

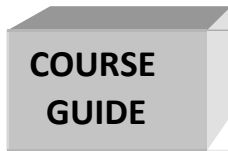


NATIONAL OPEN UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA

SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

COURSE CODE: INR 122

COURSE TITLE: CONCEPTS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS



INR 122

Concepts in International Relations

Course Team

Mr. Amanchukwu Ikenna (Course Writer)

Irene Pogoson PhD (Course Editor) -OAU

Ndom Daniel Agilebu PhD (Reviewer) -KOMU

Mr. Terhemba Ambe-Uva (Coordinator) -NOUN



NATIONAL OPEN UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA

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National Open University of Nigeria

Headquarters

University Village

Plot 91, Cadastral Zone

Nnamdi Azikiwe Expressway

Jabi, Abuja

Lagos Office

14/16 Ahmadu Bello Way

Victoria Island, Lagos

e-mail: centralinfo@nou.edu.ng

URL: www.nou.edu.ng

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Introduction

INR 122: Concepts in International Relations is a second-semester course in the first year of B.A. (Hons.) degree in International Relations. It is a two credit unit course designed to explore the various concepts most popularly linked to International Relations.

Admittedly, no single course can discuss all the concepts in an ever-evolving field of study like International Relations. The course therefore treats, in some details, key concepts in the major subfields of international relations namely, International Politics, International Law, International Organisations, and Foreign Policy and Security/Strategic Studies. Interestingly, in treating some of the selected concepts, related concepts, necessary for the proper understanding of those selected are also discussed.

The work is divided into five modules. The first module introduces the students to the field of international relations. It walks them through the meaning and study of International Relations, the Environment of International Relations, the Nature and Importance of International Relations and the Importance of Concepts on international Relations. Module Two addresses concepts in International Politics. Module Three discusses concepts in International Law. Module Four engages concepts in International Organisation and Foreign Policy. The course is rounded off with module five which discusses concepts in Security and Strategic Studies.

What the Student Will Learn in this Course

Concepts in International Relations intend to provide learners with a working knowledge of the basic concepts used in International Relations. Discussing the concepts with relevant examples from current developments in the field brings the studies home. The interrogation of key concepts drawn from the different subfields in international relations ensures that the student is properly grounded in the different areas of the discipline. This, indeed, arms the students with the tools, necessary for a robust intellectual engagement in this exciting field.

In the course, concepts that explain the players in international relations, the environment of international relations, the factors that condition the actions and or reactions of actors, in their relationship with one another, the rules and principles guiding or regulating such contacts and interactions etc. are treated in some level of details. The course therefore prepares the student for an exciting journey in the field of International Relations.

Course Aim

The aim of the course is to:

Introduce the students to some of the basic concepts they will be interacting with in the course of their studies in the field of International Relations. This, no doubt, provides the requisite foundation for a successful scholarship in this exciting field of study.

Course Objectives

Following from the above aim, the objectives of the course include:

- i. Providing the students with the working definitions of the major concepts in International Relations

- ii. Exposing the students to a range of authorities as well as perspectives to the key concepts in international relations.
- iii. Enhancing students' understanding of the concepts by the use of current examples and developments that they can relate with.

Working through the Course

It is advised that students carefully work through the course by studying each unit in a bid to understanding the concepts and principles in international relations and how the discipline evolved and has continued to develop. Knowing the theoretical debates to this study will also be very useful in having a good grasp of the course. Your questions should be noted regularly and asked at the tutorial classes. It is recommended that students also engage new ideas generated from unfolding events around the world that International Law principles can be applied to and romance these ideas among one another and the tutorial master.

Course Materials

1. Course guide
2. Study Units
3. Textbooks
4. Assignment file
5. Presentation schedule

Study Units

There are 22 study units in this course: They are:

MODULE 1: The Study of International Relations

Unit 1 Meaning and Study of International Relations

Unit 2 The International System

Unit 3 The Nature and Importance of International Relations

Unit 4 The Importance of Concepts to International Relational Relations

MODULE 2: CONCEPTS IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

Unit 1 Concept of War

Unit 2 Actors in International System

Unit 3 National Interest

Unit 4 Balance of Power

MODULE 3: CONCEPTS IN INTERNATIONAL LAW

Unit 1 International Law

Unit 2 Extradition

Unit 3 War Crime

Unit 4 Terrorism
Unit 5 Genocide

MODULE 4: CONCEPTS IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION AND FOREIGN POLICY

Unit 1 The West-Phalian System
Unit 2 Alliances and Coalition
Unit 3 Non-Alignment
Unit 4 Foreign Policy

MODULE 5: CONCEPTS IN SECURITY AND STRATEGIC STUDIES

Unit 1: Arms Trade, Arms Race and Arms Control
Unit 2: Collective Security and Collective Defense
Unit 3: Deterrence and Disarmament
Unit 4: Environmental Security
Unit 5: Diplomacy

From the above, we can see that the course starts with the basic introduction to the nature of international relations and progresses gradually into the key concepts extant in the international system. To ensure a balance, care is taken to ensure that concepts treated are drawn from the major thematic areas of international relations. The instructions given in each unit contain objectives, course contents and reading materials. In addition, there are also Self-Assessment Exercises to help the student assess their level of assimilation of the content of every section of the units. All these are intended to assist students in achieving the overall objectives of each unit.

Textbooks and References

Each unit contains a list of relevant reference materials and texts which can help enhance your reading and understanding of this course. It is important to note that conscious effort has been put to developing this course guide, however, it is in your interest to consult these relevant texts and many others not referenced here so as to widen your horizon and sharpen your own ability to be versatile and creative. This instruction is crucial as it will go a long way in helping you find solution to assignments and other exercises given to you.

Assessment

There are a number of Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) in the course. The SAEs are intended to prepare you on your own and assess your understanding of the course since you are not going to submit it. They

measure your level of assimilation of the subjects discussed in each unit. It is therefore important that you take them seriously.

Final Examination and Grading

There will be a final examination at the end of taking this course. The examination duration is three hours carrying 70% of your total score and grade in this course. It is highly recommended that your Self-Assessment Exercises are taken seriously as your examination questions may be drawn from the question treated under these assessments.

Course Marking Scheme

The following table sets out how the actual course marking is broken down.

Assessment	Marks
Four assignments (the best four of all the assignments submitted for marking).	Four assignments, each marked out of 10%, but highest scoring three selected, thus totaling 30%
Final Examination	70% of overall course score.
Total	100% of course score.

Units	Title of Work	Week Activity	Assignment (End-of-Unit)
Course Guide	Concepts in International Relations		
Module 1	THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS		
Unit 1	Meaning and Study of International Relations	Week 1	Assignment 1
Unit 2	The International System	Week 1	Assignment 1
Unit 3	The Nature of and Importance of International Relations	Week 2	Assignment 1
Unit 4	The Importance of Concepts in International Relations	Week 2	Assignment 1
Module 2	CONCEPTS IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS		
Unit 1	The Concept of War	Week 3	Assignment 1
Unit 2	Actors in International System	Week 4	Assignment 1
Unit 3	National Interest	Week 4	Assignment 1
Unit 4	Balance of Power	Week 5	Assignment 1
Module 3	CONCEPTS IN INTERNATIONAL LAW		
Unit 1	International Law	Week 6	Assignment 1
Unit 2	Extradition	Week 7	Assignment 1
Unit 3	War Crime	Week 8	Assignment 1
Unit 4	Terrorism	Week 8	Assignment 1
Unit 5	Genocide	Week 9	Assignment 1
Module 4	CONCEPTS IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION AND FOREIGN POLICY		
Unit 1	The Westphalian System	Week 10	Assignment 1
Unit 2	Alliances and Coalition	Week 11	Assignment 1
Unit 3	Non-Alignment	Week 12	Assignment 1
Unit 4	Foreign Policy	Week 13	Assignment 1
MODULE 5	CONCEPTS IN SECURITY AND STRATEGIC STUDIES		
Unit 1	Arms Trade, Arms Race and Arms Control	Week 14	Assignment 1
Unit 2	Collective Security and Collective Defense	Week 15	Assignment 1

Unit 3	Deterrence and Disarmament	Week 15	Assignment 1
Unit 4	Environmental Security	Week 16	Assignment 1
Unit 5	Diplomacy	Week 16	Assignment 1
	Total	16 Weeks	Assignment 1

MODULE 1: THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

INTRODUCTION

- Unit 1 Meaning and Study of International Relations
- Unit 2 The International System
- Unit 3 The Nature of and Importance of International Relations
- Unit 4 The Importance of Concepts in International Relations

UNIT 1: MEANING AND STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

CONTENTS

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Learning Outcomes
- 1.3 Main content
 - 1.3.1 Definition of International Relations
 - 1.3.2 The Study of International Relations
 - 1.3.3 International Relations and Political Science
- 1.4 Conclusion
- 1.5 Summary
- 1.6 References/Further Reading
- 1.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter introduces the students to the subject matter of International Relations, a branch of Political Science that has assumed an independent status especially since the end of 2nd World War. In the world today, national governments, non-governmental organizations, large business conglomerates have increasingly seen the need for synergy and partnership to advance the socio-economic and political development of state actors and non-state actors in the international system. Actions and decisions taken by a country in the international system affect others significantly, and this calls for a global system of rules, laws that guide and influence the conduct of state and non-state actors. This unit is, therefore, geared towards defining international relations as a subject of study.

1.2 LEARNING OUTCOMES

By the end of this unit, students should be able to:

- i. define and explain International Relations as a field of study.
- ii. discuss the historical background of international relations
- iii. state the relationship between International Relations and Political Science

1.3 MAIN CONTENT

1.3.1 DEFINITION OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

There is no doubt that International Relations has grown to become an independent course of study. The growing number of International Relations scholars has led to various attempts to define the discipline. Partly because of the complexity of the nature and scope of the field, it has proved difficult to find a simple but generally acceptable definition of the term ‘International Relations’. This is, however, not peculiar to International Relations. The problem of definition is in part, due to the origin of the study and discipline.

In 1935, Sir Clifford Zimmern, a Professor of International Relations at Oxford, argued that “the study of International Relations extends from the natural sciences, at one end, to moral philosophy at the other. He defined the field not as a single subject or discipline but as “a bundle of subjects”. Frederick Dunn, on the other hand, contends that International Relations “may be looked upon as the actual relations that take place across national boundaries, or as the body of knowledge which we have of those relations at any given time”. Trevor Taylor, in 1978, defined the subject as “the discipline which tries to explain political activities across state boundaries and to date, it has been chiefly concerned with the political relations between governments, the official representatives of state. Each of these definitions is problematic. For example, Dunn’s definition is too broad and too restrictive. There is the need to emphasize the political significance of transnational relations, while relations across national boundaries may not cover all the phenomena that have come to be regarded as part of International Relations.

Nicholas J. Spykman describes International Relations as “relations between individuals belonging to different states, while Quincy Wright argues that International Relations include relations between many entities of uncertain sovereignty”. He further contends that “as a subject of study, it is not limited by the legal formalism which alone could not at any moment precisely indicate what entities are sovereign or what are not. Also, Karen Wingst defined

International Relations as the study of the interactions among the various actors that participate in international politics, including states, international organizations, non-governmental organization, sub-national entities like bureaucracies and local government and individuals. It is the study of these actors as they participate individually and together in international political processes.

In the light of the absence of broad agreement on a definition, it is very important to have a purely operational definition of international relations. According to Stanley Hoffman, “the discipline of international relation is concerned with the factors and activities which affect the external policies and power of the basic units into which the world is divided”. In other words, it is concerned with all “the exchange, transaction, contacts, flows of information and meaning, and the attending and resulting behavioural responses between and among separated organized society”. This means that international relations could encompass many different activities – social, economic, cultural and religious. So far as they have implications for international political relations.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 15 minutes.

With reference to the view of at least two of the authorities, what do you understand by International Relations?

1.3.2 THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

There was no systematic development of the study of International Relations centred on diplomatic history and International Law. The approach was basically static and legalistic, and was concerned mainly with a blow by blow account of events between and among states. The emphasis was on describing with as much detail and accuracy as possible, the particulars of specific incidents in history. No attempt was made to theorize nor was there any quest for policy relevant information that could be used to mould events to realize policy goals.

However, the catastrophic effect of the First World War stimulated interest in the study of International Relation. With total battle deaths estimated at 9 million, the concern was with contemporary problems in general and the problem of war in particular. Both scholars and

statesmen could not comprehend the cause of the war. The concern, therefore, was with the condition under which war might be avoided and peace maintained. This served as the major stimulant to the study of International Relations

Two major research institutions – The Royal Institute of International Affairs in London and the Council on Foreign Relations in New York, were set up immediately after the war. Chairs were also established at the University College of Wales in 1922, for the study of International Relations. The study later spread to continental Europe. Through the inter war period, the diplomatic – historical perspective persisted. However, the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 posed a serious and increasing threat to the paradigm.

The post war environment made it conducive for “utopian or idealists” to concern themselves with the means of preventing another war in the international system. In general, they view human nature as essentially “good” and capable of mutual aid and collaboration. They also recognized that it is the fundamental instinct of man to cater for the welfare of others that makes progress possible. As a result, bad behavior is the product, not of evil people, but of evil institutions and structural arrangements that create incentives for people to act selfishly and harm others. Therefore, war is not inevitable and can be eliminated by doing away with those institutional arrangements that encourage it. To this end, there is the need for a global rather than a national approach to the elimination of war in the international system.

The outbreak of the Second World War led to widespread debate, criticism and rejection of the idealist paradigm. The war was in part attributed to the naivety of the idealists. Thus, a new political movement called “Political Realism” came to challenge the idealists. Notable among the realists were E.H. Carr, Hans Morgenthau, George Kennan, Henry Kissinger etc. The views of these scholars were the antithesis of the basic assumptions of the idealists. They insisted that states which neglect to strive for power actually invited war. The logical corollary is that, if all states search for power, peace and stability will result through the operation of the balance of power system, propelled by self-interest and a fluid alliance system.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 15 minutes.

In what ways did the outbreak of the First and Second World Wars influence the development of International Relations as a field of study?

1.3.3 INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE

It is pertinent to emphasize here that while acknowledging the close relationship with many other disciplines in the social sciences, the subject of International Relations is an autonomous academic discipline. The interlocking relationship between international politics and foreign policies is no doubt a feature of the complex contemporary international system. Yet, Political Science and International Relations have different environments. International Political activities take place in an environment devoid of a final central or supreme authority. It is a specialized subfield of the larger Political Science discipline concerned basically with relations among actors at the global level.

This explains why there is a difference in the perspective of the two disciplines i.e. Political Science and International Relations. According to C.A.W. Mammings, International Relations begins with the context, and is then led to consider the content. Its interest is in the environment and in the inter-relatedness of everything within. Besides, different sorts of questions are asked by students of Political Science and International Relations. The focus of study in Political Science is often structure and operation of the system. The political scientist is primarily concerned with how decisions are reached, and with how pressure group and other elements in the political system work to obtain influence. He may not be greatly concerned with the nature of the decision reached. On the other hand, the student of International Relations is concerned with the decision making process only in so far as it may provide information about the sort of decision that are likely to emerge. It is important to point out that there are International Relations scholars who do not attach any significance to the decisions-making process. They accept a “state as actors” approach which posits that states behave basically, in a similar way towards their external environment irrespective of the nature of the domestic political system. In short, Political Science discusses how governments decide, International Relations is about what they decide. Both disciplines, therefore, require a separate set of theories and techniques. They nevertheless need a considerable dose of inter-disciplinary co-operation.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 3

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 10 minutes.

Highlight the relationship between Political Science and International Relations.

1.4 CONCLUSION

International relation as a field of study in political science has grown over the years to become an independent discipline especially since the end of the Second World War. Actions and decision of states have increasingly been influenced by other states in the international system. Many scholars have made concerted efforts to agree on a common definition. Almost all the definitions given by scholars share in the view of Stanley Hoffman that international relations is predominantly concerned with the act activities which affect the external policies and power of the basic units into which the world is divided.

1.5 SUMMARY

In this unit, we have taken the pains to define International Relations from the point of view of different scholars including Frederick Dunn, Trevor Taylor, Nicholas Spykman and Stanley Hoffman among others. In the absence of a broad agreement on a definition, we have adopted the definition offered by Stanley Hoffman. This unit also provided a platform to chronicle the events that stimulated the study of international relations, and why it has today become an autonomous field of study. Of particular note is the role of the First and Second World Wars, the experiment with idealism or utopian perspective in explaining global events after the war. Finally, the relationship between Political Science and International Relations was discussed, while harping on the urgency of interdisciplinary co-operation between the two disciplines.

1.6 References/Further Readings/Web Sources

- Dunn, Frederick (1948). "The Scope of International Relations" *World Politics* 2(1)143-145.
- Hoffman, Stanley (1950). *Contemporary Theory of International Relations*. Englewood Cliff, N. J. Prentice Hall.
- Mingst, Karen (2004). *Essentials of International Relations*, New York: WW Norton and Company.
- Wright, Quincy (1955). *The study of International Relations*, New York: Apple Ton.

1.7. Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

Answers to SAEs 1

International relations have been severally defined by different authorities on the basis of what they consider the core of the discipline. According to Frederick Dunn, International Relations "may be looked upon as the actual relations that take place across national boundaries, or as the body of knowledge which we have of those relations at any given

time". in the words of Trevor Taylor (1978), it is "the discipline which tries to explain political activities across state boundaries and to date, it has been chiefly concerned with the political relations between governments, the official representatives of state.

It is important to note that, not minding the different perspectives each authority tends to advance, a commonality among their views is that international relations involve the contact and interactions among state and non-state actors across national boundaries, which possess the capacity to shape and or reshape global politics and socio-economic relations.

Answers to SAEs 2

The outbreak of the First and Second World Wars had significant impact on the development of international relations in a number of ways:

In the first place, the catastrophic effect of the First World War stimulated interest in the study of International Relation. With total battle deaths estimated at 9 million, the concern was with contemporary problems in general and the problem of war in particular. Both scholars and statesmen could not comprehend the cause of the war. The concern, therefore, was with the condition under which war might be avoided and peace maintained. This served as the major stimulant to the study of International Relations

Secondly, the establishment, immediately after the war, of Two major research institutions – The Royal Institute of International Affair in London and the Council on Foreign Relations in New York gave additional impetus to the discipline. Chairs were also established at the University College of Wales in 1922, for the study of International Relation. The study later spread to continental Europe. Through the inter war period, the diplomatic – historical perspective persisted.

Thirdly, The post-World War 1 environment made it conducive for "utopian or idealists" to concern themselves with the means of preventing another war in the international system. In general, they view human nature as essentially "good" and capable of mutual aid and collaboration. They also recognized that it is the fundamental instinct of man to cater for the welfare of others that makes progress possible. As a result, bad behavior is the product, not of evil people, but of evil institution and structural arrangements that create incentives for people to act selfishly and harm others. Therefore, war is not inevitable and can be eliminated by doing away with those institutional arrangements that encourage it. To this end, there is the need for a global rather than a national approach to the elimination of war in the international system.

The outbreak of the Second World War led to widespread debate, criticism and rejection of idealist paradigm. The war was in part attributed to the naivety of the idealists. Thus, a new political movement called "Political Realism" came to challenge the idealists. Notable among the realists were E.H. Caw, Hans Morgenthau, George Kannan, Henry Kissinger etc. The views of these scholars were the antithesis of the basic assumptions of

the rationalists. They insisted that states which neglect to strive for power actually invited war. The logical corollary is that, if all states search for power, peace and stability will result through the operation of the balance of power system, propelled by self-interest and a fluid alliance system. These intellectual engagements arising from the events of the Wars, contributed immensely to the development of international relations.

Answers to SAEs 3

The relationship between Political Science and international relations can be likened to that of a set and a subset. Though a subfield of Political Science, International Relations has grown to acquire a level of identity in within the social sciences. The focus of study in Political Science is often structure and operation of the system. The political scientist is primarily concerned with how decisions are reached, and with how pressure group and other elements in the political system work to obtain influence. He may not be greatly concerned, ab initio, with the nature of the decision reached. On the other hand, the student of International Relations is concerned with the decision-making process only in so far as it may provide information about the sort of decision that are likely to emerge. It is important to point out that there are International Relations scholars who do not attach any significance to the decisions-making process. They accept a “state as actors” approach which posits that states are propelled by certain sets of interests and behave basically, in a similar way towards their external environment irrespective of the nature of the domestic political system. In short, Political Science discusses how governments decide, International Relations is about what they decide. Both disciplines, therefore, require a separate set of theories and techniques. They nevertheless need a considerable dose of inter-disciplinary co-operation.

UNIT 2: THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

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- 2.3 Main Content
 - 2.3.1 The International System
 - 2.3.2 International System According to the Liberals
 - 2.3.3 International System According to the Realists
- 2.4 Conclusion
- 2.5 Summary
- 2.6 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 2.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

2.1 INTRODUCTION

A system is a structure made up of several parts or components units. That is to admit that without the component parts, there cannot be a system or a whole. The concept of system is more popular in the biological and physical sciences, but it has increasingly become relevant in Political Science and International Relations. The Oxford Dictionary defines a system as ‘a set of or an assemblage of things connected, associated or interdependent, so as to form a complex unit. By this definition, the system concept can refer to the world as a system made up of component parts. Countries and sovereign entities in the world system represent the component parts of the system.

