington Post*. September 21,

Howard, M. (1976). *War in European History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Jackson, R. and Sorensen, G. (1999). *Introduction to International Relations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kamminga, M. R. (2012). "Structure and Sin: The Niebuhrian Roots of Waltz's Neorealist Theory of International Politics". *Philica*. ISSN 1751-3030.

Kant, I. (1795). *Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch*. repr. in H. Reiss (1992) (ed.), *Kant's Political Writings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.(93-131).

Keohane, R. O. (1989). *International and State Institutions: Essays in International Relations Theory*. Boulder: Westview Press.

Keohane, R. O. (2020). "Understanding Multilateral Institutions in Easy and Hard Times ", *Annual Review of Political Science*. 23 (1): 1-18.

Keohane, R. O. and Nye, J. S. (eds.) (1975). 'International Interdependence and Integration' in E. Greenstein and N. Polsby (eds.), *Handbook of Political Science, viii: International Politics*. Reading, Mass: Addison – Wesley, 363 – 414.

Korab-Karpowicz, W. J. (2013). "Political Realism in International Relations". In Zalta, E. N. (ed.). *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (summer 2013 ed.)*. Stanford, California: Stanford University

Leatt, J. V. (1973). History in the Theological Method of Reinhold Niebuhr: A Study of the Relationship Between Past and Contemporary Events in Niebuhr's Theological Method (PhD thesis). Cape Town: University of Cape Town. *hdl:11427/17723*.

Leeds, C. A. (1981). *Political Studies*. Great Britain: Macdonald and Evans.

Linklater, A. (2005). "Marxism" in Scott Burchill et al (eds.), *Theories of International Relations*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Lynch, S. M. and Wilke, S. (November 5, 2014). "Harvard's Joseph Nye Receives Honor in Japan" (<https://www.belfercenter.org/publication/harvards-joseph-nye-receives-honor-japan>). *Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs*.

Machiavelli, N. (1961). *The Prince*. trans. G. Bull. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Marx, K. Engels, F. (1985). "*Communist Manifesto*" in E. F. Borisov and G. I. Liman (eds.), *A Reader on Social Sciences*. Moscow: Progress Publishers.

Mitrany, D. (1966). *A Working Peace System*, repr. With introd. By H. J. Morgenthau. Chicago: Quadrangle.

Mitrany, D. (1968). The Prospect of Integration: Federation or Functional? In Nye, J. S. Jr. (ed.), *International Regionalism: Readings*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company,, p. 52

Morgenthau, H. J. (1960). *Politics Among Nations*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn. New York: Knopf.

Morgenthau, H. J. (1973). "The Geopolitics of Israel's Survival," *The New Leader*, vol. 56, issue 25 December 24, pp. 4–6.

Nasubaum, A. (1962). *A Concise History of the Law of Nations*. New York.

Navari, C. (1995), David Mitrany and International Functionalism, in David Long and Peter Wilson (eds.), *Thinkers of the Twenty Years. Crisis: Inter-War Idealism Reassessed*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, p. 218



Nicolaievsky, B. and; Maenchen-Helfen, O. (1976). *Karl Marx: Man and Fighter*. trans. Gwenda David and Eric Mosbacher. Harmondsworth and New York: Pelican. ISBN 978-1-4067-2703-6.

Niebuhr, R. (1932). *The Moral Man and Immoral Society*. New York: Scribner's

Norriof, C. (2010). *America's Global Advantage: US Hegemony and International Cooperation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Nye, J. S. (November 29, 2007). "Smart Power" ([https://www.huffpost.com/entry/smart-power\\_b\\_74725](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/smart-power_b_74725)). *The Huffington Post*.

\_\_\_\_\_ (1977). *Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition*. Boston: Little Brown.

Omemma, D. A. (2012). "War and the Struggle for Peace", in Okafor, F. C. N, and Chiamogu, P. N. (eds.), *Thoughts on International Relations*. Lagos: Absolute Media Productions.

"Open Syllabus Project" (<https://opensyllabus.org/results-list/authors?size=50&ields=Politics%20Science>)

Pavgi, K. (November 28, 2011). "The 100 Global Thinkers". *Foreign Policy. Politics*. London: Macmillan,

Rösch, F. (2013). "Pouvoir, Puissance, and Politics: Hans Morgenthau's Dualistic Concept of Power?" *Review of International Studies* 40, no. 2, 349-65. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0260210513000065>

Rösch, F. (2015).. *Power, Knowledge, and Dissent in Morgenthau's Worldview*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan,

Sabirov, K. (1987). *What is Communism?* Moscow: Progress Publishers.

Shaw, M. N. (1997). *International Law*. 4<sup>th</sup> edn. Cambridge: Cambridge

Shimmer College. "Early Entrance Program" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20130602055849/http://shimer.edu/academicprograms/undergraduate/earlyentrantprogram.cfm>.)

Strauss, L. (1964). *The City and Man* Chicago: Rand McNally,

Thucydides (1972). *History of the Peloponnesian War*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.,

Tippett, K. (October 25, 2007). "Reinhold Niebuhr Timeline: Opposes Vietnam War". *On Being*.

Urquhart, B. (March 26, 2009). "What You Can Learn from Reinhold Niebuhr". *The New York Review of Books*.

Watson, A. (1992). *The Evolution of International Society*. London: Routledge.

Wight, M. (1977). *Systems of States*. Leicester: Leicester University Press.

## **WEBSITE MATERIALS**

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/David\\_Mitrany](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/David_Mitrany)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hans\\_Morgenthau](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hans_Morgenthau).

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hans\\_Morgenthau](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hans_Morgenthau).

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Immanuel\\_Kant](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Immanuel_Kant).

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/J.\\_A.\\_Hobson](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/J._A._Hobson)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jeremy\\_Bentham](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jeremy_Bentham).

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joseph\\_Nye](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joseph_Nye)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Norman\\_Angell](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Norman_Angell)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Norman\\_Angell](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Norman_Angell)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reinhold\\_Niebuhr](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reinhold_Niebuhr)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reinhold\\_Niebuhr](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reinhold_Niebuhr)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Robert\\_Keohane&ddid=1095208810](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Robert_Keohane&ddid=1095208810)

<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thucydides>.

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Woodrow\\_Wilson](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Woodrow_Wilson)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Ernst\\_B.\\_Haas&oldid=1095647737](https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Ernst_B._Haas&oldid=1095647737)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Karl\\_Marx](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Karl_Marx)