2.2 LEARNING OUTCOMES:

By the end of this unit, the students should be able to:

1. Define the International System
2. Explain international system according to liberal scholars
3. Discuss international systems from the point of view of realists.

2.3 MAIN CONTENT

2.3.1 The International System

Several definitions of 'system' and international system have been suggested by international relations scholars and political scientists generally. Beer and Ulam, for instance, contend that "by a system, we mean at least a high degree of interdependence". An international system according to Frankel "consists of a number of units which interact. While it is true that contemporary international system has units – states which are in constant interaction, has rules, norms and a clear-cut boundary which according to the definitions of both system and international system qualify it as a system, there are very important differences between it and a natural or biological system.

The general concept of international system has its foundation in the works of system theorists in the field of International Relations. Scholars in the field have developed basic framework to establish the basis on which international arena can be regarded as a system. They regard nation-states as actors, always standing in interaction with each other making the whole world, in the process, an organized complexity. Spiro holds that the idea of international system is abstract, descriptive and theoretical. Nevertheless, it contributes a perspective in which international system constitute an expression to stimulate thought about a certain generalized image (Spiro, 1999).

David Easton and Gabriel Almond have used the systems approach for the study of political system while Kenneth Waltz and Morton Kaplan have used it for the study of international system. One remarkable systemic work about the international system is done by Kenneth Waltz. Addressing the systematic nature of international political interaction, Waltz emphasized the structural factor. He explains that a system is made up of a structure and units. The units are interactive and interdependent. He contends, further, that in international politics, sovereign states constitute the units, while the structure of international politics is an ordering principle that positions or arranges the sovereign states in the pecking order of ranking and alliances (Waltz, 1979).

Other scholars including Stanley Hoffman, Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff have offered their definitions of international system. According to Hoffman, international system is a pattern of relations among the basic units of world politics, characterized by the scope of objectives pursued by those units and of the task performed among them as well as by the means used to achieve those goals and perform these tasks (Hoffman, 1965). In an attempt to find an

operational definition of international system, Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff maintain that ‘an international political system is a set of polities linked by a set of interactions and patterns of behaviour in the world politics’ (Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, 1997). This definition presupposes that political interaction among polities cannot just constitute an international system, unless the polities are identified as a sovereign.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 8 minutes.

Define the International System

2.3.2 INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM ACCORDING TO LIBERALS

The international system is not central to the view of liberals. It is therefore not surprising to find at least three different conceptions of the international system in liberal thinking. The first conception sees the international system not as a structure but as a process, in which multiple interactions occur among different parties, and where various actors learn from the interaction. Actors in the process include not only states but also international governmental organizations such as the United Nations, non-governmental organizations such as Human Rights Watch and Multinational Corporation, and sub-state actors such as parliaments and bureaucracies.

With so many different kinds of actors, a plethora of national interest defines the liberal international system. While security interest, so dominant for realist are still important to liberals, other interests such as economic and social issues are also considered, depending on the time and circumstance. In their book *Power and Interdependence*, Political Scientists Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye describe the international system as an interdependent system in which the different actors are both sensitive to, and vulnerable to the actions of others. In interdependent systems, there are multiple channels connecting states. These channels exist between governmental elites and among non-governmental elites and transnational organizations as well. Multiple issues and agendas arise in the international system, but the issues have no hierarchy.

A second liberal conception of the international system comes from the English tradition of international society. According to two of the principal architects of this tradition, scholars Hedley Bull and Adam Watson, while the international system comprises a group of independent political communities, an international society is more than that. In an international society, the various actors communicate. They consent to common rules and

institution and recognise common interest. Actors in international society share a common identity, a sense of “we-ness”. Without such an identity, a society cannot exist. This conception of international system has normative implications and liberals view the international system as an arena and process for positive interaction.

A third liberal view of international system is that of neo-liberal institutionalism, a view that comes closer to realist thinking. Neo-liberal institutionalists see the international system as an anarchic one in which each individual state acts in its own interest. But unlike many realists, they see the product of the interaction among actors as a potentially positive one, where institutions created out of self-interest serve to moderate state behaviour, as states realize they will have future interactions with the other actors involved.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 8 minutes

Identify any three conceptions of the liberal view of the international system

2.3.3 INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM ACCORDING TO THE REALISTS

Political realists have clear notions of the international system and its essential characteristics. All realists characterize the international system as anarchic. No authority exists above the state; the state is sovereign. This anarchic structure constrains the actions of decision makers and affects the distribution of capabilities among the various actors. Realists differ among themselves, however, about the degree of states autonomy in the international system.

Traditional realists acknowledge that states act and shape the system, whereas neo-realists believe that states are constrained by the structure of the system. Yet for both, anarchy is the basic ordering principle and each state in the system must, therefore, look out for its own interest above all. Realists differentiate the international system along the dimensions of polarity and stratification. It is for this reason they speak of the international system in terms of unipolarity, bipolarity or multipolarity. These describe an international system dominated by one, two or many superpower state actors respectively.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 3

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 8 minutes.

Briefly explain the Political Realists view of the international system.

2.4 CONCLUSION

No meaningful study of international relations can be possible in the absence of a working coherent and structured pattern of interactions among states. A system is made up of different parts performing special and distinct roles to ensure stability and survival of the society. In international relations, countries and sovereign entities have become an integral part of the world system. They engage each other in interactions, politics and even conflicts, which is not completely ruled out. Expectedly, the interactions are moderated and governed by systems of rule, procedures and norms which must be binding on all the component parts of the international system.

2.5 SUMMARY

This unit dwelt on international system, where nation-states or actors stand in interaction with other states in an organized complex structure. Stanley Hoffman's definition of international system pictured a pattern of relations among the basic units of world politics. To understand the import of the international system, two prominent perspectives have come to dominate critical examination of the concept. There is the liberal and realist point of view in international system. The liberal considered states and non-state actors in the whole interaction process within the world system. Again, issues like economy, social and political benefits feature prominently in the interaction involving states and non-governmental institutions. On the other hand, the realists regard the international system as an anarchic structure where the ultimate authority is the sovereign state.

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2.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

Answers to SAEs 1

A useful starting point in defining the concept of international system is probably a consideration of the opinion of a few authorities on the subject. According to Hoffman (1965), international system is a pattern of relations among the basic units of world politics, characterized by the scope of objectives pursued by those units and of the task performed among them as well as by the means used to achieve those goals and perform these tasks. For Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff (1997), 'an international political system is a set of polities linked by a set of interactions and patterns of behaviour in the world politics'. These definitions presuppose that international system represents a totality of the structure, patterns of interactions, principles and objectives that shape or influence the political interactions and relationships among sovereign polities at the global level.

Answers to SAEs 2

- In liberal thinking, the international system is conceived in a number of ways.*
- 1. The first conception sees the international system not as a structure but as a process, in which multiple interactions occur among different parties, and where various actors learn from the interaction*
 - 2. The second conception of international system has normative implications and liberals view the international system as an arena and process for positive interaction.*
 - 3. A third liberal view of international system is that of neo-liberal institutionalism, a view that comes closer to realist thinking. Neo-liberal institutionalists see the international system as an anarchic one in which each individual state acts in its own interest. But*

unlike many realists, they see the product of the interaction among actors as a potentially positive one, where institutions created out of self-interest serve to moderate state behaviour, as states realize they will have future interactions with the other actors involved.

Answers to SAEs 3

Political realists characterize the international system as anarchic. Anarchy here implies the absence of a global sovereign to which states are accountable. No authority exists above the state; the state is sovereign. This anarchic structure constrains the actions of decision makers and affects the distribution of capabilities among the various actors. Though Realists differ among themselves, about the degree of states autonomy in the international system, they are however in agreement that anarchy is the basic ordering principle and each state in the system must, therefore, look out for its own interest above all.

UNIT 3: THE NATURE AND IMPORTANCE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

CONTENTS

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Learning Outcomes
- 3.3 Main Content
 - 3.3.1 The Nature of International Relations
 - 3.3.2 The Importance of International Relations
- 3.4 Conclusion
- 3.5 Summary
- 3.6 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 3.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Given the multiplicity and rapidity of occurrences within the international system, which continues to define and or redefine the shades and shapes of interactions among actors, a good understanding of the nature of International Relations, as a discipline, becomes inevitable. This unit therefore examines the nature or character of international relations. Beyond that, it highlights the benefits of the course to both the scholar and the policy maker.

3.2 LEARNING OUTCOMES

By the end of this unit, the student should be able to:

- (i) Outline the nature of International Relations.
- (ii) Discuss the importance of the discipline to the global community.

3.3 MAIN CONTENT

3.3.1 The nature of international relations

Like the global community itself, the study of International Relation is dynamic. This is largely due to the fact that it takes place in an ever changing and increasingly complex world, composed of a multiplicity of actors broadly classified into state and non-state actors. Even though the state actors remain the primary unit of analysis or building block of scholarship in international relations, non state actors wield significant influence on global environment as their activities sometimes shape global politics and economic relations. Thus, the content and

approaches to the study of the subject continues to expand as scholars apply analytical insights and tools drawn from diverse disciplines in their efforts to define and find answers to the questions posed by this ever-evolving field

The international political environment is 'porous'. There is no restriction to the emergence of actors, whose activities wield enormous influence on relations, even across national borders. For instance, the surge in terrorist organisations consistently stretches existing boundaries of knowledge and therefore expands the frontiers of existing analytical frameworks. As new realities emerge, new explanatory frameworks are either sought or existing ones are expanded to accommodate new variables, relevant to the field.

On domain, the argument as to whether International Relations is a discipline will most probably rage on for a while as there appears to be no consensus among scholars in this regard. For Palmer and Perkins (2010), it lacks a clear cut conceptual framework and a systematic body of applicable theory; and it is heavily dependent upon other, and for the most part, better organized disciplines. However, they admit that it does have certain features which set it apart from other disciplines and above all, it has a particular approach to the problems which it deals with. The argument goes further to question the scientificity or otherwise of international relations. Again, Palmer and Perkins believe that, measured by any rigid test, international relations is clearly not a science. This is with reference to Dale Fuller's definition which characterizes science as 'a field of study which requires a body of data systematized by a distinctive analytical method and capable of permitting predictions with exactitude.' Given the fact that human actions and reactions at any given time may not be predicted with pinpoint accuracy, international relations cannot be considered a science in the category of the physical sciences. This is so because, unlike laboratory reagents, which react in a certain way, under certain controlled environment, human actions, which constitute primary analytical variables in international relations are sometimes unpredictable because of certain internal and external influences.

However, given Morton Kaplan's criteria that 'a discipline implies a set of skills and techniques; a body of theory and of propositions; and a subject matter', it is admitted that international relations, as a field of study and research, may be regarded as a discipline because it has a distinctive methodology, theories, and distinctive subject matter, however fluctuating and ill-defined its boundaries may be (Palmer and Perkins:2010).

As in politics generally, international relations, which is relations among states is defined by interests. Every state is propelled by the quest to protect and preserve certain core values, which they consider very crucial to their existence and are therefore ready to go to war to protect them. A nation's friends and foes at a given time are therefore determined by their interests at such times. Thus, there is no permanent friend and no permanent enemy in international relations but permanent interest.

The superpowers nations do not intervene in matters affecting smaller nations except such interventions serve their larger interest. It is for this purpose that diplomatic relations, alliance formations and even military capabilities are built. Given the reality that there is the absence of a global sovereign, wielding authority over sovereign states in the way states do over their citizens, it is in the interest of the states to acquire and grow their capacities. Such is the nature of international relations.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 8 minutes.

Identify three features that define the nature of international relations

3.3.2 The Importance of International Relations

As the world continues to grow compact daily into a global village the importance of international relations in ensuring harmony and co-operation is brought to greater light. In this regard, international relations reveal to us how men and nations act in given circumstances and from this, we can infer what conditions to encourage and which to discourage if international cohesiveness is to be achieved.

This sums up the key reason why international relations has maintained its position in many university faculties worldwide; as noted above, the study of international relations is not a science capable of solving all problems associated with international life rather it is an objective and systematic approach to problems of an international kind. The study of international relations affords us the possibility of escaping the miseries and hardships of the past, into a more prosperous future by instituting the necessary structural mechanisms needed to address past pitfalls. This, in itself, is the end of international relations. However in noting the glowing

attributes of international relations, it is important to also understand that many of the problems of international relations are simply unsolvable. The intense interaction of a world divided along political and ideological lines on a variety of issues sometimes makes it difficult to achieve the goals of a peaceful and prosperous world for all. The relations between states are of utmost importance as the survival of a state may, to all intents and purposes, be dependent on how its leaders are able to navigate their relationship with other states. So we see that a state's survival or even physical safety may be considerably impelled by ill-relations, more so nowadays when a supposedly 'little' weapon is capable of doing great mischief. Thus the study of international relations focuses on the subjects of great international bearing of diverse peoples worldwide.

The study of International relations enhances our understanding of the nature and character of the key actors whose activities shape events and outcomes at the global level. It also promotes our understanding of the nature of the environment wherein these actors interact. In the absence of a world policeman, international relation is said to be conducted in an environment of anarchy.

As noted earlier, the activities of state actors and their non-state counterparts wield significantly influence across national boundaries especially in an era of globalization. A good understanding of the operations of these elements therefore equips scholars and policy makers alike with required tools to relate effectively with others at the global setting. For instance, an understanding of the factors that give birth to and propel terrorist organisations like Boko Haram empowers states with the knowledge required to work in concert to tackle the scourge.

The study of international relations empowers practitioners with the analytical tools to reasonably predict future events and outcomes within the international arena. By establishing a regularity in the pattern of past global events, as well as the role of the interacting variables in such circumstances, scholars and practitioners are able to reasonably predict and prepare for the future.

It is a trite that no nation can exist in isolation or in a complete state of autarchy, international relations therefore propels nations to seek global and regional collaborations to tackle such common goals/challenges as climate change, terrorism, global insecurity, economic meltdown etc. These collaborations find expression in the establishment of treaties, pacts, alliances and

international organization etc, which tend to shape and reshape our ever-changing global socio-political and economic landscape.

Indeed, a good knowledge of relations among actors across national boundaries enables players develop mechanisms to manage complex global patterns capable of generating conflict and global chaos.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 15 minutes.

Highlight any three policy importance of international relations to national governments and statesmen

3.4 CONCLUSION

By its nature, international relations takes place in an environment of ‘anarchy’. This is because of the absence of a global sovereign which wields control over states in the manner sovereign states do over their citizens. Furthermore, the existence of state and non-state actors whose activities influence global events and outcomes means that there is a multiplicity of actors in international relations. As observed, these actors are propelled by their different interests. By its nature therefore, international relations may be seen as interactions predicated on the protection and preservation of the interest of state actors, even if there are a myriad of non-state actors who also strive to project theirs.

The importance of international relations to the stability of the world can never be over-emphasized because of its ability to draw from the successes and failings of the past and thus provide us with a roadmap for the future we crave.

3.5 SUMMARY

Discussions in this unit have focused primarily on the nature of international relations. Here, the anarchic nature of the environment of international relations, the multiplicity of actors, the interest-motivation of actors were brought to the fore. The unit also explored the different reasons that make the study of the discipline imperative. This focused primarily on the need for the establishment of a global order that enhances peaceful and prosperous coexistence for mankind.

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3.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

Answers to SAEs 1

A number of features define relations among actors at the global level. among them are the fact that:

- 1. International relations is dynamic. It responds to the changing dynamics of global interactions*
- 2. It is driven primarily by interests of the actors. A nation's interest at any given time gives direction to its policies and actions. Such interest also define friends and foes, thus, there is no permanent friend or enemy but permanent interest.*
- 3. It operates in the atmosphere of 'anarchy' characterized by the absence of a global sovereign to which states are directly accountable.*

Answers to SAEs 2

1. *The study of international relations empowers practitioners with the analytical tools to reasonably predict future events and outcomes within the international arena. By establishing a regularity in the pattern of past global events, as well as the role of the interacting variables in such circumstances, scholars and practitioners are able to reasonably predict and prepare for the future.*
2. *International relations therefore propels nations to seek global and regional collaborations to tackle such common goals/challenges as climate change, terrorism, global insecurity, economic meltdown etc. These collaborations find expression in the establishment of treaties, pacts, alliances and international organization etc., which tend to shape and reshape our ever-changing global socio-political and economic landscape. Indeed,*
3. *a good knowledge of relations among actors across national boundaries enables players develop mechanisms to manage complex global patterns capable of generating conflict and global chaos.*

UNIT 4 THE IMPORTANCE OF CONCEPTS TO INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS STUDY

CONTENTS

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Learning Outcomes
- 4.3 Main Content
 - 4.3.1 Why Concepts?
 - 4.3.2 Concepts and International Relations
- 4.4 Conclusion
- 4.5 Summary
- 4.6 References/Further Readings
- 4.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Concepts are, following Advanced English Dictionary, an abstract or general idea inferred or derived from specific instances. Pursuant to this then our discussions in this unit will be on the 'concept of concepts' so to say or an analysis of what concepts are; in this wise we will examine what a concept is and their impact in the study of international relations. Remember concepts are key or an important gateway to understanding the subject-matter of all academic disciplines.

4.2 LEARNING OUTCOMES

By the end of this unit, students should be able to:

- (i) State what a concept is
- (ii) Enunciate its importance to international relations study

4.3 MAIN CONTENT

4.3.1 Why Concepts?

Ockham holds that concepts play a dual role. On the one hand, concepts are the fundamental units of a certain kind of mental act, namely acts of thinking. Concepts are above all paradigmatic instances of intellectual cognition: to think about ϕ is just a matter of having an occurrent concept of ϕ . Hence concepts are mental acts that are 'about' whatever they may be about: cabbages, kings, pigs with wings. Some concepts are about individual with certain unique qualities, such as Socrates; others are about classes e.g elite, masses; principles e.g sovereignty etc. Concepts are acquired, at least initially, through experience, and in the

economy of the mind they are also the primary building-blocks of thought itself. In other words, acts of intellectual cognition — thinking, judging, reasoning — are composed of concepts in various (possibly complex) combinations;

Hence a concept is literally a mental ‘word’, and, like any word, can be combined with other words to create complex meaningful phrases, sentences, or arguments. Concepts are the vocabulary of Mental Language, which, like any language, has its own syntax and formation-rules. Ockham holds that these two roles played by concepts, one psychological and the other linguistic, are coordinated. The psychological process of compounding acts of thought mirrors the linguistic process of stringing words together. Each discipline thereby benefits from the other: psychology can adopt the relatively sophisticated account of semantics to talk about thought in an articulated and detailed manner, semantics can flesh out the common intuition that words get their meanings from the ideas with which they are associated, so that spoken or written language is a matter of encoding our thoughts.

Sortal concepts are concepts that provide criteria for individuation (where one object ends and another one begins) and identity (whether an object is the same one seen on a different occasion) (Gupta, 1980; Hirsch, 1982; Macnamara, 1986; Macnamara & Reyes, 1994; Wiggins, 1980). These concepts are lexicalized as count nouns in languages that make the count/mass distinction, e.g. dog, cup, person. The sortal concept dog provides criteria for deciding whether we are in the presence of one dog or two dogs, and it provides criteria for deciding whether we have seen the same dog on two different occasions, or two numerically distinct dogs. Sortal concepts such as dog, cup, or ball are a subset of what cognitive scientists refer to as “kind concepts” (which also include other concepts, such as gold, water, etc.).

Thus concepts are mental representations of categories of objects, events or other entities. People daily recognise thousands of concepts. Concepts are the basis for meaning making and communication. Imagine trying to communicate without using concepts. In trying to describe a robin, it would be necessary to describe the generic and specific characteristics of a robin, because to say that a robin is a bird, which therefore conveys all of the characteristics of a bird (has wings; flies; walks; lives in nests; eats bugs, etc), would make the job of identifying the specific robin in a flock of birds cumbersome as one will have to describe each example of a robin that you encountered. However, use of specific word like the red breast makes it easier to describe the bird in question. Communication without concepts would be nigh impossible (Jonassen, 2006).

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 8 minutes.

What are concepts?

4.3.2 Concepts and International Relations Study

In relation to international relations, concepts help to advance the beginner's knowledge of the field of the subject matter. Furthermore, concepts enable a preliminary grasp or awareness of the idea being conveyed. Note that the course you are about to embark upon does not contain the whole or comprehensive concepts peculiar to international relations, however it does provide an ideal conceptual underpinning, so to speak, for the study of the course. International relation scholars would be at sea without models and concepts and narratives that lend coherence to the artifacts and, perhaps, intimate the stories they tell. One should not expect too much from concepts alone because with politics working at many different levels and social domains, it is entirely possible, as Aron (1966:7) contended, that "the ambiguity in 'international relations' is not to be imputed to the inadequacy of our concepts: it is an integral part of reality itself."

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 8 minutes.

Why are concepts important in the study of international relations?

4.4 CONCLUSION

Concepts are mental constructs or representations of ideas, objects, principles and social issues which find expression in words. They form the building block for communication in any given field of study. Thus, each discipline has its peculiar register through which transmission of ideas become effective among its scholars or practitioners. While the psychological dimension of concepts exists in the realm of the mind, its linguistic dimension transmits these mental constructs through the use of words. For instance, the idea of a state's ability to administer itself without undue interference from external forces is simply conveyed in the concept of 'Sovereignty'. Thus, to the student of international relations, sovereignty represents freedom from external control and the internal ability to administer a political territory.

4.5 SUMMARY

Discussions in this unit have focused on the meaning and importance of 'concepts' in international relations. The two realms of the word 'concept' – psychological and linguistic have been analysed to represent the mental and literary meanings of the word respectively. Concepts are therefore vehicles through which ideas and notions are conveyed. They aid understanding and eliminate ambiguity in communication, even in international relations discourse.

4.6 REFERENCES/ FURTHER READINGS/WEB SOURCES

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4.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

Answers to SAEs 1

Concepts are mental constructs or representations of ideas, objects, principles and social issues which find expression in words. They form the building block for communication in any given field of study. For instance, the idea of a state’s ability to administer itself without undue interference from external forces is simply conveyed in the concept of ‘Sovereignty’. Thus, to the student of international relations, sovereignty represents freedom from external control and the internal ability to administer a political territory.

Answers to SAEs 2

In relation to international relations, concepts help to advance the beginner’s knowledge of the field of the subject matter. Furthermore, concepts enable a preliminary grasp or awareness of the idea being conveyed. International relation scholars would be at sea without models and concepts that sufficiently represent the thoughts, ideas and principles being conveyed.

MODULE 2: CONCEPTS IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

- Unit 1 The Concept of War
- Unit 2 Actors in International System
- Unit 3 National Interest
- Unit 4 Balance of Power

UNIT 1: THE CONCEPT OF WAR

CONTENT:

- 1.1 Introduction.
- 1.2 Learning Outcomes.
- 1.3 Main Content.
 - 1.3.1 The Concept of War.
 - 1.3.2 Theories/causes of war
 - 1.3.3 Types of war
- 1.4 Conclusion.
- 1.5 Summary.
- 1.6 References/Further Readings/Web Sources.
- 1.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

1.1 Introduction:

Among the numerous issues engaging the actors in international relations, security issues are the most salient, the most prevalent and indeed the most intractable. States exist in an anarchic world. While there may be formal and informal rules that give rise to a type of international system structure, there is no international supreme authority, no centralized government empowered to manage or control the actions of individual elites, sovereign states, or even inter-governmental organisations. Within states, individuals have recourse to governments and have protection under governments. States themselves have some avenues of recourse, which are international law and organization, but these avenues are weak. It is therefore, regrettable that war or outbreak of hostility is inevitable.

1.2 Learning Outcomes:

By the end of this unit, the students should be able to:

1. Define the concept of war according to different scholars.
2. Highlight and discuss the causes of war from the point of view of different theories.
3. Describe types of wars in international relation.

1.3 Main Content:

1.3.1 Meaning of the Concept of War:

Different perspectives abound about the meaning of war. To many people, war could simply imply a confrontation or struggles. War is a state of widespread conflicts between states, organisations or relatively large group of people, which is characterized by the use of lethal violence between combatants or upon civilians. War is contrasted with peace, which is usually defined as the absence of war. War can simply be defined as a situation of armed conflict consequent upon hostile relations with the objective of producing the winner and the vanquished in the pursuit of an objective or objectives for which the war is fought. General Van Clausewitz defined war as “an act of violence to compel our opponent to fulfill our will. Thus, it is a continuation of politics by other means”. Also, Sun Tzu described the act of war as “of vital importance to state, and a matter of life and death, a road to either safety or to ruin; hence is a subject of inquiry which on no account can be neglected”.

The Black Law’s Dictionary defined war as “a hostile contention by means of armed forces, carried on between nation, states, or rulers or between citizens in the same nation or state. Also, the Website Dictionary defined war as “a state of open and declared hostile armed conflict between states or nations. This captures a particular rationalistic account of war and warfare, that is, war needs to be explicitly declared and has to be between states, to be a war”. Also, the military historian John Keegan offers a useful characterization of the political – rationalist theory of war. It is assumed to be an orderly affair in which states are involved, in which there are declared beginning and expected ends, easily identifiable combatants, and high level of obedience by subordinates.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 8 minutes.

Define the concept 'war' from the point of view of any scholar you know

1.3.2 Theories/Causes of War

The pages of history are replete with the incidence of war. The increasing ferocity and the damage potentials of modern warfare have not only led to an increasing political search for its elimination, they have also attracted studies on both the nature and causes of war. Yet scholars and politicians are still not unanimous about what causes war. Theories of war are as divergent as writers on war. This is hardly surprising. Wars are a very complex phenomenon. It is very difficult to explain any war with any accuracy. Any explanation of the causes of war as a number of writers have given, is fraught with difficulties (Ojo and Sesay, 1988).

Marxian View on Wars:

To the Marxists, wars are the products of the strains and stresses of monopolistic capitalism. Capitalism gives rise internally to two classes the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, who are locked in bitter antagonistic struggle. Externally, it manifests itself in war. The danger of saturation of domestic markets compels private business to expand to new territories, countries in order to secure new markets and sources of raw materials, and avenue for lucrative investment of profits. Initially, this leads to war of colonial conquest by capitalist powers. And when all lands had been appropriated and there were no more new areas to be exploited the incessant demands of the capitalist power led to wars among themselves (Lenin, 1970).

The Military/Industrial Complex Theory

This theory seeks to explain wars by “devil” machinations of international bankers and “munitions makers”, which make fortunes out of war. According to this theory, powerful groups within major industrial states who have vested interest in military spending and thus international tensions, use their influence to promote conflictual relations between states (Rosen, 1973). In this group are to be found

- (i) Ex-soldiers who take up new jobs with munition industries;

- (ii) Professional soldiers whose career can be enhanced by their valour and excellence in battle;
- (iii) Mangers, owners of industrial concerns that are engaged in military supply;
- (iv) High government officials whose careers and interests are tied to a military expenditure;
- (v) Legislators whose constituencies benefit from defence projects.

The Military – Industrial Complex theory is not entirely convincing. The theory suffers from its basic assumption that political behaviour is motivated by private interest rather than the “public good or national interest”. There is no doubt that where the survival of the state is at stake, and when issues of life and death are involved, behaviour tends to be guided by principled conviction rather than crude interest.

The Evil Nature of Man:

The causes of war have also been attributed to the “evil” nature of man. This view is evident in the writings of people like St. Augustine, Thomas Malthus, Jonathan Swift, Reinhold Niebuhr among others. Hans Morgenthau believes that “the ambiguity of evil in human action” arises from man’s ineradicable lust for power. It propels them to transform “churches into political organisations, revolution into dictatorship, love for country into imperialism’ (Morgenthau, 1979). Also, according to Niebuhr, “war has its origin in the dark, unconscious sources in the human psyche”.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 8 minutes.

Identify three theories of war and explain any one of them.

1.3.3 Types of War

Generally, wars can be classified into limited and total wars. We also have civil wars, asymmetric warfare etc.

Limited Wars:

Wars can be classified as limited wars on the basis of the goals pursued, the type of weapon used and the targets. The limited wars do not climax in the political annihilation of an opponent. It seeks lesser objectives such as a territory or a shift in political behaviour. The Korean war, the Vietnam war, the 1991 Gulf war, the 2001 war in Afghanistan, and the 2003 Iraq war are examples of wars fought in limited ways from the perspective of the United States. In each case, the United States and allies decided that the enemy was to be defeated in a specified territory. With the exception of Baghdad in 2003, the capital of the enemy was not occupied.

In limited wars, conventional weapons are usually deployed. In the case of the Gulf War (1991), the Afghanistan war (2001) and the Iraqi war (2003), conventional weapons were used. They include tanks, foot soldiers, aircrafts and missiles. Despite their availability, nuclear weapons were not deployed. Yet, from the point of view of the opposing forces in each of these cases, the war was not a limited war. Each country was under attack and responded using the force it had available. With the decline of general wars, they have become more limited and more geographically concentrated in developing countries.

Total War

Total war is a war in which the belligerent engages in the complete mobilization of fully available resources and population. In the mid 19th century, total war was identified by scholars as a separate class of warfare. In a total war, there is less differentiation between combatants and civilian than in other conflicts, and sometimes no such differentiation at all, as nearly every human resources, civilian and soldiers alike, can be considered to be part of the belligerent effort.

Total war played a major part in conflicts from French Revolutionary wars to World War II, but has been replaced in the modern era by cheaper, quicker and more effective policies including guerilla warfare, and the adoption of weapons of mass destruction.

Civil War:

Civil war is war between factions within a state over control of territory or establishment of a government. Civil war themselves can be general, as were the American civil war and the Russian civil war, the Nigeria-Biafra War, or they can be limited. Civil wars are not only more frequent than are inter-state wars, but the number of civil wars that occur has risen. In the century between 1816 and the end of World War I, there were about 50 civil wars, while in the decade of the 1990s alone, there were about 195 civil wars. The most destructive civil wars in

terms of deaths occurred in the twentieth century. The causes of civil war vary from contending factions fighting for control of a failed state to ethno-nationalist movements seeking greater autonomy or secession, to wars between ethnic, clan or religious groups for control of the state. Yet, while the reasons vary today all of the actors, states, sub-state actors and trans-national actors – have a war – making potential buttressed by the ability to purchase weapons through the expanding international arms trade.

While some civil wars remain contained within state boundaries, increasingly, civil wars are international. The repercussions of civil wars are felt across borders as refugees from civil war conflicts flow into neighbouring states and funds are transferred out of the country. States, groups, and individuals from outside of the warring country become involved, funding particular groups, selling weapons to various factions, and diplomatically supporting one group over another. Thus, few civil wars are really solely domestic; they are more often international events.

Asymmetric Warfare

Asymmetric warfare is warfare conducted between parties of unequal strength, in which the weaker party seeks to neutralize its opponent's strength, including its technological superiority, by exploiting that opponent's weaknesses (Mack, 1975). It can involve the employment of guerilla warfare against a superior force, tactics used by the Algerians against the French in the 1950s, the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese against the United States in the 1960s and early 1970s.

Asymmetric warfare may involve using a strength the adversary lacks, such as airpower to attack or threaten those elements of society the defender holds dear, including power plants or water supplies. And it may include terrorist attacks against an adversary's population, such as those Al Qaeda carried out against US embassies in Africa in 1998 and against cities on US soil in 2001. Part of those tactics involves using the enemy's own system against it.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 3

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 8 minutes.

There is a thin line between total war and limited war. Explain.

1.4 CONCLUSION

War is an inevitable phenomenon in the relationship and interactions among nation-states. Von Clausewitz saw war as continuation of politics by other means, and so states cannot avoid or be immune from the impending confrontation that will arise due to the struggle for power, and control in a given international system. These wars range from local to international, limited to total war, ideological and revolutionary wars.

1.5 SUMMARY

This unit looked at war as a concept in international relations. War can be described as a situation of armed conflict among states which must produce a winner and loser.

Many theories have been advanced by scholars on what causes wars generally. The theories include, but are not limited to the Marxist theory, the military-industrial complex theory among others. We have different classifications or categorization of wars. But, in this unit, the limited war, total war, asymmetric warfare and civil wars are treated.

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1.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

Answers to SAEs 1

War can simply be defined as a confrontation or struggle. War is a state of widespread conflicts between states, organisations or relatively large group of people, which is characterized by the use of lethal violence between combatants or upon civilians. War is contrasted with peace, which is usually defined as the absence of hostilities. It is a situation of armed conflict consequent upon hostile relations with the objective of producing the winner and the vanquished in the pursuit of an objective or objectives for which the war is fought.

Answers to SAEs 2

Three theories/causes of war include

1. The Military/Industrial Complex Theory
2. the Marxian Theory
3. the liberal Theory

The Military/Industrial Complex Theory

This theory seeks to explain wars by “devil” machinations of international bankers and “munitions makers”, which make fortunes out of war. According to this theory, powerful groups within major industrial states who have vested interest in military spending and thus international tensions, use their influence to promote conflictual relations between states (Rosen, 1973).

Answers to SAEs 3

Wars can be classified on the basis of the goals pursued, the type of weapon used and the targets.

The limited wars do not climax in the political annihilation of an opponent. It seeks lesser objectives such as a territory or a shift in political behaviour. The Korean war, the Vietnam war, the 1991 Gulf war, the 2001 war in Afghanistan, and the 2003 Iraq war are examples of wars fought in limited ways from the perspective of the United States. In each case, the United States and allies decided that the enemy was to be defeated in a specified territory

Total war on the other hand is a war in which the belligerent engages in the complete mobilization of fully available resources and population. In a total war, there is less differentiation between combatants and civilian than in other conflicts, and sometimes no such differentiation at all, as nearly every human resources, civilian and soldiers alike, can be considered to be part of the belligerent effort. The World War 11 can be classified in this category.

UNIT 2: ACTORS IN INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

CONTENT:

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Learning Outcomes
- 2.3 Main Contents
 - 2.3.1 The actors in the international system
 - 2.3.2 State Actors
 - 2.3.3 non-State Actors
 - 2.3.4 Governmental non-state Actors
 - 2.3.5 Non-Governmental Actors
- 2.4 Conclusion
- 2.5 Summary
- 2.6 References/Further readings/Web Sources
- 2.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises

2.1 Introduction

In the international system, the state is the fundamental political unit. The orthodox position has been that knowledge of relations between states sufficiently explains behaviour in the international system. The international system was viewed as a system made up of legally equal states, each of which exercises sovereignty within well-defined frontiers and subject to no other higher secular authority. Apart from states, there are other organisations outside the state structure that have shaped the events in the international system.

2.2 Learning Outcomes

By the end of this unit, students should be able to:

1. Define and clearly explain actors and non-state institutions in the international system.
2. Explain the relevance and impact of non-state actors in shaping global events.

2.3 Main Content

2.3.1 Actors In The International System

The issue of actors in the international system is central to understanding the events and characterization of the system. An actor is anyone who may play a role within a given social

system. Here, the state or nation is the key player. What we call the state or nation-state is a complex organization, and international system, made up of states, is even more complex. An international actor, therefore, refers to any social structure, which is able to act and influence the global or international system.

In discussing actors in the international system, so much emphasis is laid on the state – centric view of international relations. It should be noted that the state-centric view of international relations is in itself tied up with the history of the emergence of the European state system in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Rosenau, 1972). It started with the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, which marked the end of the conception of the world as a system based on a hierarchical Christian commonwealth governed by the Pope and the Holy Roman Emperor. The international system was thereafter, viewed as a system made up of legally equal states, each of which exercises some level of sovereignty.

The state-centric view of the international system has in recent times come under severe criticism. It is contended that it does not adequately reflect the realities of the contemporary international system (Nye, J. and Keohane, 1973). Today, the doctrine of sovereignty in an absolute sense, unlike in earlier times, no longer has any empirical basis. In the contemporary world, all states including the super-powers are subjected to externally induced constraints on their foreign policies. Even their internal political developments are influenced at times more by what happens in some other parts of the world.

The restructuring of the international society in a more distinctly hierarchical way, particularly since 1945, has in practice rendered the notion of the equality of states suspect, if not redundant. The dominance of the United States in the West and that of the former Soviet Union within the socialist bloc is undisputed. The hegemonic role of these two giants on vital issues of security and even economy in their respective spheres of influence has in practical terms limited considerably the capacity of other states to exercise their sovereignty. The situation is even more pronounced in Africa and Asia.

Most of the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America are economically and politically dependent upon other actors. Many French-speaking African states are totally dependent upon France for their security and economic survival. In Africa, many governments are even now dependent upon the goodwill of other actors in order to feed their teeming populations. A refusal by the United States and European Union to export food or give loan to Africa, will only result in hunger, starvation and eventual death of millions of Africans. And in Latin

America, the survival of many regimes lies largely upon continued American military and economic support (Ojo and Sesay, 1988).

2.3.2 Non-State Actors

A feature of the contemporary international system, then, is one in which formal government relations have become increasingly supplemented by the activities of non-state units. These units are undoubtedly actors in their own right if one considers their “behavioural rather than legal attributes of sovereignty or the descriptive characteristics of territoriality. As Raymond E. Hoplan and Richard W. Mansbach rightly argued “an actor should be defined by the “behavioural attributes of autonomy”. According to them, autonomy refers to the ability to behave in ways that have consequences in international politics and cannot be predicted entirely by reference to other actors’ authorities (Hopkins and Mansbach, 1973). In practice, however, no actor is completely autonomous as a result of the prevalent high degree of autonomy which is thus a correlate of the level of interdependence. Consequently, international actors can be defined, in Hopkins and Mansbach’s words as a “relatively autonomous actors”. Thus, the contemporary international system is characterized by many governmental and non-governmental units that possess neither sovereignty nor territory, but which, nonetheless, have profound impact on the system.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 8 minutes.

Explain the concept of state actors in the international system.

2.3.3 Governmental Non-State Actors

The most notable governmental non-state actors are international institutions set up by states for the achievement of certain goals which member-states believe cannot be met by individual efforts. The main distinguishing characteristics of international and supranational institutions is their degree of autonomy (Hunskey, 1963) “Supranational institutions are of recent development, and refers to institutions which have power to take decisions binding on members whether they participated in or approved the decisions or not. The term is often applied to institutions that have been established since 1950 in Europe.

The emergence of inter-governmental institution, no doubt, predated the twentieth century. Indeed, the last quarter of the nineteenth century saw a phenomenal increase in the number of such institutions. However, the governments of the states involved then rapidly restricted these institutions to administrative and technical fields (Wolfer, 1962). The twentieth century has however, witnessed the emergence of international political institutions like the League of Nations, the United Nations, the OAU (AU), NATO, EEC, OPEC etc.

These organisations have developed large bureaucracies and possess substantial funds. They have gained the loyalties of civil servants and governments who rarely question the legitimacy of their actions as their role is usually clearly institutionalised. Some of them like the United Nations, even occasionally assemble military forces. The UN Secretary-General has on a number of occasion in the past appointed commanders and political advisers and dispatched peace keeping operations e.g. in Congo, Lebanon, Cyprus etc. Statements emanating from such organisations like NATO often carry more weight than similar statements by their individual members.

Besides, these institutions affect the behavior of their members and in certain respect, even that of non-members. A decision by NATO to increase the proportion of each member states' national income committed to defence will not only affect each of the states directly concerned, but also the behavior of other countries as well. Furthermore, it may lead to a drastic reduction in the amount of money available for aid to third world countries by West European States.

2.3.4 Non-Governmental Actors

Apart from these governmental institutions, there are also hundreds of non-governmental transnational organisations that influence the international political system. These organisations consist of individuals from various countries who share common interest and concerns. Their primary aim is the advancement of their particular interest. They include religious groups such as the World Council of Churches, the International Council of Jewish Women, the World Muslim Congress etc. Others are welfare, humanitarian organisations like International Red Cross, OXFAM, the Cariters, Amnesty International, the Ford Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation etc. Although these institutions are non-political, their activities have on occasions affected actors in the system.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 8 minutes.

Describe the non-state actors in international relations.

2.4 Conclusion

The international system has state actors and non-state actors that engage each other in series of interaction to determine the direction, distribution and use of power and resources within the international system. Due to the anarchic nature of the international system, sovereign states are recognised as the most potent and reliable actors, and influence what happens in the international system. But there has been in recent times a gradual shift of emphasis from nation-states to international and supranational institutions and organisations in the locus of power. In other words, non-state actors have increasingly come to assume a prominent position in the interactions, politicking that go on at the global level.

2.5 Summary

This unit examined actors in the international system. A state-centric explanation tended to give particular attention to sovereign states in the international system. Apart from state actors, there are governmental non-state actors and non-governmental actors all assigned different roles in the global political and social interactions. Governmental non-state actors include supranational institutions like the United Nations, the African Union, the European Union, NATO, etc. They have developed large bureaucracies and wield a lot of power in the international system. Also, there are the non-governmental actors which are established for the advancement of certain social, humanitarian and welfare interest. Some of them include the Red Cross, the OXFAM, the Caritas Organisation, Amnesty International etc.

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2.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

Answers to SAEs 1

Actors in international relations are broadly classified into two: State and non-state actors. State actors represent the sovereign and independent states of the world. these are communities of persons who occupy a definite portion of the earth surface with defined boundaries known to other countries of the world. State actors possess the capacity to administer themselves without undue foreign interference. They are usually describes as the primary unit of analysis in international relations. Examples include Nigeria, The United States of America etc

Answers to SAEs 2

Non-state actors can be classified into two: the Governmental non-state actors and the non-governmental actors.

*The **governmental non-state actors** are international institutions set up by states for the achievement of certain goals which member-states believe cannot be met by individual efforts. The goals of the governmental non-state actors range from global and regional peace, security, economic development Examples include such international political institutions like the League of Nations, the United Nations, the OAU (AU), NATO, EEC, OPEC etc.*

The activities of these institutions affect the behavior of their members and in certain respect, even that of non-members. for instance, a decision by NATO to increase the proportion of each member states' national income committed to defence will not only affect each of the states directly concerned, but also the behavior of other countries as well. Furthermore, it may lead to a drastic reduction in the amount of money available for aid to third world countries by West European States.

*The **Non-governmental Actors** are transnational, non-political organisations that influence the international political system. They consist of individuals and groups from*

various countries whose primary aim is the advancement of shared common interests and concerns. They include religious groups such as the World Council of Churches, the International Council of Jewish Women, the World Muslim Congress etc. Others are welfare, humanitarian organisations like International Red Cross, OXFAM, the Cariters, Amnesty International, the Ford Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation etc. Within this category, militant organisations, whose activities influence global peace and security can also be identified. they include Boko Haram, ISIS etc.

UNIT 3: NATIONAL INTEREST

CONTENTS

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Learning Outcomes
- 3.3 Main Content
 - 3.3.1 The Concept of National Interest
 - 3.3.2 Types of National Interest
- 3.4 Conclusion
- 3.5 Summary
- 3.6 References/Further Reading/Web Sources
- 3.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

3.1 Introduction

It is to be expected that every country adopts and implements foreign policies that will protect its interest. Such interests could be political, economic or social. Promoting such interest by a country can be tasking, and calls for a lot of sacrifice from the government and people of each country. It is therefore, apt to admit that nations can go to war to protect and project its national interest. National interest has sub categories including primary, secondary, permanent and variable interests etc.

3.2 Learning Outcomes

By the end of this unit, the student should be able to:

1. Explain the concept of national interest as a foreign policy agenda of a sovereign state.
2. Highlight the kinds of national interests and their relevance to a country vis a vis other countries in the international system.

3.3. Main Content

3.3.1. National Interest

The concept of national interest is very vague and carries a meaning according to the context in which it is used. National interest is perhaps one of the most controversial concepts in

international relations. This is due to several factors, which are also important. First, the concept has been, and continues to be the subject of various interpretations by both analysts and practitioners. Second, and closely related to the first point, is the abuse of the concept particularly by politicians and decision-makers all over the world. Third, the concept is not easily susceptible to analytical abuse. Finally, there is as yet no universally acceptable single definition of what constitutes the national interest of a state. The concept means different things to different analysts and practitioners.

The Brooklyn's Institute defined national interest as "the general and continuing ends for which a nation acts". Charles Lerche and Abdul Said defined it as "the general long term and continuing purpose which the state, the nation, and the government all see themselves as serving". Dyke describes national interest as an interest that the state seeks to protect or achieve in relation to each other. An analysis of the above definitions will highlight the difference of approach. While the first two definitions interpret national interest in terms of permanent guide to the action of the state, the definition of Dyke refers to national interest as an action.

Joseph Frankel attempted a definition of the national interest from three analytical perspectives, which he referred to as the Aspirational, Operational and Polemic. According to him, at the aspirational level, the concept refers to the "vision of the good life, to some ideal set of goals which the state would like to realize if this were possible". However, the identifiable ideal goal or world of the state need not be attainable immediately. It could be a long term objective such as the unification of the state into a nation in the European sense of the word or, economic and technological development. In that regard, we could say that one of the ideal goals of most Third World countries is rapid technological and economic development. Such a goal is, however, not attainable in the near future given the enormous constraints, both at the domestic and external levels, that these states are subjected to at the moment.

At the operational level, Frankel argues that the national interest means the sum total of interests and policies actually pursued. And finally at the polemic level, the concept refers to "the use of the concept in political argument in real life, to explain, evaluate and rationalize or criticize international behavior. It is used less to describe or prescribe than to prove one's self right and one's opponent wrong" (Frankel, 1973). Finally, according to Arnold Wolfers, when people sometimes say or ask that a states' policy should reflect the national interest,

“what they have in mind essentially is that they desired to see the makers of national policy rise above the narrow and special economic interest of parts of the nation to focus their attention on the more inclusive interests of the whole nation (Wolfer, 1962).

From the three definitions of the concept above, we can deduce the following points: first, that every state has in its foreign policy, a set of goals or objectives which it must aspire to promote vis-à-vis the objectives of other members of the international political system. Such objectives could also be, for instance, the rapid industrialization of the states’ economic system and protection of its citizens. Second, that the foreign policy of any state must be seen to reflect such identifiable goals. Besides, the foreign policy would be adjudged a success or failure depending on the extent to which the set goals have been achieved or not achieved.

In sum therefore, national interest represents those cherished values a nation considers very vital to its existence and therefore seeks to jealously protect and promote and for which it is ready to go to war.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 8 minutes.

What do you consider the central idea of national interest?

3.3.2. Types Of National Interest

Every state no matter how powerful or weak it is, has a variety of goals/objectives which it seeks to promote at any time vis-à-vis those of other members of the international system. These interests can be divided into several categories: vital or core interest; secondary or variable interest; general or complementary interest.

Vital Or Core Interest

The category of interest called vital, core or primary interests according to Hartmann, are essentially conservative. They always include things that a state already possesses, although it could also include new sets of goals which the state may also want to pursue either in the short, medium or long term. Under this class of interest, we have national survival i.e. protection of the territorial integrity of the state and the lives of all its citizens against external aggression, as well as protection of its political, economic, religious or social institutions.

These are objectives for which states are normally prepared to go to war with others. This is also referred to as a nation's primary interest.

Secondary Or Variable Interest

Unlike vital interest, secondary or variable interests are less stable as the name suggests. They change more frequently than vital interest. It should be pointed out though that sometimes secondary interest could enhance or complement the achievement of vital interest objectives. The most easily identifiable secondary interest involves the protection of a state's nationals and their investments abroad. The task of doing this is usually given to the mission or embassy of the nation concerned. Missions attend to welfare needs of citizens such as repatriation of the bodies of those who died in the host country, interceding between its nationals and the host government, especially during court cases.

General Or Complementary Interest

According to Thomas Robinson, these are usually interests "which a state can apply to a larger geographical area, to a large number of nations, or in several specific fields i.e. economic, trade, disarmament, or navigation. What is true about general interests is that they are interests, most of which cannot be achieved by any state alone. Furthermore, general interests are by their nature also long term objectives. One of the reasons for this is that states need the co-operation of other states for their fulfillment. That being the case, they have to be compatible with the interest of those states whose collaboration is required for their attainment. In Africa, for example, it is in the general interest of every African state to see that the rest of the continent is liberated from the racists and minority white regimes. General interests are aimed at pursuing ends which promote the good of the world community at large. For example, the achievement of global peace and security makes the world a better place to live in. It is therefore in the interest of the states to pursue it.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 8 minutes.

Differentiate between primary and secondary national interest.

3.4 Conclusion

There are vital objectives nations work very hard to promote and achieve. They form part of the overall national interest of a country. Such vital interest may be political, economic or social. Countries do not joke with their national interest. They can go to war to defend, protect and promote a particular national interest. National interest has different categories which include vital or core interest, secondary interest as well as general interest. Each of these is important, and serves a special need.

3.5 Summary

In this unit, we looked at the national interests which sovereign nations work hard to protect and defend. Simply put, they are the general long term and continuity purpose which the state, the nation, and the government all see themselves as serving. Some scholars including Joseph Frankel defined it from three analytical perspectives including aspirational, operational and polemic. National interests are mainly of three categories. There is the core or vital interest, the secondary interest and the general interest.

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3.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

Answers to SAEs 1

National interest represents those cherished values nations of the world consider very vital to their existence and therefore go all out to jealously protect, preserve and promote. These range from the protection of the lives and property of citizens within their territories, to the protection of the lives and investments of citizens in other countries of the world and to the maintenance of global peace and security. It should be quickly added that for the purpose of preserving their national interests, nations are ready to go to war.

Answers to SAEs 2

The major difference between the core or primary and secondary national interest is that, while the primary interest is concerned with the protection of the lives, liberty and property of citizens within a nation's territorial borders, secondary interest has to do with the protection of the lives, property and investment of its nationals in the Diaspora.

For the purpose of emphasis, it is important to state that the rationale for the existence of governments is for the preservation and promotion of these values. The effectiveness of a government can therefore be measured by the extent to which it is able to secure the state's national interest.

UNIT 4: BALANCE OF POWER

CONTENTS

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Learning Outcomes
- 4.3 Main Content
 - 4.3.1 Definition Of Balance Of Power
 - 4.3.2 Balance of Power as a Situation
 - 4.3.3 Balance of Power as a Policy
 - 4.3.4 Balance of Power as a System
 - 4.3.5 Techniques of Balance of Power
- 4.4 Conclusion
- 4.5 Summary
- 4.6 Reference/Further Reading/Web Sources
- 4.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

4.1 Introduction

The balance of power is very crucial to the maintenance of peace and stability in international relations. For ages, one of the primary concerns of statesmen and scholars has been how to create and maintain international peace and control international violence. Such concern has often focused attentions on military power. The concept of balance of power has been regarded as one way in which the issue of war and peace can be managed. Thus, the concept is a very ancient notion in the field of international relations.

4.2 Learning Outcomes

At the end of this unit, the students should be able to

1. Define the concept of balance of power.
2. Discuss balance of power as a situation, policy and system.
3. Highlight the techniques in balance of power.

4.3 Main Content

4.3.1 The Concept Of Balance Of Power

A lot of ambiguities surround the meaning of balance of power. It has been used to mean many things. Hans Morgenthau refers to balance of power as the state of affairs in which power is distributed among several nations with approximate equality (Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, 1990). Also, Quincy Wright described it as “a system designed to maintain a continuous conviction in any state that if it attempts aggression, it would encounter an invincible combination of others”. In other words, it implies such a distribution of power in a multi – state system that no single state would be able, with impunity, to over-run the other states.

Essentially, balance of power is seen as equilibrium of forces between the great powers of the international system to discourage unilateral aggression on the part of any of them. Ernest Haas, in his analysis of the concept, identifies eight mutually exclusive meanings: (i) the distribution of power; (ii) a balance or equilibrium of forces; (iii) hegemony or imbalance; (iv) stability or peace; (v) instability and war; (vi) power politics generally; (vii) a universal law of history; (viii) a guide to policy making.

Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff have put Ernest Haas definitions in the following perspectives. According to them, balance of power should be seen as a situation or condition, as a universal tendency or law of state behavior, as a guide for diplomacy, and as a mode of system maintenance, characteristic of certain types of international system. They also provided an explanation for their conceptualization of the concept. They are of the view that, as a situation or condition, balance of power implies an objective arrangement in which there is relatively widespread satisfaction with the distribution of power. As a universal tendency or law, the concept describes a probability and enables nations to predict the system. As a policy guide, the concept prescribes to statesmen when to net against the disruptor of equilibrium.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 8 minutes.

What is balance of power?

4.3.2 Balance Of Power As Situation

Balance of power as a situation can be explained through the lens of equilibrium and disequilibrium. For the 'equilibrium', the term can be used to describe a situation of power equilibrium among states, a situation in which the power relationships between the states or groups of states is one of rough or precise equality. This is what Castlereigh, the British foreign secretary in the 1820s had in mind when he referred to the maintenance of such a just equilibrium between the members of the family of nations as should prevent any of them becoming sufficiently strong to impose its will upon the rest (Haas, 1953). With respect to "disequilibrium", the term can also describe a situation in which power relationships between competing powers are not balanced. This is often a situation aimed at by statesmen. Usually, they want to have a margin in their favour. According to Morgenthau "all nations actively engaged in the struggle for power must actually aim not at balance, i.e. equality of power, but at superiority of power in their own behalf. And since no nation can foresee how large its miscalculations will turn out to be, all nations must ultimately seek the maximum of power obtainable under the circumstances (Claude, 1962).

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 8 minutes.

Explain balance of power as a situation

4.3.3 Balance of Power as a Policy

Another common usage of the concept in extant literature of international relations refers to a deliberate policy of government in promoting the creation, or the preservation of equilibrium. This usage assumes that such governments are aware of, and are guided by the principle that a situation of unbalanced power is dangerous. It is also sometimes used as a principle of foreign policy. Winston Churchill, the war-time British Prime minister, was quoted to have said that balance of power was "the wonderful, unconscious tradition of British foreign policy" (Morgenthau, 1948). To Hans Morgenthau, since the multistate system is likened to the Hobessian state of nature where in the final analysis, everyone may have to resort to the use of force to defend its interest, either to create or maintain a balance to redress an imbalance, the

concept is often used as a synonym of the struggle for power. He notes that the balance of power consists in the attempt on the part of one nation to counteract the power of another nation by increasing its strength to a point where it is at least equal, if not superior, to the other nation's strength.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 3

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 8 minutes.

Explain the balance of power as a policy

4.3.4 Balance of Power as a System

The concept is also commonly used to refer to a system of inter-state relations. A.J. Taylor, in his study of European history from 1848 – 1918 concludes that “the balance of power worked with calculation almost as pure as in the days before the French Revolution.

4.3.5 Techniques Of Balance Of Power

There are a number of techniques deployed to enforce the concept of balance of power. They include among others the following:

A. Undermining Enemy Strength

This has been an age long practice used by states. This can be done by inciting the population or a section of the population to treason and revolution. The idea is to keep the competition weak by dividing them or keeping them divided.

B. Acquisition Of Territory

This was a very common practice in the eighteenth century. The assumption was that the acquisition of additional territories would enhance the power of a state. There were many treaties signed during this period which made provision for territorial compensation in order to maintain power equilibrium.

C. Armaments

A major means of offsetting a nation's military inferiority vis-à-vis its rivals or maintaining a comparable military balance with its competitors is armaments. This was the case in the naval

competition between Germany and Britain, and between German and French armies before World War 1. The idea also explains much of the unprecedented arms race between the United States and the former Soviet Union.

D. Disarmament

An unrestrained arms race necessarily makes the system unstable as there is an ever-present fear that the opponent may have a military breakthrough that will significantly upset the equilibrium. Besides, it cuts very deep into a nation's coffers thereby diverting resources from the productive sectors of the economy. Because of this, the competing states often attempt a proportionate reduction in their level of armaments as well as placing certain limits on further development of certain categories of arms.

E. Acquisition Of Allies

The principle of alliance is an important central operational role of a balance of power system. Alliances in the classical European system were not based on friendship or loyalties, but on interest and capabilities. They are formed by states with common interest who perceive such interest being threatened by a state or group of states to thwart such threats.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 4

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 8 minutes.

List any five possible strategies for achieving a balance of power within the international community.

4.4 Conclusion

Balance of power as a concept in international relations has increasingly proved in the past to be a reliable policy that can check the excesses of an acclaimed powerful state in the international system. It is a tool to regulate or weaken a hegemonic state that attempts to threaten peace and stability among nations. Since the introduction of the balance of power mechanism in Europe, chances of unbridled hostility had reduced to the barest minimum. Some of the techniques of balance of power deployed in the international system in the past had recorded tremendous successes.

4.5 Summary

This unit dwelt on the balance of power in the international system. It is essentially a global security policy and initiative adopted by states to check the overbearing tendency of any acclaimed powerful state. Balance of power can be situationally analysed using the design of ‘equilibrium’ and ‘disequilibrium’. Again, there is the balance of power as a policy and a system of inter-state relations. The usefulness or otherwise of the balance of power theory can be assessed by examining different techniques of balance of power. Such techniques include acquisition of territory, undermining the strength of the enemy, armament, disarmament and acquisition of allies.

4.6 References/Further Reading/Web Sources

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4.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

Answers to SAEs 1

Balance of Power, in the words of Quincy Wright is “a system designed to maintain a continuous conviction in any state that if it attempts aggression, it would encounter an invincible combination of others”. In other words, it implies a distribution of power in a multi – state system that no single state would be able, with impunity, to over-run the other states. Essentially, balance of power is seen as equilibrium of forces between the great

powers of the international system to discourage unilateral aggression on the part of any of them.

Answers to SAEs 2

As a situation, Balance of power can be explained through the lens of equilibrium and disequilibrium. For the 'equilibrium', the term can be used to describe a situation of power equilibrium among states, a situation in which the power relationships between the states or groups of states is one of rough or precise equality

Answers to SAEs 3

As a policy, Balance of Power refers to a deliberate policy of government in promoting the creation, or the preservation of equilibrium. This usage assumes that such governments are aware of, and are guided by the principle that a situation of unbalanced power is dangerous. It is also sometimes used as a principle of foreign policy. Winston Churchill, the war-time British Prime minister, was quoted to have said that balance of power was "the wonderful, unconscious tradition of British foreign policy" (Morgenthau, 1948). To Hans Morgenthau, since the multistate system is likened to the Hobessian state of nature where in the final analysis, everyone may have to resort to the use of force to defend its interest, either to create or maintain a balance to redress an imbalance, the concept is often used as a synonym of the struggle for power. He notes that the balance of power consists in the attempt on the part of one nation to counteract the power of another nation by increasing its strength to a point where it is at least equal, if not superior, to the other nation's strength.

Answers to SAEs 4

Five possible strategies for the achievement of Balance of Power in the international community include:

- i. Undermining enemy strength*
- ii. Acquisition of territory*
- iii. Armaments*
- iv. Disarmament*
- v. Acquisition of allies*

MODULE 3: CONCEPTS IN INTERNATIONAL LAW

- Unit 1 International Law
- Unit 2 Extradition
- Unit 3 War Crime
- Unit 4 Terrorism
- Unit 5 Genocide

UNIT 1: THE CONCEPT OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

CONTENTS

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Learning Outcomes
- 1.3 Main Content
 - 1.3.1 The Concept of International Law
 - 1.3.2 Categories of International Laws
 - 1.3.3 Sources of International Law
- 1.4 Conclusion
- 1.5 Summary
- 1.6 Reference/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 1.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

1.1 Introduction

Inter-personal relationships, if left unregulated, possess the capacity to breed chaos among individuals. The same is true of interactions among the nations of the world. A society without laws can best be described as a jungle, characterized by the principle of survival of the fittest as the strong takes advantage of its strength to trample on the weak. The need to instill a level of decorum within interaction among actors at the international level gives meaning to the concept of international law.

1.2 Learning Outcomes

By the end of this unit, students should be able to:

- i. Define international law
- ii. State the need for international law
- iii. Identify and explain the different categories of international law
- iv. Identify and explain the sources of international law

1.3 Main Content

1.3.1 Meaning Of International Law

Literally speaking, law presupposes a set of rules over those it is meant. Looked at from this point, international law may seem to imply the existence of a set of laws over the states, who are the key actors in international relations. In reality however, international law, according to Palmer and Perkins (2010), is a law among states, not over them. This is so because international law not only presumes the sovereignty of states but also seeks to preserve it. As noted by them, it has been a friend rather than an enemy to sovereignty.

Oppenheim, sees it as “the name for the body of customary and conventional rules which are considered legally binding by civilized states in their intercourse with one another”. For Jessup and McDouglas international law is “the body of rules accepted by the general community of nations as defining their rights and the means or procedure by which those rights may be protected or violations of them redressed”.

A commonality among these definitions is that they are state-centric. They see international law as the legal instrument that applies basically to state actors, to the exclusion of the equally important non-state actors in shaping global events and outcomes.

It is perhaps for this reason that Schwarzenberger’s view on the subject is considered more inclusive. To him, international law is “the body of legal rules which apply between sovereign states and such other entities as have been granted international personality” Schwarzenberger (1967). This definition captures the reality of the contemporary global community because, though states remain the primary actors, several non-state actors, whose activities shape global politics, economy, security and socio-cultural relations remain relevant units of analysis in international relations.

In sum, international law can be seen as the body of rules which apply among actors within the global community for the regulation of interactions among them and for the primary aim of achieving global peace, security and prosperity.

Implied in the above definitions are two fundamental points. First, it is not a law for individual but for actors at the global setting. Second, it is a law between, not above the sovereign state.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 8 minutes.

Explain the concept of international law.

1.3.2 Categories Of International Law

International law may be broadly categorized into public international law and private international law.

a.) Public International Law

This represents the principles of law that govern the relations between states and international entities. It is also referred to as the law of nations, it consists of:

- i. Customary or regular state practices
- ii. Globally accepted standard of behavior
- iii. Written agreements and treaties

Example of public international law include: treaty laws, law of sea, international human rights laws, international criminal law, refugee law, laws of war or international humanitarian law.

b.) Private International Law

Also known as ‘conflict of laws’, this represents those principles, rules and legal guides that regulate private relationships across national borders. It deals with the relations of persons living under different legal systems. Private international law addresses issues of conflicts of laws such as (a) Which jurisdiction may hear a case? (b) The law of which jurisdiction applies to the issues in the case? (Palmer and Perkins: 2010).

Examples of cases that fall under the purview of private international law include: cross-border divorce cases, transnational commercial disputes etc. Unlike the public international law that deals with key actors at the global stage, private international law deals with issues involving individuals living under different jurisdictions which usually have different legal systems.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 8 minutes.

Differentiate between Private and Public international law

1.3.3 Sources Of International Law

Sources of international law can be broadly grouped into three

- i. Treaties
 - ii. Customs
 - iii. General principles of law
- i. Treaties:** These are agreements duly entered into by states as binding codes of relations e.g extradition treaty, defense pact, international conventions. They constitute obligations to parties that are signatories to it.
 - ii. Customs:** These are practices accepted by the community of states even though there may not have been a formal understanding reached by them to that effect. It is derived from the consistent practice among states. Though they may not be documented legislations, practices over time make them acceptable norms in the comity of sovereign states.
 - iii. General principles of law:** These are the laws derived from the principles common to the great legal systems of the world. They represent those articles of law that promote justice as dictated by common sense and right reason.

Other sources will include the informed opinions of internationally reputed legal luminaries, judicial precedents etc.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 3

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 8 minutes.

List any three sources of international law you have studied

1.4 Conclusion

It is common knowledge that by nature, man loves freedom. But unregulated freedom leads to the infringement on the rights of others. It is in this light that laws, both at the national and international levels become necessary. This unit considered law at the international level, which are a set of principles that govern interactions of actors – state and non-state, at the global level. Public international (law of nations) and private international law (conflict of laws) were discussed. Their major difference, which bothers on their domains have been highlighted. Finally, customs, general principles of law, judicial precedents, informed opinions of respected legal luminaries etc. were also considered.

1.5 Summary

In this unit, we have discussed in simple and non-technical terms, the concepts of international law. The two major categories of the concept - public and private international law were discussed. The unit rounded off the discussion with the sources of international law.

1.6 Reference and Further Readings/Web Sources

Clausewitz, Carl Von (1984). In Howard, Michael & Paret, Peter (eds). *On war [Vom Krieg]*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press

Smith, et al (2017). Injury profile suffered by targets of anti-personnel improvised explosive devices: Perspective cohort study. *BMJ Open*, 7(7): e 014697]

Sadoff, David A. (24th December, 2016). *Bringing international fugitives to justice: Extraction and its Alternatives*. Cambridge University Press.

Hartman, F. (1967). *The Relations of Nations*. New York: MacMilian.

1.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

Answers to SAEs 1

International law represents a set of rules according to which interactions among actors at the global level are ordered. In the words of Oppenheim, international law is the name for the body of customary and conventional rules which are considered legally binding by civilized states in their intercourse with one another". For Jessup and McDouglas international law is "the body of rules accepted by the general community of nations as defining their rights and the means or procedure by which those rights may be protected or violations of them redressed".

Answers to SAEs 2

Public and private international laws differ in terms of the actors and issues they deal with. Also known as the law of nations, Public International Law represents the principles of law that govern the relations between states and international entities. It consists of Customary or regular state practices, globally accepted standard of behavior, written agreements and treaties etc. Example of public international law include: treaty laws, law of sea, international human rights laws, international criminal law, refugee law, laws of war or international humanitarian law.

Private international law on the other hand represents those principles, rules and legal guides that regulate private relationships across national borders. It deals with the relations of persons living under different legal systems. Private international law is also known as 'conflict of laws'. It addresses issues of conflicts of laws such as (a) Which jurisdiction may hear a case? (b) The law of which jurisdiction applies to the issues in the case? (Palmer and Perkins: 2010).

Examples of cases that fall under the purview of private international law include: cross-border divorce cases, transnational commercial disputes etc.

Unlike the public international law that deals with key actors at the global stage, private international law deals with issues involving individuals living under different jurisdictions which usually have different legal systems.

Answers to SAEs 3

International law emanates from many sources. Three of such sources include:

- i. Treaties*
- ii. Customs*
- iii. General principles of law*

UNIT 2: EXTRADITION

CONTENTS

2.1 Introduction

2.2 Learning Outcomes

2.3 Main Content

2.3.1 The Concept of Extradition

2.3.2 Extradition Treaty

2.3.3 Conditions for Extradition

2.4 Conclusion

2.5 Summary

2.6 Reference/Further Reading/Web Sources

2.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

2.1 Introduction

The world is divided into independent sovereign states and territories. By their sovereign status, states are imbued with the capacity to administer itself independently, without undue foreign interference. Under this situation, it becomes difficult to fight crime or enforce laws across national borders without the cooperation of the states involved. Nations must therefore seek to work cooperatively in tracking and dealing with violators of the law in order to achieve a stable global community. Extradition is one of such arrangements to achieve this.

2.2 Learning Outcomes

The unit seeks to expose the students to the entire gamut of the concept of extradition. By the end therefore, students should be able to:

- i. Define the concept of extradition
- ii. Explain what is meant by extradition treaty
- iii. State the importance of extradition to the enforcement of laws across national boundaries.

iv. State the essential conditions for extradition.

2.3 Main Concept

In this section, we shall discuss in details the concept of extradition, noting its instruments and importance to the achievement of an orderly global community.

2.3.1 The Concept of Extradition

Extradition is a cooperative law enforcement arrangement between sovereign states or jurisdictions which have subsisting agreement on the handover of criminals or accused persons for trials. It involves the physical handover of a person accused or convicted of committing a crime in another jurisdiction, to the requesting jurisdiction (Sadoff, 2016).

The extradition process is activated when a sovereign state (the requesting jurisdiction) makes a formal request to another state (the requested jurisdiction) for the arrest and handover of an accused or convicted person for the purpose of prosecution or punishment in the requesting territory. A clear current example is the request by the United States of Americans to Nigeria for the handover of Mr. Abba Kyari, a serving Deputy Commissioner of Police to face trial over his connection with a scam allegedly coordinated by a self-confessed internet fraudster, Ramon Abbas, popularly known as Hushpuppi.

Extradition eliminates the bottlenecks imposed by the principle sovereignty and therefore makes it possible for violators of the law to be brought to justice even after they have fled to other jurisdictions or are resident in other territories. This serves as a deterrent to would-be violators of the law.

An extradition request may however be turned down if, in the opinion of the government of the requested jurisdiction, the suspect is sought for a political crime. States usually define political crimes as any behaviour considered a threat, real or imagined, to the interest of the states, their government or their political system. This tends to lend itself to subjectivity because, what may be presented as a threat to the state may be nothing but what the operators of the system consider a threat to their personal interest and political survival. It is largely for this reason that human right activists and critics of a given despotic administration become easy targets.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 10 minutes.

As a collective law enforcement strategy, explain the concept of extradition.

2.3.2 Extradition Treaty

A treaty is a formal and legally binding agreement between actors in international law. Because sovereign states are the primary units in international relations, treaties are usually among them, even though non-state actors like international organisations also enter into treaties.

Extradition treaty is an agreement entered into by sovereign states to deliver persons accused or convicted for certain crimes to the jurisdiction where the infractions were committed for the purpose of administration of justice.

2.3.2 Conditions for Extradition

For an extradition to be executed, a number of conditions need to be met. These include:

1. The infraction in question must qualify as a crime in both countries
2. There should be a reasonable ground to believe that the extracted person can expect fair trial in the requesting country.
3. There should be grounds to believe that the likely penalty will be proportionate to the crime.
4. The crime or purported infraction must be served
5. There should be a prima facie case (an act which upon first impression appears to be a crime until proven otherwise) against the individual sought.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 8 minutes.

What do you understand by extradition treaty?

2.4 Conclusion

To deter people from committing crimes, criminality has to be punished. The arms of the law must be long enough to catch up with accused or convicted criminals, even when they flee to other states. This is the essence of extradition - a law enforcement arrangement put in place by sovereign states to enable them produce those accused of crime to the legal authority of the jurisdictions where the crimes are committed. For this to be effected, the accused must be sure to get a fair trial in the requesting territory. Again, the crime such person accused of must be serious and must constitute a crime in both countries. This way, the international legal framework/system promotes global law and order.

2.5 Summary

In this chapter, the concept of extradition as a component of international law was discussed. Its importance in the administration of justice among states was highlighted. The chapter ended with the explanation of the conditions under which extraction of wanted persons may be initiated and administered.

2.6 Reference/Further Reading/Web Sources.

Sadoff, David A. (24th December, 2016). Bringing international fugitives to justice: Extraction and its Alternatives. Cambridge University Press. Pg 43

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Smith, et al (2017). Injury profile suffered by targets of anti-personnel improvised explosive devices: Perspective cohort study. *BMJ Open*, 7(7): e 014697]

2.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

Answers to SAEs 1

Extradition is a cooperative law enforcement arrangement between sovereign states or jurisdictions which have subsisting agreement on the handover of criminals or accused persons for trials. It involves the physical handover of a person accused or convicted of committing a crime in another jurisdiction, to the requesting jurisdiction (Sadoff, 2016).

Answers to SAEs 2

Extradition treaty is an agreement entered into by sovereign states to deliver or handover persons accused or convicted for certain crimes to the jurisdiction where the infractions were committed for the purpose of administration of justice.

UNIT 3: WAR CRIME

CONTENTS

3.1 Introduction

3.2 Learning Outcomes

3.3 Main Content

3.3.1 The Concept of War Crime

3.3.2 Rationale for War Crime

3.4 Conclusion

3.5 Summary

3.6 Reference/Further Readings/Web Sources

3.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

3.1 Introduction

The place of war in the pursuit of interests at both the national and international levels is well documented. To the realists, war is an important instrument in nations' quest to protect and preserve national interest. Carl Von Clausewitz, a Russian General and military theorist is credited with the famous quote "war is a continuation of politics by other means".

To these realists therefore, the pursuit and use of power is a necessary evil. However, even in the prosecution of wars, some rules of engagement exist. It is the violation of such rules that gives meaning to the concept of war crime.

3.2 Learning Outcomes

By the end of this unit, students should be able to;

- i. Explain the concept of war crime
- ii. Highlight specific examples of war crimes
- iii. Discuss the consequences of war crime in modern international politics

3.3 Main Content

3.3.1 War Crime

Like other engagements in international relations, war is governed by rules. The rule of war, also known as the 'Law of Armed Conflict' provides a clear guide on the boundaries of what is permissible when actors engage in a combat. War crimes therefore represent the criminal breach of the rule of engagement in a war situation. It occurs when superfluous injury or unnecessary suffering is inflicted upon an enemy (Smith et al 2017)

The 1945 charter of the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg defined war crimes as 'violations of the laws and customs of war.'

The 1949 General Conventions marked the first attempt to codify war crimes in a humanitarian law treaty. War crimes were defined as 'grave breaches' of each of the four conventions (on wounded and sick on land, wounded and sick at sea, prisoners of war, and civilians)

Examples of war crimes include:

- i. Willful killing, torture or inhuman treatment,
- ii. Willfully causing great suffering,
- iii. Wanton destruction of property, unjustified by military necessity
- iv. Compelling civilians and prisoners of war to serve the hostile power,
- v. Willfully depriving civilians or prisoners of war of fair trial,
- vi. Unlawful deportation or confinement of civilians,
- vii. The taking of hostages,
- viii. Killing of hostages,
- ix. Plunder of public or private property,
- x. Wanton destruction of municipalities and
- xi. Any devastation that is not militarily necessary etc.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 8 minutes.

Discuss any four infractions that constitute war crimes in international law.

3.3.2 Why War Crimes

The essence of defining and documenting war crimes is to ensure that combatants restrict their operations to those activities considered crucial for the achievement of military goals, with minimal collateral damage to both the actors and victims of war. This seeks to promote, as much as possible, human rights during hostilities. Power intoxicates and if left unchecked becomes absolute with devastating consequences, especially on the weak, vulnerable and perceived enemies.

War crimes are tried by the international criminal court (ICC), established on July 1, 2002 and are punishable in two ways: by death and by long term imprisonment. This emphasizes that, even in war situations, there are boundaries and consequences for one's actions. It therefore serves as a deterrent to actors in the theatre of war.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 8 minutes.

Define war crime. Why is the codification of war crimes important in international relations?

3.4 Conclusion

The quest for the defense of human right has motivated international organizations into establishing a number of safeguards. One of such is the definition of crimes even in war situation and the punishment for such crimes. Furthermore, the establishment of the ICC in 2002 lends more credence to the resolve of major actors at the international level to, as much as possible, secure the rights of individuals, especially those of the weak and vulnerable.

3.5 Summary

The unit dealt with the concept of war crimes, nothing its meaning, rationale, examples and consequences. It highlighted the fact that war crimes are those infringements, on the rights of individuals, which are not considered inevitable in the course of the pursuit of interests in a war situation. With the establishment of the International Criminal Court, ICC in 2002, more impetus has been given to the fight against war crimes as offenders risk the loss of their lives or long-term imprisonment.

3.6 Reference/Further Reading

Clausewitz, Carl Von (1984). In Howard, Michael & Paret, Peter (eds). *On war [Vom Krieg]*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press P.87.

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Norman D Palmer and Howard C. Perkins *International Relations* (Third Revised Edition). India, AITBS Publishers

3.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

Answers to SAEs 1

War crime is a violation of the rules of engagement in a war situation. Examples of war crimes include:

- xii. Willful killing, torture or inhuman treatment,*
- xiii. Willfully causing great suffering,*
- xiv. Wanton destruction of property, unjustified by military necessity*
- xv. Compelling civilians and prisoners of war to serve the hostile power,*
- xvi. Willfully depriving civilians or prisoners of war of fair trial,*
- xvii. Unlawful deportation or confinement of civilians,*
- xviii. The taking of hostages,*
- xix. Killing of hostages,*
- xx. Plunder of public or private property,*
- xxi. Wanton destruction of municipalities and*
- xxii. Any devastation that is not militarily necessary etc.*

Answers to SAEs 2

War crimes represent the criminal breach of the rule of engagement in a war situation. It occurs when superfluous injury or unnecessary suffering is inflicted upon an enemy (Smith et al 2017). War crimes define boundaries and consequences for the actions of military actors, even in war situations. It therefore serves as a deterrent to actors in the theatre of war.

The essence of defining and documenting war crimes is to ensure that combatants restrict their operations to those activities considered crucial for the achievement of military goals, with minimal collateral damage to both the actors and victims of war. This seeks to promote, as much as possible, human rights during hostilities.

UNIT 4-TERRORISM

CONTENTS

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Learning Objectives
- 4.3 Main Concept
 - 4.3.1. Terrorism
 - 4.3.2. Major Terrorist Groups
 - 4.3.3. Motivations for Terrorism
- 4.4 Conclusion
- 4.5 Summary
- 4.6 Reference/Further Reading/Web Sources
- 4.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Following the suicide attack of September 11, 2001 during which the Twin Towers in U.S were crashed with hijacked planes by Al Qaeda terrorists, terrorism has become a more prominent global phenomenon engaging the academic and policy attention of both scholars and policy makers alike. Increasingly, violence seems to have become the preferred instrument for certain groups in their attempt to achieve certain political, religious, economic or other goals. It is this subscription to the use of terror in the pursuit of goals that gives meaning to terrorism.

4.2 LEARNING OUTCOMES

By the end of this chapter students should be able to:

1. Define terrorism
2. Identify some of the terrorist organizations
3. Discuss the motivating factors behind acts of terrorism

4.3 MAIN CONTENT

4.3.1 Terrorism

Regular dictionary definition sees Terrorism as “the unlawful use of violence and intimidation, especially against civilians in the pursuit of political aims”. The Federal Bureau of

Investigation (FBI) differentiates between international and domestic terrorism. To them international terrorism represents “violent criminal acts committed by individuals and or groups who are inspired by or associated with designated foreign terrorist organisations or nations (state- sponsored). Domestic terrorism on the other hand is the violent, criminal acts committed by individuals and or groups to further ideological goals stemming from domestic influences, such as those of a political, religious, social, racial or environmental nature.

The U.N general assembly resolution 49/60 adopted on December 9, 1994 in describing terrorism stated that criminal acts intended or calculated to provoke a state of terror in a general public, a group of persons or particular persons for political purposes are in any circumstance unjustifiable, whatever the considerations of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial ethnic, religious or any other nature that may be invoked to justify them.

As noted above, states sometimes sponsor terrorism and terrorist organization through funding, training, harbouring them within their borders, supplies of weapons. As shall be seen later, this occurs when there is a convergence of interests between the state and the terrorists.

According to Statista 2021, Nigeria ranked among the countries most impacted by terrorism in 2019. Others include Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, Somalia, Yemen, Pakistan, India, Philippines and Democratic Republic of Congo.

To attract publicity and generate fear among the public, terrorists employ dramatic, violent and high profile attacks such as airplane hijack, hostage taking, kidnapping for ransom, bombing, suicide bombing, mass shooting etc

The aim is usually to destroy the sense of security in public and even private locations. Therefore locations with political, economic or social significance become easy targets. These include schools, shopping malls, recreational centres, public parks and even military installations (Jenkins, 2021)

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 8 minutes.

Explain the concept of terrorism.

4.3.2 Major Terrorist Groups

The 2018 global terrorism index compiled by the Institute for Economic and Peace (IEP) identified ISIS, the Taliban, Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram as the deadliest terrorist groups in the world. According to this report, these four organizations were responsible for 10,632 deaths in the past decade.

Beyond the four groups, over 169 terrorist groups were identified as being responsible for at least one death in 2017 while another 130 groups were also involved in different attacks. www.forbes.com

A number of factors drive terrorists organizations. These range from religious, ideological, political, territorial factors etc. In most cases, the objectives of an organization could be a combination of some of the above.

4.3.3 Causes of/motivation for terrorism

Religion: For most of the terrorist organisations, the establishment of an exclusive Islamic state and the implementation of Sharia law is their primary aim. ISIS- Islamic State of Iraq and Syria, for example, with an annual turnover of \$ 2 billion is the richest terrorist organization in the world as at 2021. It has the aims of establishing Islamic State in Iraq, Syria, Jordan, Lebanon and Palestine, and waging Muslim holy war against the infidels i.e the Christians and the Jews.

Politics: Hamas operates in west bank and Gaza with an annual income turnover of \$ 1 billion sourced from Iran and Qatar and business investments. Its main purpose is militant struggle against Israel and the establishment of a Palestinian Islamic State from the Mediterranean Sea to the Jordan River.

Ideology: For FARG- the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Columbia, the objectives is more ideological than religious. Operating with an annual turnover of \$600 million sourced from drug production trafficking, kidnapping and ransom, mining of minerals (gold), fees and taxes, its purpose is the elimination of the capitalist regime and the establishment of Marxist- socialist welfare in Columbia

Hezbollah, based in Lebanon, with an annual turnover of about \$500 million has as its purpose the militant struggle against the state of Israel and the establishment of Islamic state in Lebanon. It is financed through assistance and donations from Iran, production and trafficking of drugs, private businesses etc

The Taliban is based in Afghanistan and Pakistan. It is said to operate an annual turnover of about \$400 million dollars sourced through drug trafficking, fees and taxes, financial assistance and donations from sympathetic states its primary purpose is the establishment of an Islamic theocracy in Afghanistan. The recent overthrow of the Afghan National Government on August 15, 2021 suggests the possibility of the Taliban achieving the goal in the nearest future. It should be recalled that the Taliban ruled Afghanistan between 1996 and 2001 with Sharia law under which girls were forbidden from schooling and acquiring formal education in. Playing of music and watching of television were forbidden as they were considered western values. Men with short beards were flogged.

Al –Qaeda has the aim of a global jihad against Christians and Jews and the formation of unified Islamic front against Western secular forces

Boko Haram, a Nigerian based terrorist organizations is believed to have an annual turnover of \$25million sourced mainly from kidnapping, and ransom fees and taxes, looting , robbery, protection levy etc. literally, Boko Haram is translated ‘western education is evil’ and its aims is to fight secularism, overthrow the secular structure in Nigeria and establish Islamic law in Nigeria

From the foregoing it is clear that though a number of factors motivate different terrorist groups, a common thread that runs through them is religious, political and ideological considerations.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 8 minutes.

Highlight some of the key motivations for global terrorism.

4.5 CONCLUSION

Terrorism is the main preoccupation of terrorists. It involves the calculated use of violence to generate fear in order to achieve political and other goals, when direct military victory is not possible. Today, terrorists can be seen as important actors in international relations because their activities influences global events and outcomes and therefore require a serious consideration by states and international organizations in their policy considerations.

4.5 SUMMARY

In this unit the concept of terrorism was considered with reference to the internationally recognized terrorist groups. Their objectives and motivations were also considered. The unit also highlighted the operations of the terrorist groups and their sources of income. This arms policy makers with bits of information on how to dictate early signs of the rise of terrorism in our climes.

4.6 REFERENCES AND FURTHER READINGS/WEB SOURCES

Charles Kegley Jnr, Shannon Blanton(2014), World Politics: Trends and Transformation. Wadsworth CENGE Learning.

Norman D Palmer and Howard C. Perkins International Relations (Third Revised Edition). India, AITBS Publishers

Global Terrorism www.forbes.com

4.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

Answers to SAEs 1

The U.N general assembly resolution 49/60 adopted on December 9, 1994 describes terrorism as criminal acts intended or calculated to provoke a state of terror in a general public, a group of persons or particular persons for political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious or any other purpose. It is an unlawful application of violence and intimidation in the pursuit of a political or ideological goal.

Answers to SAEs 2

Some of the common motivations for global terrorist include

- i. religion – To force the spread of a particular religion over a certain territory*
- ii. ideology – To advance the course of a particular idea within a group or area*
- iii. economy – To achieve economic control over resources*
- iv. politics – To exercise political control over a territory and establish a preferred form of government over the people.*

UNIT 5: GENOCIDE

CONTENTS

5.1 Introduction

5.2 Learning Objectives

5.3 Main Concept

5.3.1 The Concept of Genocide

5.3.2 The Rwandan Genocide Experience

5.4 Conclusion

5.5 Summary

5.6 References/Further Reading/Web Sources

5.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The failure of sovereign states in their obligation to citizens has in recent human history fueled increased disarticulation in the citizens-state relationship. This has led to increase in identity and self-determination struggles. Many now tend to see their different identity platforms as vehicles to actualize those interests which the state has failed to provide them. Such struggles sometimes become violent with an identity group targeting another, believed to be the source of their woes. In extreme cases, the goal of the violent struggle may be partial or total annihilation of such targeted groups. This has serious implications on not just the stability of the state in question but also the security of the international community and therefore a source of concern to security discourse in international relations.

5.2 LEARNING OUTCOMES

By the end of this unit, the students should be able to;

- i. Define genocide
- ii. Discuss, with relevant contemporary examples, cases of genocide in modern history
- iv. Explain the factors that fuel genocide and possible remedies.

5.3 MAIN CONCEPT

5.3.1. THE CONCEPT OF GENOCIDE

The coinage of the word genocide is credited to Raphael Lemkin, a Polish Lawyer in 1944. It is derived from the Greek word ‘genos’, which means race or tribe, and the Latin word ‘cide’, which means to kill. Genocide therefore can be described as the process of engineering the eradication of a people because of their nationality, race, ethnicity or religion.

Article 2 of the United Nations convention of the punishment and prevention of the crime of genocide lists five genocidal acts to include:

- i. Killing members of a group
- ii. Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group
- iii. Deliberately inflicting on the group, conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part.
- iv. Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group
- v. Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

As earlier noted, genocide has as its overall objective, the physical destruction or eradication of a national, ethnic, racial or religious group. It is closely associated with the concept of ethnic cleansing (United Nations office on Genocide prevention). Genocide is deliberate and systematic.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 8 minutes.

What is genocide?

5.3.2 The Rwandan Genocide Experience

The Rwandan genocide of 1994 is an example of the modern day genocide. In 100 days, about 800,000 Tutsis and moderate Hutus were slaughtered by the Hutu extremists. The genocide can be traced to the events of 1959. The country is made up of two major ethnic groups - the majority Hutus (about 85% of the population and the minority Tutsis). In 1959, the Hutus overthrew the Tutsis monarchy. This led to the fleeing of tens of thousands of Tutsis into the neighboring countries including Uganda. While in exile, a group of Tutsis formed a rebel group, the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), which invaded Rwanda in 1990. This led to a fight

between the rebels and the Hutus controlled government forces between 1990 and 1993 when a peace deal was agreed upon.

The fragile peace however was shattered on the 6th of April when a plane carrying then-president, Juvenal Habyarimana, and his counterpart Cyprien Ntaryamira of Burundi- both Hutus, was shot down killing everyone on board.

Hutu extremists blamed the RPF and immediately started a well-organized slaughter of Tutsis and moderate Hutus. Within 100 days, between 800,000 and 1,000,000 people were slaughtered. This continued until the 4th of July 1994, when the RPF, backed by Ugandan army marched into the capital, Kigali and seized power from the then-governing party MRND.

Following this, some two million Hutus-civilians and some of those involved in the genocide fled across the border into DR Congo (former Zaire) for fear of revenge attacks while others fled into Tanzania and Burundi.

Though Rwanda is currently enjoying a reasonable level of political stability and economic prosperity, the genocide of 1994 and the devastations it brought would have been avoided if government was alive to its responsibility of nation-building, strengthening of administrative and security institutions. Again, if the actors in the entire political struggle put Rwandan national interest above personal considerations, the needless waste of lives would have been avoided.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 8 minutes.

With reference to the Rwandan experience of 1994, explain the likely factors that give rise to genocide.

5.4 CONCLUSION

Genocide, coined from the Greek word ‘genos’ translated to ‘race’, ‘tribe’ or ‘nation’ and the Latin word, ‘cide’ meaning ‘killing’, is the deliberate and systematic destruction of a group of persons because of their ethnicity, religion, race etc. Genocide is a serious crime against humanity and therefore a source of serious concern in international relations. This is more so because its negative impact – mass murder, refugee crises, cross border crime etc affect not just the direct victims but also many others, even across national boundaries.

5.5 SUMMARY

In this unit, the concept of genocide was interrogated. The offences that constitute genocide, such as were discussed. Using the Rwandan genocide experience of 1994, during which over 800,000 Tutsis and moderate Hutus were massacred in a space of 100 days, the unit discussed the evil of genocide and the need for a collective stance against situations that can lead people into the crime of genocide.

5.6 References/Further Reading/Web Sources

Ojo, O. & Sesay, A. (1988). *Concepts in International Relations*. Lagos: JAD Publishers.

Palmer, N. (2004). *International Relations: The World Community in Transition*. New Delhi: Krishan Nagar.

Schwarzenberger, G. (1976). *A Manual of International Law*. London: Stevens.

7.0 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

Answers to SAEs 1

The coinage of the word genocide is credited to Raphael Lemkin, a Polish Lawyer in 1944. It is derived from the Greek word 'genos', which means race or tribe, and the Latin word 'cide', which means to kill. Genocide therefore can be described as the process of engineering the eradication of a people because of their nationality, race, ethnicity or religion.

Article 2 of the United Nations convention on the punishment and prevention of the crime of genocide lists five genocidal acts against a targeted group to include:

- i. Killing members of the group*
- ii. Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group*
- iii. Deliberately inflicting on the group, conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part.*
- iv. Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group*
- v. Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.*

Answers to SAEs 2

The factors that contributed to the 1994 Rwandan genocide also constitute the main factors that give rise to genocide generally. Among these factors are:

- i. Poor management of ethnic diversity in a heterogeneous society*
- ii. Leadership ineptitude and the incompetence of government in the discharge of its contractual obligations to the citizens.*
- iii. Mutual distrust and suspicion among major ethnic groups, especially in the quest for political power and control of economic resources*
- iv. Disregard for international conventions and rules of engagement specifying acceptable conducts in war situations.*

MODULE 4: CONCEPTS IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION AND FOREIGN POLICY

- Unit 1 The Westphalian System
- Unit 2 Alliances and Coalition
- Unit 3 Non-Alignment
- Unit 4 Foreign Policy

UNIT 1: THE WESTPHALIAN SYSTEM

CONTENTS

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Learning Outcomes
- 1.3 Main Content
 - 1.3.1 The Westphalian System
 - 1.3.2 Westphalian System and Sovereignty
- 1.4 Conclusion
- 1.5 Summary
- 1.6 References/Further Reading
- 1.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The Westphalian system laid the foundation to what we have today as the state system, which recognizes the sovereignty and power of states in the international system. To understand the “Westphalian system”, it is important to critically look at the pre-Westphalian world. Many international relations theorists date the contemporary state system from 1648, the year of the ‘Treaty of Westphalia’ ending the thirty years wars. This treaty marks the end of the rule by religious authority in Europe and the emergence of secular authorities. With secular authority came the principle that has provided the foundation of international relations ever since, which is the notion of the territorial integrity of states, legally equal and sovereign participants in an international system.

1.2 LEARNING OUTCOMES

By the end of this unit, the students should be able to

1. Explain the background of the Westphalian system.
2. Define sovereignty as a strong element of the Westphalian system.

1.3 MAIN CONTENT

1.3.1 THE WESTPHALIAN SYSTEM

The formulation of sovereignty, a core concept in contemporary international relations, was one of the most important intellectual developments leading to the Westphalian revolution. Much of the development of the notion is found in the writings of Jean Bodin, the French philosopher. Bodin provided the conceptual glue of sovereignty that would emerge with the Westphalian agreements.

The thirty-year war (1618 – 48) devastated Europe. The armies plundered the central European landscape, fought battles and survived by ravaging the civilian population. But the treaty that ended the conflict had a profound impact on the practice of international relations. First, the ‘Treaty of Westphalia’ embraced the notion of sovereignty. With one stroke, virtually all the small states in central Europe attained sovereignty. The Holy Roman emperor was dead. Monarchs in the West realized that religious conflict had to be stopped, so they agreed not to fight on behalf of either Catholicism or Protestantism. Instead, each monarch gained the authority to choose the version of Christianity for his people (Mingst, 2004).

The Treaty of Westphalia established a core group of states that dominated the world until the beginning of the nineteenth century; Austria, Prussia, England, France and the United Provinces (Belgium and Netherland). Those in the West – England, France and the United Provinces underwent an economic revival under the aegis of capitalism, while those in the East, Prussia and Russia reverted to feudal practices. In the West, private enterprise was encouraged. States improved their infrastructure to facilitate commerce, and great trading companies and banks emerged. In contrast in the East, serfs remained on the land and economic change was stifled. Yet in both regions, absolutist states dominated.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 8 minutes.

What is sovereignty according to Jean Bodin?

1.3.2 WESTPHALIAN SYSTEM AND SOVEREIGNTY

Sovereignty is one of the most important and popular concepts in contemporary international relations. It is a product of the Westphalian system. Jean Bodin in 1576 published what later became known as the ‘Six Books’ on the state in which he tried to make a systematic presentation of sovereignty in domestic and external politics. According to Bodin, domestic sovereignty simply means the “absolute authority and perpetual power of a state over its citizens and subjects unrestrained by law”. This definition is important not just for giving us an insight into the domestic politics of his time, but also for its contemporary implication. Bodin’s definition legitimized the absolute powers then being enjoyed by Europe’s feudal monarchs and the Pope who was both the spiritual as well as the temporal leader of the Holy Roman Empire. Stretched to its logical limits, then, Bodin’s notion of sovereignty made no room for the right of the citizens to challenge their rulers. Indeed, the citizens were mere objects and not subjects of their leaders. In short, Jean Bodin’s definition gave legitimacy to the authorities of 16th century monarchs against their subject.

The meaning of domestic sovereignty has undergone a lot of changes over the centuries. For instance, according to Fawcett, domestic sovereignty is merely the power and authority of a state over all persons, things and territory within its reach (Bodin, 1967). Besides, it is also the internal authority of the state, distributed according to certain constitutional arrangements and exercised in fact by persons or groups holding political power.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 8 minutes.

What is the relationship between the Westphalian system and the concept of sovereignty?

1.4 CONCLUSION

With the advent of the Westphalian system, small states especially in Europe attained sovereignty, power and prestige. A small state is as autonomous, self assertive as the big ones by the mandate of the Westphalia system. The Westphalia concept gained momentum after the end of the thirty-year old war in Europe.

Today, the emerging state system in the world owes its origin to the Westphalian ideology and its sovereignty propounded by Jean Bodin.

1.5 SUMMARY

The Westphalian system was a seventeenth century creation in Europe which became a global, model political framework to provide for and promote the emergence of independent state system. The events of the thirty year old civil war in Europe which ended in 1648 brought in its wake the increasing number of European states, small or big, which enjoyed sovereignty. The Westphalian system was anchored on the concept of sovereignty which Jean Bodin took the pains to define. According to Bodin, sovereignty is the absolute and perpetual power vested in the common wealth. It resides not in an individual but in a state.

1.6 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING/WEB SOURCES

Bodin, J. (1967). *Six Books on the Common Wealth*. Oxford : Basil Blackwell.

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New Jersey: Prentice Hall

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Ojo, O. & Sesay, A. (1988). *Concepts in International Relations*. Lagos: JAD Publishers.

1.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

Answers to SAEs 1

According to Bodin, domestic sovereignty simply means the “absolute authority and perpetual power of a state over its citizens and subjects unrestrained by law”. This definition is important not just for giving us an insight into the domestic politics of his time, but also for its contemporary implication. Bodin’s definition legitimized the absolute powers then being enjoyed by Europe’s feudal monarchs and the Pope who was both the spiritual as well as the temporal leader of the Holy Roman Empire. Stretched to its logical limits, then, Bodin’s notion of sovereignty made no room for the right of the citizens to

challenge their rulers. Indeed, the citizens were mere objects and not subjects of their leaders. In short, Jean Bodin's definition gave legitimacy to the authorities of 16th century monarchs against their subject.

Answers to SAEs 2

The Westphalian system was heralded by the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. This treaty laid the foundation to what we have today as the state system, which recognizes the sovereignty and power of states in the international system. To understand the "Westphalian system", it is important to critically look at the pre-Westphalian world. Many international relations theorists date the contemporary state system from 1648, the year of the 'Treaty of Westphalia' ending the thirty years wars. This treaty marks the end of the rule by religious authority in Europe and the emergence of secular authorities. With secular authority came the principle that has provided the foundation of international relations ever since, which is the notion of the territorial integrity of states, legally equal and sovereign participants in an international system.

UNIT 2 ALLIANCES AND COALITION

CONTENT:

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Learning Outcomes
- 2.3 Main Content
 - 2.3.1 The Concept of Alliance.
 - 2.3.2 Optimum size of an alliance
 - 2.3.3 Importance of Alliances in International Relations
- 2.4 Conclusion
- 2.5 Summary
- 2.6 References/Further Reading/Web Sources
- 2.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

2.1 INTRODUCTION:

Alliances and coalitions have increasingly become a survival strategy for states in the international system. Forming or joining alliance also has featured prominently in the foreign policy posture of countries. Both great and small states usually broker alliance and coalition for economic, political and security reasons. Alliance can also serve a useful purpose of achieving balance of power or enhancing the locus of power exercised by a state or group of states in the international system.

When alliances are formed, it is intended to strengthen the position of states or nation in that alliance. Small and weak state can become strong for being a member of the alliance or coalition. Poor states can equally become rich by taking advantages of its alliance membership to improve its fortune. All these sum up to the conviction that alliance are formed to achieve some temporary objectives. When such goals are achieved, much of the appeal to the coalition reduces, and the natural course is for the alliance to gradually come to an end. After this, new alliances will come up and the cycle continues.

2.2 LEARNING OUTCOMES

By the end of the unit, the students should be able to:

1. Define alliances and coalitions
2. Give instance of alliances and coalitions in the international system.
3. Discuss alliance with respect to size and capacity.

2.3 MAIN CONTENTS

2.3.1 ALLIANCES AND COALITIONS

In the building of theory about alliance behaviour, Liska's and Riker's works had become pre-eminent. On issues of alliance and coalition, groups are formed to enable themselves achieve a shared objective both at the international and domestic levels. Since such groups are disbanded when the objectives for which they were created has been attained, they are far less enduring than the political communities whose formation and structure are of concern to everyone.

Alliances are designed to facilitate the attainment of policy goals. According to Robert Osgood, an alliance is a 'latent war community, based on general co-operation that goes beyond formal provisions and that the signatories must continually estimate in order to preserve mutual confidence in each other's fidelity to specified objectives' (Osgood, 1968). Alliances have usually been formed in international contexts in which conflict or the threat of conflict is present. Because of the historic importance of alliances in the international system/and the widespread use of coalitions by political groups intent upon attaining effective offices, such collaborative efforts have been the object of scholarly investigation.

As we admitted earlier, George Liska and William Riker developed the theory of alliance behaviour. In their theorizing, Liska and Riker agree that alliance or coalition disbanded once they have achieved their objectives. They are formed essentially against; and only derivatively for someone or something (Liska, 1962,). In forming alliance to achieve some desired objectives, decision makers weigh the cost and rewards of alignment. A decision to join an alliance is based upon perception of rewards in excess of cost. Each country considers the marginal utility from alliance membership. Once costs exceed rewards, the decision to realign is taken.

Nations join alliances for security, stability and status. In Liska's theory, a primary prerequisite for alliance cohesion is the development of an alliance ideology. The function of an alliance ideology is to provide a rationalization for alliance. In performing the function,

ideology feeds on selective memory of the past and outlines a program for the future (Liska, 1962). Periodic consulting, especially between a leading member and its allies contributes to the development and preservation of alliance ideology and alliance cohesion.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 8 minutes.

Define Alliances in international politics

2.3.2 THE OPTIMUM SIZE OF AN ALLIANCE.

Liska and Riker suggest that alliance builders do not form alliance haphazardly with all available allies. Instead, what is of prime importance is the marginal utility of the last unit of commitment to a particular ally, and the last unit of cost in implementing commitment (Liska, 1962). William Riker stresses the ‘size principle’ according to which participants create coalitions adequate to using and no larger than necessary to achieve their commonly shared objectives. If actors have perfect information, they will create a coalition of exactly the minimum size needed to win. Without complete information, members of a winning coalition create a larger coalition than necessary to achieve their objectives. The less complete the information, the larger the coalition. This fact, which Riker observes both at the national and international levels, contributes to the short life span of alliance or coalitions.

2.3.3 IMPORTANCE OF ALLIANCES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Both Liska and Riker address themselves to the question of rewards from joining an alliance. According to them, the gains and liabilities associated with alignment can be grouped into pairs. For example the pair peculiar to security is protection and provocation. Burdens and gains, as well as potential for status enhancement and possible losses in capacity for independent action must be balanced. Liska contends that in order to assess a particular alignment, all these factors must be compared with hypothetical gains and liabilities of other alignments. In Riker’s theory, actors join alliance or coalition for several reasons: the threat of reprisal if they refuse to align themselves; to receive payments of one kind or another; to obtain promise about policy or about subsequent decisions; to gain emotional satisfaction (Riker, 1962).

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 8 minutes.

- a.) Highlight any two factors that should be considered in the building of alliances
- b.) briefly explain three importance of alliances and coalitions to states in international relations.

2.4 CONCLUSION

Alliance and coalition in the international system have come to stay. States join coalition due to the increasing reward system and less punishments. Small countries can align with each other to achieve a system of balance of power against their superiors. Alliance can also be formed during wars to weaken the enemy force or attract some war time temporary advantages. In all these, one thing is certain, and that is the short life span of major alliances.

2.5 SUMMARY

Alliance and coalitions in the international system are formed to enhance the strength and power status of small countries vis-a-vis strong opponents. Apart from the security and military explanations attached to major coalitions and alliances, some economic and political reason may have led to the formation of coalition. George Liska and William Riker developed a popular alliance theory which explained alliance behaviour of nation. In order words, the rewards system and benefits determine the longevity of most alliances.

2.6 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS/WEB SOURCES

- Liska, G. (1962). *Nations in Alliance: The Limits of Interdependence*. Baltimore: John Hopkins press
- Morgenthau, H. (1959). "Alliance in theory and practice" in Wolfer, A. (ed) *Alliance Policy in the Cold War*. Baltimore: John Hopkins press.
- Osgood R. (1968). *Alliance and Small Powers*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Riker W. (1962). *The Theory of Political Coalition*. New Havens: Yale University Press.

2.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

Answers to SAEs 1

In international relations, alliances and coalitions are blocs formed to enable member states achieve a shared objective both at the international and domestic levels.

Nations join alliances for enhance their security, stability and status. This is because alliances help them to pool their resources together to confront a common concern. In Liska's theory, a primary pre- requisite for alliance cohesion is the development of an alliance ideology. The function of an alliance ideology is to provide a rationalization for alliance. In performing the function, ideology feeds on selective memory of the past and outlines a program for the future (Liska, 1962).

Alliances are designed to facilitate the attainment of policy goals. A decision to join an alliance is based upon perception of rewards in excess of cost. Each country considers the marginal utility from alliance membership. Once costs exceed rewards, the decision to realign is taken.

Answers to SAEs 2

a.) For Liska and Riker, two factors to consider in building alliances, among others are:

- i. Marginal utility of each unit in the alliance: Of prime importance is the marginal utility of the last unit of commitment to a particular ally, and the last unit of cost in implementing commitment (Liska, 1962). Each unit must bring an advantage to the table at a cost considered reasonable.*
- ii. The 'size principle': According to Riker, in creating coalitions and alliances, participants should consider a size adequate and no larger than necessary to achieve their commonly shared objectives. If actors have perfect information, they will create a coalition of exactly the minimum size needed to win. Without complete information, members of a winning coalition create a larger coalition than necessary to achieve their objectives.*

b.) States join coalitions for a number of reasons. Among them are:

- i. Small countries can align with each other to achieve a system of balance of power against their superiors.*
- ii. Alliance can also be formed during wars to weaken the enemy force or attract some war time temporary advantages.*
- iii. Alliance and coalitions in the international system are formed to enhance the strength and power status of small countries vis-a-vis strong opponents. Thus, militarily small states can deter would be aggressors by alliance formation.*

UNIT 3: NON-ALIGNMENT

CONTENTS

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Learning Outcomes
- 3.3 Main Content
 - 3.3.1 Non-Alignment
 - 3.3.2 Non-Alignment and Traditional Neutralism
- 3.4 Conclusion
- 3.5 Summary
- 3.6 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 3.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

3.1 INTRODUCTION

There is no hard and fast definition for the concept of non-alignment in international relations. So far, there is no universally accepted definition of the concept. Scholars and practitioners have tended to give the concept a rather dynamic and sometimes amorphous interpretation. This problem is compounded by the fact that non-alignment is sometimes used by both groups as a synonym for neutralism and neutrality.

3.2 LEARNING OUTCOMES

By the end of this unit, the student should be able to:

1. Define non-alignment
2. Differentiate between non-alignment and traditional neutralism

3.3 MAIN- CONTENT

3.3.1 NON-ALIGNMENT

According to Jansen, non-alignment is the desire and ability of an independent country to follow an independent policy in foreign affairs. It is the desire and ability to make up its own mind, to take its own decisions or not to take them, after judging each issue separately and honestly on its own merit (Jansen, 1966). Also, according to Corea, non-alignment is the conscious choice by a nation not to get involved in the system of mutually suspicious and hostile politico-military alliances. If the scholars have not been uniform in defining what non-alignment means, so have

the practitioners, Heads of States and foreign ministers. In the words of Leopold Sengher, former Senegalese president, “non-alignment is a determination to think for oneself, to refuse to be an instrument of external powers.

While there are obviously certain subtle differences among the three definitions, there are nonetheless some common denominators. First, all three tend to stress independence and freedom of action on the part of non-aligned states with regard to its foreign policy. Second, the non-aligned state is a state that has refused to join entangling alliances particularly the so called cold war alliances (Ojo and Sesay, 1988). Third, because it is not encumbered by an alliance and or ideological considerations in its foreign policy, the non-aligned state’s action in the international system are dictated by the merits of the issues and not by the identity of the actors involved in those issues.

Non-alignment is portrayed by all definitions as a means of protecting the fledgling political independence and sovereignty of the newly independent African and Asian states. In that regard, it is a policy of rebellion against the dominant East-West system. It is a rejection of the status quo. Reduced to its barest essentials, we can say that non-alignment is a policy of equidistance from both the East and West. It is a policy of non-commitment on the part of the developing nations of Africa and Asia with respect to the super power ideological and military-political blocs.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 1

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

Define the concept, non-alignment.

3.3.2 DIFFERENCE BETWEEN NON-ALIGNMENT AND TRADITIONAL NEUTRALISM

Non-alignment or active neutrality as it is sometimes called is different from the traditional neutralism of some of the Scandinavian countries. It is also radically different from the policy of neutrality in times of hostility. The essence of neutrality is that states not involved in war take an attitude of impartial abstention towards others.

Non-alignment does not mean passivity in the international system. It is also not a policy of non-involvement and non-partisanship in international conflict. Rather it is a policy of active participation in world affairs but always on the side of peace. The non-aligned states can team up with any of the super powers against a state that is seen as a threat to international peace and security (George, 1976). According to Kwameh Nkrumah, “it is not a policy of indifference. It is a policy of positive action in international affairs particularly with regards to world peace and co-operation.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 8 minutes.

Differentiate between non-alignment and traditional neutralism.

3.4 CONCLUSION

The need to remain actively neutral in the face of the ideological conflict between the Eastern and Western bloc countries, led by the former USSR and the USA gave rise to concept of Non-Alignment. Both as a policy and a movement, it represented the commitment of the emerging nations of the twentieth century to sue for global peace from a neutral position. This provided the developing nations a platform to contribute to global politics without ideological bias.

3.5 SUMMARY

This unit interrogated the concept of non-alignment. It also discussed the difference between it and traditional neutrality. It is clear that the policy of non alignment was not just a policy of indifference or passivity in the face of world affairs, it rather provided newly independent states of Africa, Asia and Latin America the platform to engage in world affairs from a standpoint of ideological neutrality.

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3.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

Answers to SAEs 1

According to Jansen, non-alignment is the desire and ability of an independent country to follow an independent policy in foreign affairs. It is the desire and ability to make up its own mind, to take its own decisions or not to take them, after judging each issue separately and honestly on its own merit (Jansen, 1966). To Corea, non-alignment is the conscious choice by a nation not to get involved in the system of mutually suspicious and hostile politico-military alliances.

Answers to SAEs 2

The difference between Non-alignment or active neutrality and traditional neutralism is that while the latter advocates the attitude of impartial abstention by states towards others in times of hostility, the former does not mean passivity in the international system. It is a policy of active participation in world affairs but always on the side of peace. The non-aligned states can team up with any of the super powers against a state that is seen as a threat to international peace and security (George, 1976). The core of non-alignment is summed up by Kwameh Nkrumah, when he opined that “it is not a policy of indifference. It is a policy of positive action in international affairs particularly with regards to world peace and co-operation.

UNIT 4: FOREIGN POLICY

Content:

4.1 Introduction

4.2 Learning Outcomes

4.3 Main Content

4.3.1 Foreign Policy

4.3.2 Problems of Foreign Policy Analysis

4.3.3 Approaches to the Study of Foreign Policy

4.4 Conclusion

4.5 Summary

4.6 References/Further Reading/Web Sources

4.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

4.1 Introduction

Many of the socio-political and economic goals which sovereign states try to pursue in the international system cannot be achieved within the territorial confines of the state. At times, states need the system to achieve their national objectives. Because of this, a state necessarily has to be in communication with its external environment. It is the totality of this communication that is commonly referred to as foreign policy.

4.2 Learning Outcomes

By the end of the unit, the students should be able to discuss:

1. The meaning of foreign policy analysis
2. Problems of foreign policy analysis
3. The approaches to the study of foreign policy

4.3 Main Content

4.3.1 Foreign Policy

The definition of the term “foreign policy” has been a subject of controversy over the years. Sometimes this controversy arises from the different theoretical frameworks from which the subject is approached. According to Kelth Legg and James Morrison, foreign policy can be

defined as a set of explicit objectives with regard to the world beyond the borders of a given social unit and a set of strategies and tactics designed to achieve these objectives. It implies the perception of a need to influence the behaviour of other states or international organization (Legy and Morrison, 1970). The aim is to ensure that such states or international organization maintain the existing pattern of behaviour.

Dorothy Pickles in a piece on French foreign policy supports Legg's and Morrison's position. She argues that foreign policy implies a "stated set of attitudes towards the international environment, an implicit or explicit plan about a country's relationship with the outside world (Pickles, 1968). It is a conscious image of what is or ought to be the country's place in the world, or some general guiding principles or attitudes determining or influencing decisions on specific issues. It is on the basis of such a conception of foreign policy that some French scholars accused the French Fourth Republic of having no foreign policy.

But David Vital disagrees with this position. To him, foreign policy implies rather a field of related but distinct actions and issues in which there is neither nor can be foreign policy in general (Vital, 1968). According to Vitalis' thesis, the realities of state's behaviour entail decision and policies being formulated in a disjointed fashion, largely in response to immediate pressure and events, in a number of separate structures and issues areas. The contention is that Dorothy's definition of foreign policy suggests a greater degree of rational procedure than is often observable in the way states actually try to achieve their objectives.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 1

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

Define the concept of foreign policy

4.3.2 Problems of Foreign policy analysis

The study of foreign policy is fraught with a number of difficulties. These problems are in part due to the very nature of the subject itself, and also to the current state of development of the discipline. The following problems have been identified.

(a) The level of analysis

Foreign policy can be approached from different levels of analysis, with each level creating different concerns for the analysis. The analysis of foreign policy can be done from the standpoint of the individual, or the state or the international system. For example, any foreign policy action can be viewed in terms of its relationship to individual perceptions, or in terms of its relationship to the structures and organizations of the state.

(b) Theoretical framework

In addition to the variety of levels of analysis, the foreign policy analyst is beset by other difficulties. His subject can be approached within different theoretical frameworks. The analyst's choice of focus is necessarily affected by his theoretical apparatus. There are bound to be differences not only in the focus of study but also in the choice of questions asked and the conclusions reached by analysts who are convinced adherents of 'power politics' and those who are 'utopian' idealists.

(c) The Boundary Problems

According to William Wallace, there are two aspects of the boundary problems in the study of foreign policy. First, the subject of foreign policy bridges the boundary between the nation-state and its international environment. Second, to the students the study of foreign policy also straddles the boundary between two academic disciplines, the study of domestic government, commonly called political science, and the study of international politics and diplomacy, commonly referred to as international relations. It is difficult to separate what is entirely domestic from foreign policy issues.

(d) Scope of Subject

The foreign policy analyst is faced with a further problem of the extent and the diversity of the terrain to be covered by the subject. This is particularly so because of the diverse character of, and the importance attached to the subject from state to state. For example, the nature of foreign policy process, indeed, the whole problem of foreign policy is different in democratic states from that in non-democratic states, in developed countries from that in developing countries etc.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 15 minutes.

Explain some of the problems of foreign policy analysis

4.3.3 APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF FOREIGN POLICY

1. CLASSICAL/TRADITIONAL APPROACH:

This approach takes each national society as different and seeks explanations for its behaviour in the historical experiences and strategic realities by which it has been and is still being conditioned. It also makes a clear distinction between the domestic and external environments. The approach emphasized case studies or institutional analysis.

2. BEHAVIOURAL APPROACH

The behavioural or scientific approach comprises the decision-making, the comparative or adaptive perspective approach.

- (a) The Decision-making approach to the study of foreign policy was pioneered by R. C. Snyder and his associates in the 1950s. The basic assumption of this approach is that policies are not made by 'states' but by individuals who act on behalf of the states. Thus, the analysis of state behaviour centres around these individuals and groups who represent their states. The approach, therefore discusses decision makers as individuals who arrive at their decisions by confronting their values with their image of the environment.
- (b) The Comparative Perspective Approach essentially focuses on how states adapt to their changing environments and how this affects their foreign policy options. It assumes that all nations can be viewed as adapting entities with similar problems that arise out of the need to cope with their environment. It therefore, seeks an understanding of state behaviour not in unique factors but in common one, not through case studies but through the comparative assessment etc.
- (c) The Bureaucratic Politics Approach. This approach focuses attention primarily on individuals within a government and the interaction among them in determination of a government's policy. Its emphasis is on the role of the bureaucrats. The assumption is that since politicians come and go, it is the civil servants that are permanently on seat

and possess the expertise, and the politicians rely on their expertise and advice. The bureaucratic politics approach posits that any government policy is a result of bargaining among players positioned hierarchically in the government.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 3

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 8 minutes.

Identify any two approaches to the study of foreign policy

4.4 CONCLUSION

Foreign policy is a set of policy goals, decisions a sovereign entity must make in the anarchic world system to survive and be meaningfully integrated in the system. It requires utmost caution, tact, wisdom and diplomacy on the part of the national governments and those that frame their foreign policy.

4.5 Summary

Foreign policy is a controversial concept in international relation due to the keen interest and concern it has generated over the years. It is a set of objectives with regards to the world beyond the borders of a given social unit, and a set of strategies and tactics designed to achieve those objectives. The study of foreign policy has, over the years, been faced with some problems which include, among others, the issue of level of analysis, the theoretical basis of foreign policy discourse, the boundary problem as well as the scope of the subject.

In understanding foreign policy, a number of approaches had been adopted by scholars. None of the approaches can be regarded as the best. But each has a specific role and targets. The approaches include but are not limited to classical method, the decision-making approach and the bureaucratic politics perspective.

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4.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

Answers to SAEs 1

According to Kelth Legg and James Morrison, foreign policy can be defined as a set of explicit objectives with regard to the world beyond the borders of a given social unit and a set of strategies and tactics designed to achieve these objectives. It implies the perception of a need to influence the behaviour of other states or international organization (Legy and Morrison, 1970). The aim is to ensure that such states or international organizations maintain the existing pattern of behaviour.

Answers to SAEs 2

Some of the challenges to the study of foreign policy include:

- i. The problem of the level of analysis*
- ii. Theoretical framework problem*
- iii. The Boundary Problems*
- iv. Problem of the Scope of Subject*

Answers to SAEs 3

Two approaches to the study of foreign policy are

- i. Classical/Traditional Approach*
- ii. Behavioural Approach*

MODULE 5: CONCEPTS IN SECURITY AND STRATEGIC STUDIES

- Unit 1 Arms Trade, Arms Race and Arms Control
- Unit 2 Collective Security and Collective Defence
- Unit 3 Deterrence and Disarmament
- Unit 4 Environmental Security
- Unit 5 Diplomacy

UNIT 1: ARMS TRADE, ARMS RACE AND ARMS CONTROL

Content:

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Learning Outcomes
- 1.3 Main Content
 - 1.3.1 Arms Trade
 - 1.3.2 Arms Race
 - 1.3.3 Arms Control
- 1.4 Conclusion
- 1.5 Summary
- 1.6 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 1.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Two major kinds of relationships characterize international relations. These are cooperation and conflict. Cooperation, because no nation is totally self sufficient or can afford to exist in isolation and operate in complete autarky. States therefore require the collaborations of others at one time or the other in order to achieve those goals they cannot effectively secure on their own.

Again, conflictual relationships occur primarily because of divergence of national interests among states. By national interest, we mean those core values a state cherishes and jealously seeks to protect and preserve and for which they are ready to go to war.

Given the anarchical environment in which international relations take place, power, including military capability becomes a major factor in a state's capacity to preserve its interests.

To achieve this, actors maintain a state of combat readiness at all times. It is in this light that arms trade, arms race and arms control become important concepts in the understanding of international relations.

1.2 LEARNING OUTCOMES

By the end of the unit, students should be able to:

- i. Define the concepts of arms trade, arms race and arms control
- ii. Discuss their relevance in international relations

1.3 MAIN CONTENT

1.3.1 Arms Trade

Arms trade, also known as the arms industry goes beyond just the buying and selling of arms. It represents the global industry which manufactures and sells weapons and military technology and services to the armed forces of sovereign states and civilians alike. Arms trade can also be carried out on a commercial basis or on the basis of military assistance programmes.

By virtue of their sovereignty, states possess the right to legitimate use of force as well as control over instruments of coercion within their jurisdictions. They are therefore legitimate actors in arms trade. However, beyond the states, the world is witnessing an increase in the stock of arms among such non – state actors as terrorists, insurgents, separatist groups and other paramilitary groups. Not having legitimacy to the use of force, trade among these actors take place in the black market and are therefore largely illegal.

According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), the five largest exporters of arms between 2014 and 2018 were the United States, Russia, France, Germany and China while the five largest importers of arms within the same period were Saudi Arabia, India, Egypt, Australia and Algeria.

Some of the commonly traded arms include guns, artillery, ammunition, missiles, military air craft, military vehicles, military ship, electronic system, night-vision devises, holographic weapon sights, hand grenades etc. These are mostly small arms or light weapons. Small arms trade is therefore the authorized and/or illicit transfer of small arms and light weapons (SALW)

between the arms dealers and either state actors or non-state actors within the international community. Small arms and light weapons (SALW) are those that can easily be moved or transported by one or two people or by vehicles. They include pistols, light machine guns, Man-Portable Air Defense System (MPADS), Rocket-Propelled Grenades (RPGs).

Arms trade could also involve heavy weapons which generally refer to those bulky or complex weapon systems that are too cumbersome for foot transportations but rely on fixed mounting platforms installed upon wheeled frames/vehicles, vessels, aircraft or fortifications for effective operation (NATO, Small Arms and Light Weapons).

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 8 minutes.

Explain the concept of Arms trade.

1.3.2 Arms Race

Arms race represents a raging competition between two or more states anxious to extend their advantage militarily with regard to other states or a contending bloc. Arms races are usually fuelled by the logic of action–reaction phenomenon; which simply means that if state A embarks on an aggressive military acquisitions programme, a neighbouring state B may assume the worst, i.e. that state A is preparing for war and increase its own defence spending. But this would only inflame state A in turn and it would escalate its arms acquisitions. For example in 1906, Great Britain launched the HMS Dreadnought, a new class of battleship. The ship was faster than existing naval vessels; armour- plated, and possessed batteries of powerful guns capable of firing shells great distances. The launch of this ship worried Germany and so it developed ships of similar power. This, in turn, led Great Britain to build more of these powerful battleships to compensate. Finally, ships called Super dreadnoughts were developed and put into service. Thus the launching of a single new ship set off an arms race that changed the face of naval warfare. Similarly, the United States was the first country to develop and use nuclear weapons. In September 1949 the Soviets displayed their own atomic device and the US advantage began to evaporate. The US escalated its nuclear programme which the Soviet Union responded to in kind and the world tethered on the edge of a nuclear holocaust (csspoint.yolasite.com). Arms races preclude cooperation and increase tension and are usually coloured by ideological assumptions. This factor usually makes it

difficult to resolve if not impossible. Consequently, a state that aggressively seeks arms improvement in relation to its neighbour finds itself more and more unsecured which is really the paradox of the arms race.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 8 minutes.

What do you understand by arms race?

1.3.3 Arms Control

Arms control involves a dialogue between states to reduce or control the proliferation of arms. In the early nineteenth century, the Rush-Bagot Treaty (1817) demilitarised the border between the United States and Canada. The rise of devastating arms such as nuclear arms in the twentieth century has led to a rise in the importance of arms control. Arms control is different from disarmament. Disarmament infers that arms of specific kinds should be reduced, limited or banned altogether if the international system is to be made secure. While the major end of arms control policy is to regulate and ensure the effective management of existing arms. In essence to prevent the proliferation of arms to actors likely to cause harm to others. Arms control can be carried out in a number of ways. These include: limiting the number and kinds of weapons that can legally be used in war; limiting the potential for destruction after war has broken out by reducing the size of arsenals; reducing the overall number of weapons; banning technologies which may have a destabilising effect on the balance of power; developing confidence-building measures. Although arms control has gone some way towards ensuring global safety its prosecution is inundated with challenges; there is the problem of verification as states often do not tell the whole truth about their weapons programme. Recall that it was the evasive nature of the Iraqi government concerning its weapons programme which led to the armed invasion of Iraq in 2003.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 3

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

What is arms control and how does it differ from disarmament?

1.4 CONCLUSION

Arms trade, arms race and arms control have become prominent concepts in international relations arising from the desire for states to increase their capacity to defend their cherished values in an ungoverned global system. While the first two represent the quest to acquire and increase military capabilities, the third represents an effort to check those acquisitive tendencies of actors with a view to reducing the quantity and flow of military stockpile within the international system.

1.5 SUMMARY

Discussions in this unit have been on the three concepts of arms trade, arms race and arms control. No state desires to bargain from a position of weakness. Given the anarchic nature of the international space, the quest for arms becomes inevitable. However, through the instrumentality of arms control, there are prospects of achieving a reduction in military spending, as a first step towards achieving global peace and security.

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1.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

Answers to SAEs 1

Arms trade represents the global industry which manufactures and sells weapons and military technology and services to the armed forces of sovereign states and civilians alike. Arms trade can also be carried out on a commercial basis or on the basis of military assistance programmes.

By virtue of their sovereignty, states possess the right to legitimate use of force as well as control over instruments of coercion within their jurisdictions. They are therefore legitimate actors in arms trade. However, beyond the states, the world is witnessing an increase in the stock of arms among such non – state actors as terrorists, insurgents, separatist groups and other paramilitary groups. Not having legitimacy to the use of force, trade among these actors take place in the black market and are therefore largely illegal

Answers to SAEs 2

Arms race represents a raging competition between two or more states anxious to extend their advantage militarily with regard to other states or a contending bloc. Arms races are usually fuelled by the logic of action–reaction phenomenon; which simply means that if state A embarks on an aggressive military acquisitions programme, a neighbouring state B may assume the worst, i.e. that state A is preparing for war and increase its own defence spending. But this would only inflame state A in turn and it would escalate its arms acquisitions.

Answers to SAEs 3

Arms control involves a dialogue between states to reduce or control the proliferation of arms. In the early nineteenth century, the Rush-Bagot Treaty (1817) demilitarised the border between the United States and Canada. The rise of devastating arms such as nuclear arms in the twentieth century has led to a rise in the importance of arms control. Arms control is different from disarmament. Disarmament infers that arms of specific kinds should be reduced, limited or banned altogether if the international system is to be made secure. While the major end of arms control policy is to regulate and ensure the effective management of existing arms

UNIT 2: COLLECTIVE SECURITY & COLLECTIVE DEFENCE

CONTENTS

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Learning Outcomes
- 2.3 Main Content
 - 2.3.1 Collective Security
 - 2.3.2 Collective Defence
- 2.4 Conclusion
- 2.5 Summary
- 2.6 References/Further Reading/Web Sources
- 2.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

2.1 INTRODUCTION

With the improvements in technology generally, and ICT in particular, national boundaries no longer constitute a barrier to the flow of resources, ideas and materials across the globe. While this has significantly enhanced economic relationships and social mobilization among states, it has also increased their vulnerability. Attacks on specific targets can now be easily coordinated from any part of the world. These threaten global peace and security. To check these threats, states and groups pool their capabilities together against immediate and potential enemies. This makes the concepts of collective security and defence important in international relations.

2.2 Learning Outcomes

By the end of this unit, students should be able to:

1. Define collective security
2. Explain the concept of collective defense
3. Differentiate between collective security and collective defense

2.3 MAIN CONTENT

2.3.1 Collective Security

Collective security is a collaborative security arrangement in which states pool their security resources together and act as a unit in order to deter aggression. It seeks, according to Palmer Perkins, to confront would-be aggressors with the concerted power of states determined to keep

the peace; it involves a commitment to go to war, if necessary, recognizing that the immediate peace is jeopardized but assuming that future peace will be more secure if it has been clearly demonstrated that crime among nations does not pay. Under this arrangement, an attack on any state by an aggressor is considered unacceptable and it attracts a collective response from all others.

It is an approach to peace in which states commit to taking a collective action, against any state considered an aggressor. It is conceived as a global security strategy built on the belief that insecurity anywhere is a threat to security everywhere. It therefore, deters aggression by confronting aggressors with too much to fight against. It is on this principle that both the League of Nations and the United Nations Organisation were founded in 1919 and 1945 respectively.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 8 minutes.

Explain the concept of collective security.

2.3.2 Collective defence

Collective defence is a security arrangement in which a group of countries form an alliance to deter aggression or fight against a common enemy. It is a pact of mutual assistance to member countries. Under collective defence, an attack against an ally is considered an attack against all allies.

The principle of collective defence is enshrined in Article 5 of the Washington Treaty. The North Atlantic Treaty Organisations (NATO) is an example of a collective defence arrangement. While collective security has more of a global outlook, collective defence is more of a regional arrangement. NATO invoked the Article 5 after the September 11, 2001 terrorist attack on the United States of America and as a body, member states provided military response to the entire episode.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 8 minutes.

What do you understand by collective defense?

2.4 CONCLUSION

In a world system, characterized by the absence of a global sovereign with the capacity to tame the military instincts of actors, the possibility of aggression is real. Collective security and collective defense have become important security arrangements, through which nations team up to, not just deter aggression but also defeat them. This holds the prospect of enhancing global peace and security.

2.5 SUMMARY

In this unit, the concepts of collective security and collective defence were treated, while the first has more of a global appeal, the second is more of a regional arrangement. Their difference notwithstanding, they both are aimed at deterring or defeating aggression as a way of promoting global peace and security.

2.6 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING/WEB SOURCES

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2.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

Answers to SAEs 1

Collective security is a collaborative security arrangement built on the understanding that insecurity anywhere is a threat to security everywhere. It is an arrangement in which states, determined to maintain the peace, act as a unit in order to deter aggression by confronting would-be aggressors. It involves a commitment to go to war, if necessary, recognizing that the immediate peace is jeopardized but assuming that future peace will be secured if it has been clearly demonstrated that crime among nations does not pay. Under this arrangement, an attack on any state by an aggressor is considered unacceptable and it attracts a collective response from all others.

Answers to SAEs 2

By Collective defense is meant a security arrangement in which a group of countries form an alliance to deter aggression or fight against a common enemy. It is a pact of mutual assistance to member countries. Under collective defense, an attack against an ally is considered an attack against all allies.

The principle of collective defense is enshrined in Article 5 of the Washington Treaty. The North Atlantic Treaty Organisations (NATO) is an example of a collective defense arrangement. While collective security has more of a global outlook, collective defense is more of a regional arrangement.

UNIT 3: DETERRENCE, DISSARMAMENT

CONTENTS

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Learning Outcomes
- 3.3 Main Content
 - 3.3.1 Deterrence
 - 3.3.2 Disarmament
- 3.4 Conclusion
- 3.5 Summary
- 3.6 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 3.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The use of military force in the pursuit of national objectives is a foreign policy strategy. This strategy is emboldened, in part, by the unequal power configuration among states. Hence, states with superior military capabilities may resort to the use of force against their weaker counterparts. This explains, in part, the incidence of armed conflicts within the international space. Left unchecked, the international space likely becomes more belligerent. Deterrence and disarmament are some strategies employed to discourage states from always resorting to the use of force in the pursuit of national interest.

3.2 LEARNING OUTCOMES

By the end of this unit, students should be able to:

- a. Define the concepts of deterrence and disarmament
- b. Discuss the rationale behind these concepts in international relations
- c. State the nexus between these concept and global peace and security

3.3 MAIN CONTENT

3.3.1 Deterrence

Deterrence is a form of coercion in international politics. It refers to the use of threats and promises in effort to persuade a target state not to undertake a particular action that the deter finds objectionable. In the abstract, deterrence involves attempts to prevent an as yet

unmaterialized action from occurring in the first place, such as dissuading an adversary from attacking its neighbours or convincing a state not to begin a nuclear weapons program. The defender (the state that attempts to deter) seeks to alter the cost-benefit calculations of a target state by convincing that the pain of punishment will exceed any potential benefit that may result from undertaking an action. Deterrence theorists make distinctions among various types of deterrence relationships:

General deterrence: involves the use of contingent threats and promises to prevent an action, regardless of whether a potential adversary actually plans to undertake it or not; general deterrence threats are always present to some degree. An example of general deterrence would be the United States' nuclear posture since the late 1940s. The implicit threat of nuclear retaliation dissuades other states from attacking the U.S. homeland.

Immediate deterrence: involves efforts to persuade an adversary not to undertake a specific, planned event. The main distinction between immediate deterrence and general deterrence stems the likelihood of an adversary undertaking an undesirable action. An example of immediate deterrence is the 1970 Israeli warning to Syria not to escalate after the initial failure of its invasion of Jordan: the warning prevented a particular, imminent Syrian invasion from materializing.

Extended deterrence: involves efforts by one state to defend an ally against attack by a third state. An example of extended deterrence would be the 1961 U.S.-Japan Security Treaty. This treaty obligates the United States to come to the defence of Japan if a third state attacks the Japanese home islands. The threat of American military intervention in defence of Japan, however remote, deters that country's potential adversaries—the former Soviet Union, and now the Peoples' Republic of China and North Korea.

Extended immediate deterrence: involves efforts by one state to defend an ally against an attack by a third state viewed as highly likely in the near future. Arguably, the crisis on the Korean peninsula (from October 2002) is a case of extended immediate deterrence.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 8 minutes.

Define the concept, deterrence.

3.3.2 Disarmament

This refers to the attempt to drastically reduce arms, it is different from arms controls in that arms control concerns restraint but not reduction in the stock of arms. Historically, disarmament has taken place via two methods. First, after a war, disarmament has often been imposed on the defeated state by the victor. For example, in 1919 the Treaty of Versailles limited the German army to 100,000 troops, thereby effectively eliminating an offensive army. A similar restriction was placed on Germany and Japan after the Second World War.

Secondly there is voluntary disarmament, in which states seek to negotiate a mutually acceptable framework within which all parties will reduce the size of their military establishments. A third form of disarmament is regional disarmament which aims to eliminate weapons from a particular geographic area.

Four main regional agreements remain in effect; the 1967 Treaty of Tlatelolco, which prohibits nuclear weapons in the South America; the 1959 Antarctic Treaty bans the use of Antarctica for any military purposes; a 1971 treaty bans nuclear weapons on the seabed, and in 1967 treaty prohibits the placing of nuclear weapons in outer space.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 8 minutes.

Discuss disarmament as a tool for international peace and stability.

3.4 CONCLUSION

The search for a stable international environment that promotes the liberty and prosperity of states is one of the goals of international relations. To achieve that, the responsible acquisition and use of military capability is key. The concepts of deterrence and disarmament which emphasize non violent pursuit of national objectives and the reduction of stockpile by state are some measures adopted by actors to achieve global peace and security.

3.5 SUMMARY

In this unit, effort was made to walk the students through the concepts of deterrence and disarmament. Efforts were made to discuss the rationale behind the pursuit of these policies as well as the nexus between them and global peace and security. It is important to note that man's quest for power has no limit, and if left unchecked, he would likely use it absolutely. Deterrence and disarmament as strategic measures, put a level of check on the acquisition and use of weapons, leading ultimately to the promotion of peaceful coexistence among nations.

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3.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

Answers to SAEs 1

Deterrence is a form of coercion in international politics. It refers to the use of threats and promises in an effort to persuade a target state not to undertake a particular action that the deter finds objectionable. It represents the attempts to discourage or prevent an action from occurring in the first place, such as dissuading an adversary from attacking its neighbours or convincing a state not to begin a nuclear weapons program. The defender (the state that attempts to deter) seeks to alter the cost-benefit calculations of a target state by convincing it that the pain of punishment will exceed any potential benefit that may result from undertaking an action.

Answers to SAEs 2

Disarmament refers to the attempt to drastically reduce arms available to states as individuals or groups, either voluntarily or by force. Historically, disarmament has taken place via two methods. First, after a war, disarmament has often been imposed on the defeated state by the victor. For example, in 1919 the Treaty of Versailles limited the German army to 100,000 troops, thereby effectively eliminating an offensive army. A similar restriction was placed on Germany and Japan after the Second World War. Voluntary, states may seek to negotiate a mutually acceptable framework within which all parties will reduce the size of their military establishments. A third form of disarmament is regional disarmament which aims to eliminate weapons from a particular geographic area. Disarmament is a means of promoting regional and global peace by limiting states capabilities to contemplate military actions against others.

UNIT 4: ENVIRONMENTAL SECURITY

Content

4.1 Introduction

4.2 Learning Outcomes

4.3 Main Content

4.3.1 Environmental Security

4.4 Conclusion

4.5 Summary

4.6 References/Further Reading

4.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Security in the world today has gone beyond military considerations. It is true that the traditional definition of security or national security was intellectually coherent and has been useful over the years. But proponents of environmental security have argued that the traditional definition of national security does not address the increasing national and global security challenges. There is therefore, the urgent need to look beyond military conception of security and attend to the current security reality in the world.

4.2 LEARNING OUTCOMES

By the end of this unit, the students should be to explain:

- (1) Security beyond the usual military conception of security
- (2) The global dimension of environmental threats to human security

4.3 MAIN CONTENT

4.3.1 ENVIRONMENTAL SECURITY

The distinguishing characteristic of post cold war world politics is the absence of what scholars call strategic imperative, the motivation among the major states to compete for military power. As military threats have subsided, other threats, especially environmental ones have emerged with greater clarity. It has thus become possible to argue persuasively that environmental threats are an essential component of national or international security (Porter, 1995).

This idea, often expressed by the term “environmental security” has been adopted by the Clinton administration as part of the United States national security doctrine. Security now is beyond the traditional view espoused before. The traditional concept of national security that evolved during the cold war viewed security as a function of the successful pursuit of interstate power competition. Nations states before now were concerned about military threats. Again, national security was used to convey the idea that a particular set of problems was most important to the state, and required the mobilization of high level of material and human resources.

Environmental security represents a significant departure from this approach to national security. It addresses two distinct issues: the environmental factors behind potentially violent conflicts, and the impact of global environmental degradation on the wellbeing of societies and economics. The idea that environmental degradation is a security issue when it is a cause of violent conflict appears to be consistent with the traditional definition of national security. However, proponents of environmental security emphasis that environmental degradation is the result of impersonal social and economic forces, and requires co-operative solutions (Porter, 1995).

Environmental security is concerned with any threat to the wellbeing of societies and their population from an external force that can be influenced by public policies. Proponents of environmental security argue that increasing stress on the earth’s life support systems and renewable natural resources have profound implication for human health and welfare that are at least as services as traditional military threat (Adibe, 1990). Again, as argued by Haglund and Jessica Matthew,

What is intriguing about today’s ecology of security is the stress on environmental degradation as both a consequence and cause of inter-state conflict. Environmental strains that transcend national borders are already beginning to break down the sacred barriers of national sovereignty (Haglund, 1992, Matthew, 1989).

Environmental security deals with threats that are not only the unintended consequences of social and economic activities, but that also develop very slowly compared with military threats. Thus, the time horizon it requires for policy planning are extremely broad. While some programs aimed at reducing population growth rates can achieve significant results in a decade or two, it takes far longer for declining birthrates to affect natural resource management. A

typical program to reverse the environmental degradation of an entire ecosystem and to rehabilitate that eco-system can take as long as fifty years to produce the desired results.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 8 minutes.

Explain the concept of environmental security

4.3 .2 THE GLOBAL DIMENSIONS OF ENVIRONMENTAL THREAT

The case for environmental security rests primarily on evidence that there has been serious degradation of natural resources and vital life-support systems as a result of the recent acceleration of global economic activities. These global physical changes could have far-reaching effects in the long run.

The thinning of the stratospheric ozone layer because of the accumulation of certain man-made chemicals could have a severe impact on human health and nutrition. Also, the degradation of the environment, the reduction of economic and agricultural opportunities creates a condition that makes social conflict inevitable. This environmentally induced conflict can have a wide ranging implication for not only national security but global security.

There is also the issue of conflict over scarce and shared waters. Conflicts over shared waters of international rivers have long been of interest to national security planners. International conflicts over fishing grounds have been frequent in recent decades. These environmentally – induced threat explains the urgent need to critically examine the traditional and military significance of security as was the case in the past. Environmental security has increasingly become an important topic for security analysis in Nigeria.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 20 minutes.

How did environmental security discourse alter the global understanding of security considerations?

4.4 CONCLUSION

A new and contemporary discussion on security cannot view security any longer on just the military strength and expected expertise. Environmental Security has evolved over the years to become an important international relations concept. Gone were the days when particular premium is paid on the traditional conception of security. Today, environmental security has assumed a special position in security discourse among international relations scholars.

4.5 SUMMARY

With the increasing economic and social aspirations in the world, it has increasingly become a herculean task to define and create boundary for security concepts. Environmental security is a product of new thinking, innovation and discoveries on matters beyond the material concept of history.

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4.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

Answers to SAEs 1

Environmental security represents national security approach which addresses two distinct issues: the environmental factors behind potentially violent conflicts, and the impact of global environmental degradation on the wellbeing of societies and economies. The idea that environmental degradation is a security issue when it is a cause of violent conflict appears to be consistent with the traditional definition of national security. However, proponents of environmental security emphasize that environmental degradation is the result of impersonal social and economic forces, and requires co-operative solutions (Porter, 1995).

Environmental security is concerned with any threat to the wellbeing of societies and their population from an external force that can be influenced by public policies. Proponents of environmental security argue that increasing stress on the earth's life support systems and renewable natural resources have profound implication for human health and welfare that are at least as services as traditional military threat (Adibe, 1990).

Answers to SAEs 2

The material survival of states constitutes a key component of their national interest. This need is catered for, primarily, by the bounties of nature. Consequently, the environment and environmental issues such as climate change, global warming, desert encroachment, flooding etc are key security concerns within global policy circles. The degradation of the environment, the reduction of economic and agricultural opportunities create conditions that make social conflict inevitable. This environmentally induced conflict can have a wide ranging implication for, not only national security, but global security.

There is also the issue of conflict over scarce and shared waters. Conflicts over shared waters of international rivers have long been of interest to national security planners. International conflicts over fishing grounds have been frequent in recent decades. These environmentally – induced threat explains the urgent need to critically examine the traditional and military significance of security as was the case in the past.

UNIT 5: DIPLOMACY

Content:

5.1 Introduction

5.2 Learning Outcomes

5.3 Main content

5.3.1 Diplomacy

5.3.2 Brief history of Diplomacy

5.3.3 Types of Diplomacy

5.4 Conclusion

5.5 Summary

5.6 References/Further Reading/Web Sources

5.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Diplomacy is a very important concept in the study of international relations. It consists of the techniques and procedures for conducting relations among states. It is sometimes used as a synonym for foreign policy. At times, it is interchanged for negotiation, as when one talks of resolving a conflict through careful and patient diplomacy. Diplomacy is also used on occasions to mean the Foreign Service itself. There is also the popular usage of the word to mean special skill or tact, care, politeness, duplicity, guile etc. Also, the word can be used to refer to the totality of the functions of diplomats.

5.2 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this unit, the students should be able to:

- (1) Define diplomacy from the point of view of different scholars
- (2) Briefly give account of its origin
- (3) Explain the types of diplomacy

5.3 MAIN CONTENT

5.3.1 DIPLOMACY

Many of the definitions given by renowned writers in international relations show wide divergence in their conception of the word, diplomacy. Ernest Satow sees diplomacy as the application of intelligence and tact to the conduct of official relations between governments of independent states, extending sometimes also to their business with vassal states or more briefly, the conduct of business between states by peaceful means.

Horton Kaplan defined diplomacy as the formulation of a strategy aimed at achieving national interests in the international field, and carrying out this strategy by diplomats. The word diplomacy may be defined as the means and methods through which a nation-state conducts its business with the other actors in the international system. It is therefore apparent from the above definition that diplomacy is not synonymous with foreign policy. It is also more than the art of negotiation (Ojo, 1988).

Diplomacy operates within the realm of international relations and foreign policy. It lubricates the international system and is used to advance the interest of all actors, state and non-state. Although diplomacy often seeks to preserve the peace and employs negotiations as its chief instrument, sometimes actors find it necessary and expedient to employ coercion, threat and intimidatory tactics to compel their adversaries to follow a particular line of action. However, irrespective of the method employed, diplomacy's success and effectiveness depends on a number of variables, the most important being the relative power of the actors involved.

5.3.2 BRIEF HISTORY OF DIPLOMACY

The earliest record of inter-state diplomacy dates back to 2850BC. These are records of treaties between Mesopotamian city states. The Babylonian language was the language of international diplomacy in the Middle East. Modern diplomacy began in Renaissance Italy.

Great strides were made in the development of diplomacy by Renaissance Italy. The increase and permanent nature of international trade in this period directly accelerated this process. The function of the ambassadors also increased. They were no longer political emissaries but also commercial agents. They needed to gather general information relating to the political, social and economic activities of the states to which they were accredited.

But Renaissance diplomacy suffered services short comings. There was no agreed order of precedence, either in presenting credentials or in signing treaties. And each of these activities often led to unseemly wrangling resulting into physical combat. Besides, it was noted for its immorality. Ambassadors were not paid, yet they had to cater for their staff. They often had to resort to bribery, pinching and diverting funds into their own pockets.

It was not until the 1815 congress of Vienna that these Renaissance shortcomings were removed. By 1815, diplomacy became less formal and restricted. Its rules became more standardized and more generally accepted. The congress laid down certain rules of procedure that regulate diplomatic practices till date. These rules were embodied in the Reglement of March 19, 1815. The diplomatic hierarchies established thereafter include (1) Ambassadors (2) Envoys (3) Ministers (4) Charge d'affaires (Craig and George, 1995).

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 8 minutes.

What is diplomacy in international relations?

5.3.2 TYPES OF DIPLOMACY

(a) COERCIVE DIPLOMACY

Coercive diplomacy employs threat or limited force to persuade an opponent to call off or undo an encroachment. The strategy of coercive diplomacy calls for using just enough force to demonstrate resolution to protect ones interest, and to emphasize the credibility of one's determination to use more force, if necessary.

Coercive diplomacy offers the possibility of achieving one's objective economically, with little bloodshed, fewer political and psychological cost, and often with much less risk of escalation than does traditional military strategy.

(b) DEMOCRATIC DIPLOMACY

By the early twentieth century, the term democratic diplomacy had become part of the diplomatic vocabulary. It seemed to symbolize a new order in international affairs. Governments were fast losing their aristocratic leanings and their aloofness, and people were speaking through democratic representatives and informal channels. While diplomacy remained a rather esoteric profession, carried on by men of wealth, affluence and power, it was

conducted with the assistance of a growing number of career officials, the elite guard of diplomacy whose standards of competence and training were being steadily raised.

(c) GUN BOAT DIPLOMACY

The use of 'gun boat' diplomacy in international relations has become a common phenomenon since the early twentieth century. In fact, the twentieth century introduced new and disturbing problems into international relations. The emergence of European states with ruthless and insatiable thirst for territorial expansion and colonies in Africa, Asia and South Africa brought in the new concept of gunboat diplomacy. They presented a fundamental challenge to human freedoms everywhere by their subordination of the individual to the collective will determined by a few men at the top. They had worldwide propaganda to disguise or hide aggressive policies, and by their contemptuous power projection beyond their shores to acquire more territories (James, 1980).

The British clearly demonstrated the art of gunboat diplomacy in a disputed succession in Lagos in 1851. In a brazen demonstration of naval power, the British deposed Kosoko and installed Akintoye to the Lagos throne. Thereafter, a succession of British officials employed gunboat diplomacy in former Northern and Southern Nigeria to reduce African resistance to a barest minimum.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 8 minutes.

Highlight the different types of diplomacy

5.4 CONCLUSION

Nations in the international system usually adopt strategies and special skills to win political, economic and social benefits from their opponent. Diplomatic approach deployed by nations can be democratic coercive or combination of both strategies. The extent to which a state was or attracts certain international benefits largely depend on the manner, process and type of diplomacy used at every point in time. Usually, failure of diplomacy results in open conflict between states.

5.5 SUMMARY

Diplomacy is the application of intelligence and tact to the conduct of official relation between governments of independent states. Countries adopt diplomacy instead of war to achieve important national interest. The origin of diplomacy in the world can be traced to the 2850BC when there was a record of treaties between the Mesopotamian City – States in the middle East. There was a big boost to diplomacy as witnessed in the Renaissance Italy, promoted more by commerce and trade.

The Renaissance Diplomacy' suffered some setbacks until the 1815 congress of Vienna which came up with more standard rules and procedure to conduct inter-state relation. Again, the congress of Vienna and its diplomacy gave birth to a hierarchical foreign service led by an ambassador.

5.6 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING/WEB SOURCES

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5.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

Answers to SAEs 1

Diplomacy, according to Ernest Satow is the application of intelligence and tact to the conduct of official relations between governments of independent states, extending sometimes also to their business with vassal states or more briefly, the conduct of business between states by peaceful means.

Horton Kaplan defined diplomacy as the formulation of a strategy aimed at achieving national interests in the international field, and carrying out this strategy by diplomats. The word diplomacy may be defined as the means and methods through which a nation-state conducts its business with the other actors in the international system.

Answers to SAEs 2

(d) **COERCIVE DIPLOMACY**

Coercive diplomacy employs threat or limited force to persuade an opponent to call off or undo an encroachment. The strategy of coercive diplomacy calls for using just enough force to demonstrate resolution to protect one's interest, and to emphasize the credibility of one's determination to use more force, if necessary.

Coercive diplomacy offers the possibility of achieving one's objective economically, with little bloodshed, fewer political and psychological cost, and often with much less risk of escalation than does traditional military strategy.

(e) **DEMOCRATIC DIPLOMACY**

By the early twentieth century, the term democratic diplomacy had become part of the diplomatic vocabulary. It seemed to symbolize a new order in international affairs. Governments were fast losing their aristocratic leanings and their aloofness, and people were speaking through democratic representatives and informal channels. While diplomacy remained a rather esoteric profession, carried on by men of wealth, affluence and power, it was conducted with the assistance of a growing number of career officials, the elite guard of diplomacy whose standards of competence and training were being steadily raised.

(f) **GUN BOAT DIPLOMACY**

The use of 'gun boat' diplomacy in international relations has become a common phenomenon since the early twentieth century. In fact, the twentieth century introduced new and disturbing problems into international relations. The emergence of European states with ruthless and insatiable thirst for territorial expansion and colonies in Africa, Asia and South Africa brought in the new concept of gunboat diplomacy. They presented a fundamental challenge to human freedoms everywhere by their subordination of the individual to the collective will determined by a few men at the top. They had worldwide propaganda to disguise or hide aggressive policies, and by their contemptuous power projection beyond their shores to acquire more territories (James, 1980).

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